



The Heart of the Gabilans

An Administrative History of Pinnacles National Monument

Timothy Babalis
Historian

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Late spring on the west side of Pinnacles. [photo by Timothy Babalis]

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The cover photo depicts Pinnacles National Monument from the west side in 1911, when the monument was managed by the General Land Office. It was taken by GLO Field Inspector A.J. Potter [NARA II]. Monogram to left of title is a National Park Service logo from the 1930s. It was used on a certificate of award given to Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees who successfully completed service at a National Park Service camp such as Pinnacles. [Reproduced from Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*.]

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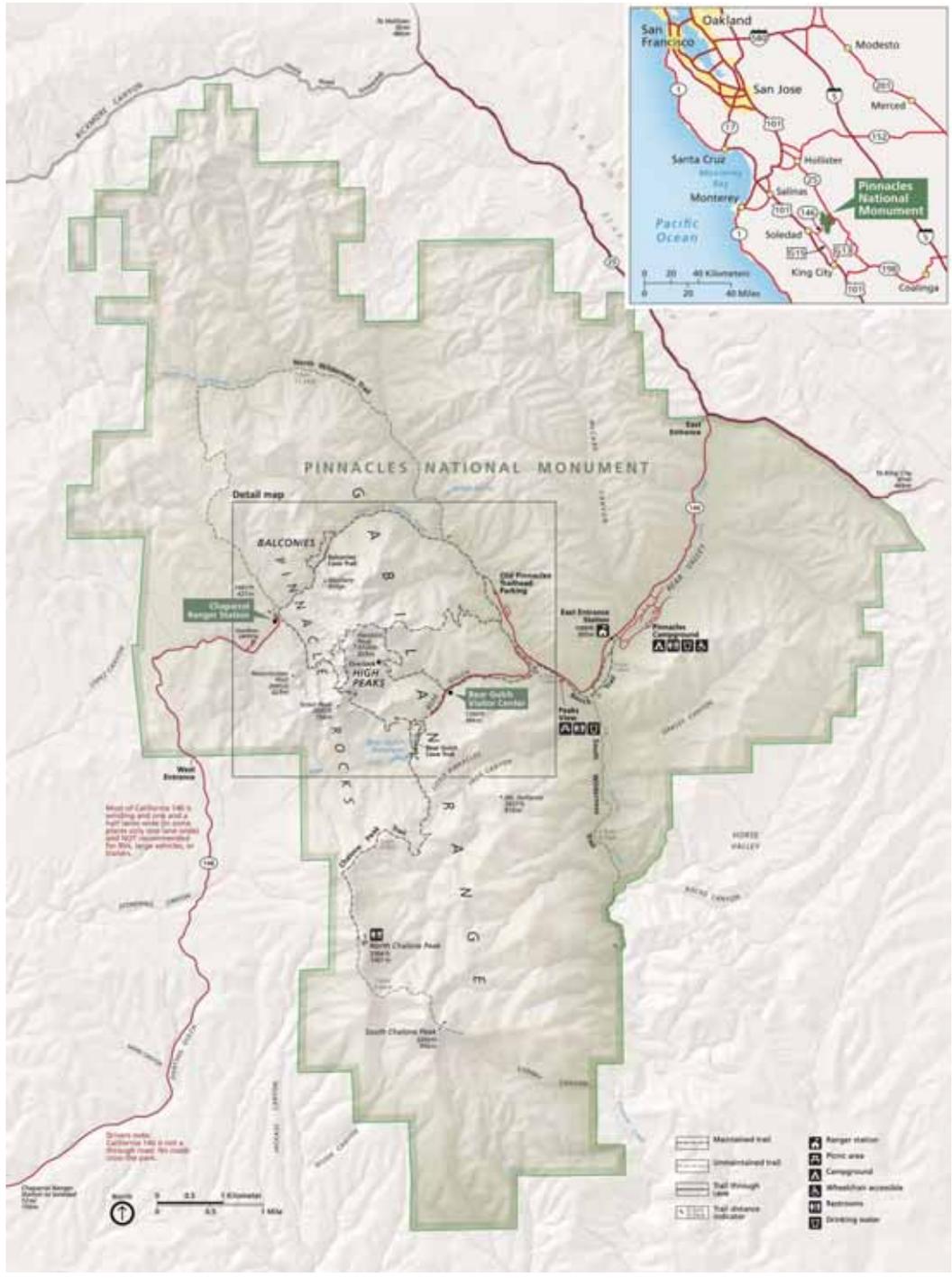
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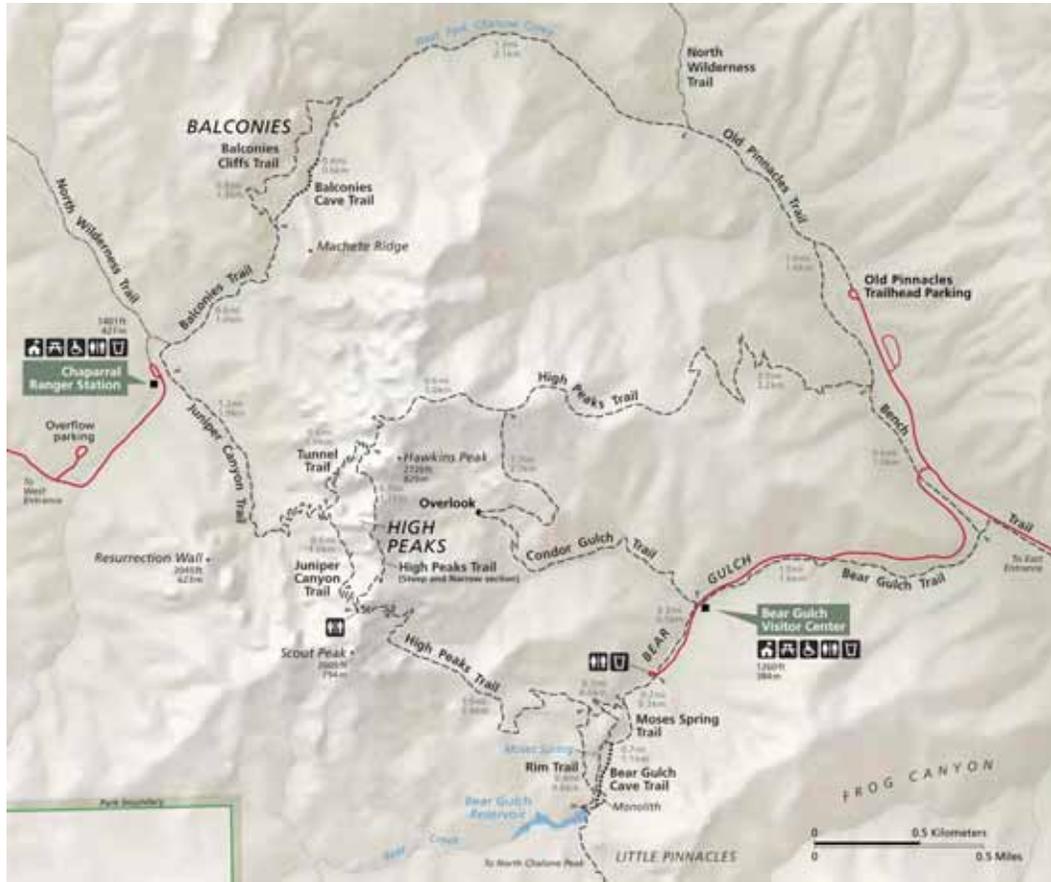
As I hope this study makes clear, Pinnacles does not exist in a vacuum. The history of the park and that of the surrounding community cannot be separated, and I am indebted to countless residents of San Benito and Monterey Counties for their contributions as well. This history is as much their story as it is the Park Service's. I wish I could thank everyone who helped me along the way, but their names are too numerous. I am especially grateful to Deborah Melendy Norman, Kathy and Joe Spencer, Stan Schmidt (and all of the Schmidt family), Clara Lou Melendy, Janie Lausten, Sara May DeRosa, Leland Melville (and other members of the Melville family), and Chuck Striplen, Val Lopez, and Paul Mondragon of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band.

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Map 1. Pinnacles National Monument.



Map 2. Detail of principal park features.

INTRODUCTION

Pinnacles National Monument was established in 1908, principally as the result of local initiative. Its creation reflected the pride of its surrounding residents and their appreciation for the unusual land in which they lived, but it also represented their aspiration to grow beyond a remote agricultural community into a place of national importance and a destination for visitors from around the country, if not the world. At first, these dreams greatly exceeded the opinion of the federal officials who would be responsible for implementing and managing the monument. These pragmatic individuals recognized that the place had value and was worth protecting but did not think that it possessed national significance. After the Park Service was created in 1916, and inherited Pinnacles, this opinion would persist among the new agency's leadership and lead to both misunderstanding and frustration between federal representatives and local supporters of the monument. The former had to be convinced, contrary to their initial opinion, that Pinnacles merited inclusion within the national park system, and for several years they considered transferring the monument to the state park system. Pinnacles not only survived this period of ambiguity but also eventually grew to become more than ten times its original size. This legacy testifies to the energy and commitment of the monument's local supporters. While they did not at first succeed in creating the national park they originally wanted, they did succeed in making Pinnacles a world-class monument whose place in the national park system will never again be questioned.

But local initiative is only part of the story. Pinnacles National Monument was not created without precedent or in historical isolation. It was established under the authority of the Antiquities Act of 1906 and expressed the nation's growing concern for preservation of its natural and cultural resources.¹ Pinnacles was the thirteenth monument to be established under this act, following both Muir Woods and the Grand Canyon, which were both set aside during the same week in January of 1908. The initial purpose of the Antiquities Act was to protect archeological sites and associated artifacts from pillage, but as the momentum for its passage grew, the language of the proposed act gradually evolved to include other threatened resources as well. In its final version, the Antiquities Act would allow the president to reserve "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest." The intentional vagueness of this language, particularly the final phrase, permitted considerable latitude for interpretation and would result in nearly as many monuments being established for natural and scenic purposes as for strictly archeological value. Pinnacles was one of these. Its local supporters were chiefly interested in the scenic value of the place, which they hoped would attract tourism, while its official patrons—men like David Starr Jordan and William Russell Dudley, both of Stanford University—called attention to its unique natural values, which they believed merited protection from development or economic exploitation.

1. This analysis is based upon Hal Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989); and Richard West Sellars, "A Very Large Array: Early Federal Historic Preservation—The Antiquities Act, Mesa Verde, and the National Park Service Act," *George Wright Forum* 25.1 (2008): 65–120.

In the end, the proclamation that enabled Pinnacles cited the scientific value of its distinctive geology (without yet truly appreciating what made it distinctive). For the Park Service who inherited the monument eight years later, this language seemed disingenuous, a verbal feint to mask what it believed to have been the true intent of the proclamation—scenic tourism. This assessment was accurate up to a point. While it did describe the interests of the businessmen who promoted Pinnacles, it largely failed to grasp the less opportunistic motives of the scientists and scholars who were also responsible for its establishment.

The Park Service's leadership in those early days was strongly biased toward the dramatic spectacle of large national parks like Yellowstone and Yosemite, which it had been established to manage. Its initial hesitation at accepting Pinnacles was the result of comparing Pinnacles on strictly aesthetic grounds with those more spectacular places. Pinnacles had scenery, but nothing so extensive or dramatic as the other national parks, and therefore the Park Service believed that it was only second class. This prejudice also extended to many of the other national monuments during the early decades of the twentieth century, and it persisted so long as size and aesthetics remained the most important criteria for assessing parks. But this bias missed one of the most important and unique implications of the Antiquities Act itself, an incipient mandate to preserve the resource for its own sake and not just for the pleasure of the spectator. The claim that Pinnacles should be protected for its scientific value may initially have been a tool to preserve its scenery, but at the same time it also meant exactly what it said. One of the great contributions of the national monuments to the Park Service was that they helped to insinuate this broader idea of resource preservation into the new agency. Of course, preservation was an integral part of the Park Service's Organic Act, but it would take time for this principle to balance the other half of the agency's mandate, the promotion of pleasure in the national playgrounds. Monuments established specifically for their natural values, like Pinnacles, would eventually become important nature preserves as well as pleasuring grounds, where visitors would not only enjoy beautiful scenery, but the natural elements of which it was constituted, and even those which did not make any visible or obvious contribution to it would be managed for their own sake and be preserved for the educational and scientific values they inherently possessed. As various scholars have noted, the Antiquities Act was an important precedent for the National Park Service's Organic Act and embodied some of the most radical ideas implicit in it.² As these ideas matured, monuments like Pinnacles would no longer be considered simply second class parks on the basis of less-than-spectacular scenery, but would increasingly be valued for the resources they were originally set aside to protect. This maturation has been a two-way process. Pinnacles has benefited from the growth of the Park Service's own mission and no longer risks being excluded from the national park system, but the Park Service has grown in direct response to the challenges and opportunities presented by managing Pinnacles and other monuments like it.

The Pinnacles Rocks, from which the monument takes its name, are a geologic formation rising in the midst of the Gabilan Mountains between the Salinas Valley to the west and Bear Valley to the east. The Gabilans are a relatively small chain of mountains within the California Coastal Range. They rise more than three thousand feet from the floor of the San Juan Valley at their northern end with Fremont Peak—named for John Charles Frémont, who challenged the Mexican military commander General José Castro in 1846 to an unsuccessful showdown on the slopes of this summit. The range extends south from Fremont Peak approximately thirty miles, culminating in the isolated summit of South Chalone Peak before descending

2. This point is made by Sellars in "A Very Large Array," p. 74.

into the Topo Valley, which bisects the Gabilan Mountains in an east-to-west direction and defines their southern boundary. The western-facing slope of the Gabilans, which rises steeply above the fertile Salinas Valley, is extremely dry, lying within the rain shadow of the much loftier Santa Lucia Mountains to the west and possessing scant soil to hold what little moisture does come this way. The vegetation here consists mostly of chaparral and thinly bedded grasses (now mostly comprised of exotic annuals like bromes and oats). However, small pockets of oak woodland occur in scattered locations where a little more water can be found within shallow draws that furrow the rugged slopes of the range.

All in all, the west slope is an inhospitable place. The Chalon and Salinan Indians, who occupied this part of California for many thousands of years before Europeans reached North America, wisely refrained from living here—if archeological evidence can be trusted—though they frequently passed through this landscape and may have utilized it in ways we have yet to understand. During the late nineteenth century, the western Gabilans tempted many American settlers, perhaps because the view over the verdant Salinas plain was so tantalizing, though it is more likely these newcomers were simply pushed here to the edges of life by their luckier predecessors who had arrived early enough to claim land on the rich valley bottoms. Homesteaders like Harrison Lyons struggled against the odds for a generation and a half before finally accepting nature on its own terms and walking away. The ruins of the Lyons Homestead still remain on the west side of the monument and represent a good example of the very marginal existence associated with subsistence farming in this environment. The Nobel Prize-winning author John Steinbeck portrayed a memorable image of life on the western slope of the Gabilan Mountains in his novel *East of Eden*, in which he describes his own ancestors, the Hamiltons, who settled just a little south of the Lyons.

The most enthusiastic settlers on the west slope were miners, and they were also the earliest during the historic period. Beginning in 1851, only three years after the discovery of gold in the Sierra foothills, the first mining district was established in these mountains on the southwest shoulder of Fremont Peak at Alisal. By 1862, more prospectors drifting back from the Sierran mines had begun to fan out across the hills just west of the Pinnacles and established the Chalone Mining District that year. By the early 1870s, the ephemeral town of Rootville briefly coalesced just outside the present monument boundary. It reached its peak by 1874, then dwindled to non-existence by the end of the following year as the miners realized that these barren slopes were barren even of minerals. A few of the more patient and persistent prospectors held out in spite of reason, and their activities would continue in fits and starts all the way through the turn of the next century, but little ever came of their efforts and nothing remains except a few tunnels and overgrown tailings which an intrepid hiker might still discover in the most unlikely and remote locations.

The east side of the Gabilans are also marginal from an agriculturalist's point of view but far more fertile and better-watered than the west slope. The Chalon, the southernmost group of the numerous Ohlone Indians, had their principal villages here on the upper reaches of the San Benito River watershed before Europeans forced them into missions during the late eighteenth century. Paralleling the Salinas River, the San Benito River cuts a narrow path through its own, much smaller valley on the east side of the mountains as it slowly trickles north. It joins the Pajaro River in the midst of the broad Hollister plains and then flows westward to the sea, spilling into Monterey Bay just north of the mouth of the Salinas.

At the south end of what is now San Benito County, not far from its headwaters in the Panoche Mountains of the Diablo Range, the San Benito River makes a broad eastward-curving arc around the San Andreas Fault, which has thrown up a low and ever-shifting wall of sandy hills.

These “Slide Hills” define the eastern border of a long, narrow valley suspended between them and the main ridge of the Gabilans. Known as Bear Valley, its deep, alluvial floor averages 1,250 feet above sea level, much higher than the elevation of the San Benito River, a fact that renders the place impractical for irrigation. At its northern end, Bear Valley begins at the top of the Bear Valley Grade and extends south in a westerly curving arc for a distance of approximately ten miles. It slopes gently downward in this direction at a grade of ten to fifty feet to the mile. At its broadest point, the valley is little more than a mile across, from toe to toe of its bordering hills. Sandy Creek—known to some residents as Bear Creek—rises in the Gabilan Mountains west of Bear Valley, and reaches the valley floor about a quarter mile south of the Bear Valley Grade—the head of the valley—through at least two separate watercourses. From here it meanders south across the sandy bottomlands until it flows into Chalone Creek within the present monument boundaries. With the exception of a single tributary, Chalone Creek rises within Pinnacles National Monument and flows south through a narrow, winding chasm at the foot of Chalone Peak, finally turning west and cutting directly through the Gabilan Mountains to the Salinas Valley, where it joins the Salinas River at the small town of Greenfield. Though it seems to defy reason, Chalone Creek—and its principal tributary, Sandy Creek—is part of the Salinas River watershed, not the San Benito watershed.

Though far from being an agricultural paradise, Bear Valley has enough perennial water and deep soil that it attracted—and held—many homesteaders during the early years of California’s American period. The descendants of the more successful of these homesteaders remain to the present day. The southern two miles of Bear Valley, where the valley curves furthest to the west, now lies within the boundaries of Pinnacles National Monument. At this point, Sandy Creek begins to meander in braided channels across a broad, sandy wash (hence the creek’s name). This part of the valley is known informally as the bottomlands and was settled by one of the original homesteading families—the Bacons—in 1866. By 1937, it had been consolidated into a single ranch by Ben Bacon, who represented the second generation of his family here. Thereafter, the property remained more or less intact up to its recent acquisition by the National Park Service in 2006. The Ben Bacon Ranch is bordered on its northern edge by Highway 25, which still follows the alignment of the earliest county road, established in 1890. To the south, the ranch is bordered by the Chalone Bench, a triangular deposit of alluvial soil lying between Sandy Creek and Chalone Creek just north of the point where the two streams converge. Overlooking this convergence are the steep slopes of Mount Defiance and Chalone Peak, and beyond these to the west are the High Peaks, the principal geologic formation constituting the Pinnacles. Of all the homesteading families, the Bacons lived closest to the features that would later define Pinnacles National Monument.

The Pinnacles are a formation of exposed and deeply eroded volcanic rhyolite that parallels Bear Valley and extends, north to south, for approximately the same distance. The rock is a remnant of an ancient volcanic field that originated in Southern California within the present Tehachapi Mountains. It has been conveyed north approximately 195 miles to its present location by the lateral movement of the San Andreas Fault, which clove the original site in two. (The other half of the formation is located near the town of Lancaster.) The largest and most dramatic features within the Pinnacles are the Balconies and Machete Ridge at its northern end. Between these two rocky buttresses lies a narrow chasm known as the Palisades Gorge or, more commonly, the Old Pinnacles Gorge. Large talus boulders have slipped into it, roofing the chasm and forming the Balconies Caves, through which the present Old Pinnacles/Balconies Trail passes. The west fork of Chalone Creek, which rises in the Chaparral Area on the west side of the Pinnacles, also runs through this chasm, flowing beneath the talus boulders beneath the floor of the caves. Because this portion of the Pinnacles could be reached relatively easily

by following the sandy bottom of Chalone Creek, the Balconies and Machete Ridge became popular long before the rest of the extensive Pinnacles formation. For this reason, it is called the Old Pinnacles. Early tourism promoters also called it the Palisades and Vancouver's Palisades. (The latter name will be explained in Chapter 6.) The High Peaks and Little Pinnacles, which lie further south, were not easily accessible from the east until the early 1920s, when a trail was constructed up Bear Gulch. This is a narrow canyon that rises at a right angle from Chalone Creek just north of the Chalone Bench. In 1925, a road was built to a wide, oak-shaded terrace about halfway up it, and this area subsequently became the developed core of the monument. The park headquarters is still located here. In the upper reaches of Bear Gulch there is another series of talus caves, more extensive than those in the Balconies. These are known as the Bear Gulch Caves. The High Peaks, the core of the Pinnacles formation, can be readily accessed from the terrace on which the monument headquarters is located through a side canyon known as Condor Gulch. The rocky spires of the High Peaks that overlook Bear Gulch are sometimes called the Condor Crags after the eponymous bird that makes its home here.

CHAPTER ONE

SCHUYLER HAIN AND THE CREATION OF THE MONUMENT, 1891–1920

Pinnacles National Monument began with a simple idea among the early residents of rural south San Benito County (“South County”) who wanted to protect the spectacular Pinnacles formation from private interests and potential degradation and to preserve it as a public park. The most enthusiastic and vigorous promoter of this novel idea was Bear Valley rancher Schuyler Hain, who would later be remembered as the “Father of the Pinnacles.” Once Hain realized just how unusual and significant the Pinnacles were, he proposed that the place be designated as a national park. He had many supporters among the local community, who saw this as an opportunity to bring greater attention, and possibly business, to their isolated region. These conservation efforts began in the late 1890s, long before the National Park Service itself existed, though by this time Yellowstone, Yosemite, and Sequoia had all been established and served as models for the national park idea. Although Schuyler Hain would not succeed in establishing a national park on the order of these precedents, he did manage to protect the Pinnacles, first as a national forest reserve in 1906, and later as a national monument in 1908.

But this was only the beginning of the struggle for Pinnacles, for the reserved area proved to be far too small (the original monument did not even include the Bear Gulch Caves); it lay beyond the reach of any good road and so was largely inaccessible to the average tourist; it was threatened by private ownership of key resources, including principal access routes; and it lacked any on-site staff to provide management and to develop visitor facilities. These challenges would define much of the early history of Pinnacles. Schuyler Hain, who had already accomplished so much by simply establishing the monument, would attempt to resolve some of these additional problems during the later years of his life, but the ultimate solutions would have to wait for another generation of park supporters.

THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY

The Pinnacles lie within the traditional territory of the Chalon Indians, a subgroup or tribelet of the Penutian-speaking Ohloneans. These people first migrated into California’s central coastal region from the interior about four thousand years ago and eventually populated most of the present San Francisco Bay Area from the Carquinez Straits south to present-day Carmel. Their territory extended inland as far as the Diablo Range, which separates the coastal littoral from California’s broad Central Valley, and included southern San Benito County, where the Pinnacles are now located. The Chalon were the most southerly of the Ohlonean peoples, close cousins of the more populous (and better known) Mutsun, who occupied the broad San Juan Valley between Watsonville and Hollister. At the time Spanish Franciscans established nearby Missions Soledad and San Juan Bautista during the last decade of the eighteenth century, the Chalon were estimated to have numbered about nine hundred individuals.¹ Their territory straddled the Gabilan Mountains in the vicinity of Pinnacles National Monument and

1. Sherbourne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769–1976* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976)

included portions of both the upper Salinas Valley and the Upper San Benito River Valley, with Bear Valley nearly at the center. Although the Chalon did not practice such intensive activities as agriculture, they did significantly modify their environment. Both archeological evidence and early historical accounts testify to a variety of techniques they used to manage the natural resources on which they depended. Their most effective tool was fire. Like Indians throughout pre-European California, the Chalon used fire to increase the abundance of seed-producing grasses and forbs, to improve the quality of vegetative fiber sources, and to prevent valuable grassland from type-converting to less valuable scrub. But the Chalon also manipulated their environment in less dramatic, if not less significant, ways through hunting of game animals, harvesting of plants, and the physical manipulation of selected species to improve certain desirable qualities (for example, hand-tilling the soil to straighten and increase the length of sedge rhizomes used in woven basketry).

In all likelihood, these activities shaped the landscape around Pinnacles National Monument—especially Bear Valley—in profound and lasting ways. But by the time Anglo-American settlers arrived during the middle of the nineteenth century, the Chalon and their traditional lifeways had largely disappeared. Between 1791 and about 1810, most, if not all, of the Chalon had been confined to Spanish missions or had died of European diseases.² Following the secularization of these missions after 1833, the surviving Indian neophytes (baptized Christians) were largely absorbed into the laboring class of the Mexican *ranchero* economy. If any Chalon were among these survivors, they may have returned to their ancestral lands to work in places like Rafael Garcia's Rancho San Lorenzo—located just south of Bear Valley—or in the New Idria mercury mines, which were developed during the 1850s in the Panoche Hills about fifty miles east of Bear Valley. Both operations are known to have employed California Indians.³

Between 1810, when the last of the Chalon are believed to have disappeared from the area around Pinnacles, and 1865, when permanent Anglo-American settlers first arrived, this landscape was largely turned over to wilderness, probably for the first time in millennia. The Hispanic settlement of California, which dated from 1769 to the American conquest of 1846–48, had little direct impact on Pinnacles and the surrounding region, since no missions or ranchos were established here. The greatest environmental impact during these years was the removal of the Chalon and the resultant cessation of their land management activities. After more than fifty years of abandonment, however, Bear Valley on the east side of the Pinnacles was discovered again and reinhabited when Anglo-American homesteaders began migrating south from the San Francisco Bay Area. The landscape they encountered seemed ideal for farming and grazing, since it was characterized by well-watered grassland and possessed abundant groves of oak. The latter was a critical asset for a culture lacking any other source of fuel for cooking, preserving meat, or heating in the winter. To these early immigrants, Bear Valley seemed like a natural paradise (and the Pinnacles, a curious but picturesque anomaly). None of the original homesteaders suspected that its natural advantages may have been the result of at least three thousand years of careful and deliberate human management.⁴

2. See, for example, Randy Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995).

3. John Breen, "Diary, 1853–1855," California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, San Francisco, CA.

4. This summary and interpretation is taken from Timothy Babalis, *Fire and Water: An Environmental History of the Upper Chalone Creek Watershed—Draft* (Oakland, CA: National Park Service, Pacific West Regional Office, 2009). See also Gary S. Breschini, Trudy Haversat, and R. Paul Hampson, *A Cultural Resources Overview of the Coast and Coast-Valley Study Areas* (Salinas, CA: Archeological Consulting, 1983); Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769–1810* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995);

Given this long and rich legacy of human connections with the place, the history of the Pinnacles could begin many thousands of years ago, but the history of Pinnacles National Monument starts only in the last half of the nineteenth century with the American immigrants who settled in the area. California became part of the United States in 1848 with the conclusion of the Mexican-American War, and it was not long after this that Americans began arriving in large numbers. The first of these newcomers to discover the Pinnacles were probably miners, prospecting in the hills above Soledad. They established the Chalone Mining District in 1862 and soon afterward the small community of Rootville, located a few miles south of the Balconies, probably in Miners Gulch. For a brief period, miners were scattered all over the western slopes of the southern Gabilan Mountains. Some of these men worked eastward and explored the Pinnacles, prospecting for gold and other precious minerals. They never found what they were looking for, but a few remained in the area long enough to be remembered—George W. Root and Henry Melville are the most prominent names associated with this early chapter in the history of the area. Although Root moved on after the turn of the century, Melville would remain active in the Pinnacles until his death in 1933.⁵

Even as these miners were working the hills west of the Pinnacles, homesteaders were beginning to settle in the valleys on the east side of the future monument. It was with these people that the history of Pinnacles National Monument really begins, since they were the ones who first conceived the idea of protecting the place as a public park.

The earliest of the homesteaders to visit the Pinnacles on a regular basis were members of the Bacon family, who settled on Sandy Creek at the south end of Bear Valley in 1866. Of all the homesteaders, their ranch lay closest to the rocky formation and enjoyed ready access to several of its most prominent and scenic features—Bear Gulch, for instance, whose mouth began not far from the northern edge of the Bacon Ranch. The Bacon children grew up playing in the Pinnacles, while the family sometimes picnicked on the Chalone Bench, from where they could just glimpse the distant peaks of Condor Crags. Another popular picnicking spot lay beneath the eastern wall of the Balconies, at the end of a primitive wagon road that continued several miles up Chalone Creek from the Bacon Ranch. This site was later improved with the construction of tables and concrete fire pits and would become an informal campground—the earliest in the monument's history—once outsiders began visiting the place a few decades later.⁶

It was not the Bacons, however, but another homesteader, a friend and neighbor of the Bacons, who would play the leading role in creating the national monument. This was Schuyler Hain, an immigrant from Michigan who arrived in 1891 with his young wife, Ida Cook Hain. Schuyler was the oldest of seven children born to John and Mary Hain, who had already moved to Bear Valley in 1886. The Hain family was actively involved in the community, and members made many valuable contributions to the development of the area. In 1889, for

and M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

5. Anita Mason, research historian for the Monterey County Historical Society, unpublished notes.

6. These simple improvements were apparently made by county officials sometime around 1920, when they were trying to promote tourism to the new monument—indirect reference was made to them when the first custodian, Herman Hermansen, was trying to attract county support for the first road up Bear Gulch ten years later. Herman Hermansen moved the original wooden picnic tables to Bear Gulch in 1923 after Henry Melville fenced the Balconies Campground off behind his eastern property boundary. See, Herman Hermansen to Director, June 17, 1923; and Hermansen to Arno Cammerer, January 28, 1924, Pinnacles Collection, RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, MD [NARA II].



Figure 1. Bacon boys posed in front of the Bear Gulch Caves in 1888. Seated in the middle of the group is Ben Bacon. To his right is Ben's cousin Devere Bacon, and to his left are his brothers Horace and Oliver. [Photo courtesy of Deborah Melendy Norman.]

example, John Hain organized a petition to have a county road established. At that time, Bear Valley was only a detour off the main stage road, which lay further east along the San Benito River. Travelers passing through Bear Valley itself had to follow private lanes and open as many as sixteen gates, one at the boundary of each new ranch. By 1890, John Hain had succeeded in getting an easement forty-five feet in width for the length of the valley. The new road was also straightened and built closer to the valley floor rather than skirting the foot of the hills. It did not replace the original stage road along the San Benito River, which remained the principal highway through the South County until much later, but it was the first public road to serve Bear Valley, and it brought travelers relatively close to the eastern entrance of the future monument. Several years later, the Hains would also be instrumental in getting the first Bear Valley post office established. It was operated by Schuyler Hain out of the back of his brother Arthur's house and named Cook P.O. after Schuyler's wife.⁷ Schuyler Hain became acquainted

7. Stanley F. Schmidt, "The Horace G. Bacon Family," 1995; Edith Bacon Schmidt, "The History of Bear Valley and Residents," 1963; *Abstracts*, Fidelity Title Insurance Co., Hollister, CA.

with the Pinnacles soon after arriving in California through the Bacon brothers—Horace, Ben, and Oliver. Horace Bacon, the local schoolteacher, was Schuyler’s immediate neighbor and close friend. The two were nearly the same age, and both were also recently married. It was through Horace that Schuyler got to know Ben and Oliver Bacon, who still lived on the family home ranch at the southern end of Bear Valley next to the Pinnacles. These young men would act as guides for the occasional visitors who came to see the unusual formations, and Schuyler began joining them. He eventually got to know the place as well as they did.⁸

At first, neither Schuyler Hain nor the Bacon brothers considered the Pinnacles more than a local curiosity. Bear Valley ranchers appreciated the beauty and novelty of the place, and were happy to show it off to any visitor who happened by, but they did not think it would ever attract more than passing notice from the outside world. This opinion began to change, however, in the spring of 1892, when a reporter from Hollister’s principal newspaper traveled to the South County specifically to visit the Pinnacles, about which he had heard rumors. His article gave a glowing account of the natural spectacle and attracted the attention of other residents of Hollister, who decided to plan a large picnic for later that summer. A number of prominent businessmen and county leaders came down for that event and were joined by an even greater number of South County ranchers. This was the first time that the Pinnacles had ever received widespread attention from outside the immediate community. It was an impressive affair and got people thinking, but nobody was inclined to do anything more than that just yet.⁹

Then in 1893, a cousin of Schuyler Hain who was attending school at Leland Stanford, Jr. College—later to become Stanford University—invited his professor, Dr. Gilbert, to stay with him in Bear Valley over the Easter holiday and visit the Pinnacles. The exuberance of this erudite and well-traveled man surprised everyone. Schuyler recalled him saying, “I have travelled in South America and Alaska, visited Yosemite and climbed the Matterhorn. But for the variety of scenery and beauty of coloring I have never seen the equal to this on the same area.” Schuyler later acknowledged that this event was the turning point in his own relationship to the Pinnacles, and he began to consider the place something more than just a local curiosity. He realized now that the Pinnacles were unusual enough to draw people from outside South County, and he speculated that this might benefit the local economy. Over the next few years, Hain began to actively promote the Pinnacles and conceived the idea of having it designated a public or even national park. This would help draw attention to the place and attract more people, but it would also preserve the Pinnacles against private exploitation. Hain had little success in these efforts at first, until he managed to interest his congressman, U.S. Representative James C. Needham, sometime around 1902. After visiting the Pinnacles himself, Needham also became convinced that the place was worth protecting as a scenic park and advised Hain on how to proceed. Hain never revealed exactly what advice Needham gave him, but it may have included seeking a well-connected patron to support his idea. At any rate, that is what he eventually did.¹⁰

8. Debbie Melendy Norman, “The Hain Family of Bear Valley,” 2005.

9. Hollister *Evening Free Lance*, April 1, 1892; Reta Oberg, *The Administrative History of Pinnacles National Monument* (Paicines, CA: Pinnacles National Monument, 1979): 77–79.

10. Schuyler Hain, “Historical Sketch of Pinnacles National Monument,” n.d., Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 20, Pinnacles National Monument, Paicines, CA. The cousin who studied with Dr. Gilbert was a young man named A.W. White.



Figure 2. Bacon family members and other local homesteaders picknicking on the east side of the Pinnacles, ca. 1890. Pinnacles was a popular attraction among local residents even before the monument was established. [Photo courtesy of Deborah Melendy Norman.]

THE CAMPAIGN FOR A PUBLIC PARK

Schuyler Hain quickly developed a broad and well-organized base of support for his idea. Sometime between 1902 and 1903, he attended a meeting of the Central Coast Counties Association in Hollister. This booster organization included representatives from Santa Clara, San Mateo, Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, and San Benito counties. At the Hollister meeting, Hain described his proposal for a Pinnacles National Park and proposed that the association help introduce a bill in the state legislature to petition the federal government to have it established. Hain got the endorsement of the county leaders, and with Representative Needham's assistance, the bill was eventually submitted. A joint resolution of the state assembly formally endorsing the idea of a Pinnacles National Park passed on February 11, 1905.¹¹

Even as Hain was promoting this idea among local politicians, he was also seeking the support of individuals with national influence. In January of 1903, Hain wrote a letter to David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, inviting him to visit the Pinnacles and endorse his proposal if it met with his approval. Jordan was a highly respected scholar and university administrator and had many influential friends in Washington DC, including President

11. Hain, *Historical Sketch*. It was at this same meeting that Hain met an amateur historian and executive from the Southern Pacific Railroad Company named Paul Shoup. Shoup had become intrigued with an account in the English explorer George Vancouver's journals describing an unusual, castle-like mountain, which he had visited while his ship was stopped over in Monterey during the winter of 1794. Shoup was convinced this mountain was the Pinnacles, and Hain was only too happy to agree with him. This association with the famous English captain lent further romance to the Pinnacles and helped Hain's promotional efforts. For many years after, the association between the Pinnacles and George Vancouver was taken for granted, and the name "Vancouver's Pinnacles" was frequently used. Only in 1955 did a more careful observer draw attention to inconsistencies in the attribution and demonstrate that Vancouver had been describing a different place altogether. The captain's name was subsequently struck from all future references to the Pinnacles.

Theodore Roosevelt. Even without such important connections, Jordan's position as president of the prestigious university would have given his recommendations weight. Hain already had an introduction to President Jordan through Dr. Gilbert, who had been Hain's guest at the Pinnacles ten years earlier. He reminded President Jordan of this connection and asked him to consult Professor Gilbert for his opinion both of himself and of the Pinnacles but hoped he would come see the place for himself.¹²

Jordan delayed for nearly a year and then finally offered to send Professor William Russell Dudley in his place. This was a fortuitous decision. Dudley was head of systematic botany at Stanford, a position he had occupied since 1892, when Jordan had recruited him. The two men were old friends and professional colleagues. They had roomed together back at Cornell in the early 1870s when Dudley had been one of Jordan's students. Dudley replaced Jordan as professor of botany when Jordan left Cornell in 1872, but the men had remained close over the years. If Schuyler Hain was disappointed when Jordan failed to visit, he might have taken heart knowing that Jordan was sending one of his most trusted professors and closest friends.¹³

Dudley was an appropriate candidate to investigate the Pinnacles for other reasons as well. He was especially interested in native California flora, which at that time was still far from adequately catalogued. The diversity of plant life around the Pinnacles would have appealed strongly to him, perhaps even more than its spectacular geology. Dudley was also an ardent preservationist and was active in efforts to save California's coastal redwoods from logging, and he was a member of the Sierra Club, which was founded the same year he arrived in California. If the Pinnacles was to be preserved as a park or reservation on the basis of its natural and scientific resources, few people were better qualified to promote this idea than William Russell Dudley.

Professor Dudley was indeed impressed by his visit to the Pinnacles. Shortly after returning, he wrote to Representative Needham—using President Jordan's signature by permission—and presented Schuyler Hain's request to have the Pinnacles and surrounding area withdrawn from entry. This was a necessary first step that would prevent any of the land from being transferred into private hands before a national park or reservation could be established.¹⁴ Rather than describe the Pinnacles in his own words, Dudley included a copy of the account written by George Vancouver more than a century earlier—rather ironically, given that Vancouver was describing a different place altogether, but this was not known at the time.¹⁵ Dudley also included photographs supplied by Hain.

Shortly after hearing the favorable report of his friend, President Jordan began planning a visit of his own. On May 7, 1904, he arrived in Bear Valley with his wife and another member of the Stanford faculty. The 7th was a Saturday, and the group stayed the entire weekend with

12. Reta Oberg noted that Hain had already met President Jordan once before, in January of 1902, when Jordan had given a public lecture in Hollister. Hain had introduced himself at that event and asked Jordan for his support, but Jordan had been too busy to do anything then. Nevertheless, the experience appears to have left Hain with a favorable impression of the man and emboldened him to pursue the matter. [Oberg, *Administrative History*]

13. Sara Timby, "The Dudley Herbarium" *Sandstone & Tile* 22.4 (Fall, 1998): 3–15; David Starr Jordan, "William Russell Dudley" *Science* 34.866 (August 4, 1911): 142–145.

14. The GLO had been in the practice since the 1890s of withdrawing from entry lands that it felt merited special attention and should not be developed. Prior to 1906, it could make "temporary withdrawals." The Antiquities Act allowed these withdrawals to become permanent. See Hal Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994).

15. Dudley [under Jordan's signature] to Needham, April 23, 1904, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13.

the Hains. Schuyler guided them through the caves and rock formations and showed President Jordan specimens of fossilized fish, a special interest of his. By the time Jordan returned to Stanford, Representative Needham had already acted on Dudley's request to contact the General Land Office and have the Pinnacles withdrawn from entry. Jordan wrote to Hain the following week, informing him of this fact and reassuring him that the place was now safe from private interest and would soon receive permanent protection.¹⁶

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PINNACLES FOREST RESERVE (1906)

About the same time, Representative Needham contacted Gifford Pinchot, chief forester and head of the U.S. Forest Service (then the Bureau of Forestry).¹⁷ He conveyed to Pinchot Hain's petition for the establishment of a national park. Since there was no Park Service yet, some confusion existed as to which government agency was most appropriate to administer such a park. At that time, the Army managed the largest parks—Yellowstone, Yosemite, and Sequoia. But the Army was not interested in expanding its role in park management. The Forest Service was the only alternative, so the Pinnacles petition was referred to it. This was a little ironic, given the near absence of trees at the Pinnacles, but was not entirely inappropriate, since the Forest Service was charged with protecting any commercially important watershed by managing the vegetation on it. This could include brush land as well as forest, so the chaparral-covered Gabilans were not necessarily inconsistent with the Forest Service mission.¹⁸ The greater problem was that Chalone Creek did not represent an important watershed. As several Forest Service inspectors noted, much of the creek flows only seasonally. By 1910, the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture—the two landowning departments of the federal government—had agreed that brush land which was not needed for the protection of important watersheds should not be retained in national forests. Prior to this agreement, however, brush land remained an ambiguous area in federal land management, and Pinchot took advantage of this ambiguity when he agreed to consider establishing a forest reserve at the Pinnacles.¹⁹

A member of Pinchot's staff had already made an inspection of the Pinnacles some time before Congressman Needham's request and had reported favorably on its value.²⁰ Pinchot's chief concern was the approach that Hain and his associates were taking. They were arguing that the value of the Pinnacles lay in its scenery, which was understandable, since they were hoping to establish it as a park "for the enjoyment of the people, free from private ownership or

16. Jordan to Hain, May 23, 1904, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13.

17. The Bureau of Forestry was established within the Department of Agriculture in 1901. It replaced the Division of Forestry, which dated back to 1881. The president was first authorized to establish forest reserves in 1891, but no provision was made for their administration until 1897, when the Pettigrew Amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriations Act was passed. This, however, placed the forest reserves within the responsibility of the Department of the Interior rather than the Division of Forestry (later the Bureau of Forestry) in the Department of Agriculture. The reserves were finally transferred to the Department of Agriculture in 1905, at which point the Bureau of Forestry became the U.S. Forest Service. On the history of the forest reserves and the Forest Service, see Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004 [originally published in 1974]).

18. The only tree that grows with any frequency in the Pinnacles is the gray pine (*Pinus sabiniana*), but its occurrence is so sporadic that it hardly constitutes a forest.

19. F.E. Olmsted to Jordan, July 13, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, Pinnacles National Monument, Paicines, CA [PNW].

20. Gifford Pinchot to Jordan, February 9, 1905, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

exploitation.”²¹ But the Forest Service was not interested in managing scenic parks. Its mission was devoted to the efficient exploitation of natural resources, not tourism. If Pinchot was going to go out on a limb to protect Pinnacles, he needed a stronger justification, and he needed someone with more authority than Hain to stand behind it. He therefore wrote to President Jordan, about whose involvement he had already learned from Representative Needham:

An agent of the Bureau [of Forestry] examined the tract last October, and reports that it should be permanently reserved, but that its picturesque qualities alone would not warrant the Government in spending money to protect and administer it. It is of scientific interest, however, as well, and it has occurred to me that you would best be able to judge of its value to geological science, and that if, in your opinion, the Government would be justified in spending money on the protection and administration of it, from this point of view, you would be willing to go on record as recommending it.²²

As this letter suggests, Pinchot was also worried about committing money for a reservation that appeared to have no commercial value, at least not from a Forest Service perspective. Since 1897, the Bureau of Forestry had been required to actively manage every reservation it established. This stipulation made the Bureau hesitant to establish new reserves, since it had only limited funds to carry out its responsibility.

Jordan wrote back promptly, but his response was disappointing. While he endorsed Hain’s proposal for a national park, he seemed to agree with Pinchot’s suspicion that the Pinnacles did not warrant any substantial government expenditure. “Referring to the Pinnacles of San Benito County,” he wrote, “permit me to say that the tract of land has no value for other than scenic purposes; that it contains a great many very striking things, although none of it ranks with the scenery of the high Sierras.”²³ Nonetheless, Jordan went on to say that the Pinnacles possessed a variety of rare plants which might be endangered by private ownership or the intrusion of livestock. (These comments may have reflected the opinion of Professor Dudley.) As far as the scenery went, Jordan did not believe it could be damaged by being left open to private interests, since the scenery consisted primarily of rock, but he did acknowledge that the public might be shut out and prevented from enjoying the Pinnacles if the place was not given federal protection. Given this lukewarm endorsement, it is surprising that Pinchot did finally approve the establishment of a federal reserve here, but it does explain why he would always remain ambivalent about the Pinnacles and seek to end the Forest Service’s involvement as soon as other protection became available.

On July 18, 1906, the Pinnacles Forest Reserve was established under the terms of the 1891 General Revision Act.²⁴ It comprised approximately twelve thousand acres of the central Gabilan Range, completely encompassing the Pinnacles geologic formation. The Pinnacles Forest Reserve was a noncontiguous addition to the Monterey Forest Reserve, which had been

21. From Professor Dudley’s recounting of Hain’s petition, in Dudley [under Jordan’s signature] to Needham, April 23, 1904, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

22. Pinchot to Jordan, February 9, 1905, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

23. Jordan to Pinchot, February 22, 1905, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

24. This law allowed the president to withdraw land from entry in order to protect forest resources. It was first proposed in 1889 by the American Forestry Association and represented an important early step in the development of forest conservation practices. Almost forty million acres of forest reserves were quickly created over the next six years, eliciting an angry response from western politicians, who passed legislation in 1897 making the federal government responsible for managing the reserves. This meant that the reserves now required a budget and slowed the creation of new ones. See, Rothman, *America’s National Monuments*, 10; Steen, *U.S. Forest Service*, 26ff.

created less than a month earlier on June 25th. The latter was a much larger unit comprising almost the entire Santa Lucia Range of the coastal mountains from Big Sur to a point just south of Cape San Martin.²⁵ This later became part of Los Padres National Forest.

THE ANTIQUITIES ACT OF 1906

Almost at the same time as the establishment of the Monterey Forest Reserve, the Antiquities Act was passed by Congress on June 8, 1906. This long-anticipated legislation gave the president the authority to reserve tracts of federal land as national monuments by a simple proclamation. The same authority had been granted with the General Revision Act to create forest reserves, but forest reserves were not parks. They were designed to support the managed exploitation of natural resources—primarily timber—not to exclude exploitation. National monuments, on the other hand, were meant to preserve the resources for which they had been established by preventing any use that might impair them.

The original intent of the Antiquities Act was the protection of archeological resources. It had been promoted by scholars working in the American Southwest who wanted to protect potentially important sites from the depredations of amateur pothunters. By the time the legislation was passed, however, it had been modified to include not only antiquities but objects of scientific or historic interest as well. This language was sufficiently vague that it could be applied to almost anything, including objects whose principal value was scenic, since most scenery possesses distinctive natural characteristics of some sort or another, making it attractive to the scientist as well as the sightseer.²⁶ This ambiguity in the language of the Antiquities Act would be used to create many essentially scenic parks when it was thought expedient to circumvent the full Congressional process, either because of an imminent threat that necessitated prompt action (as at Muir Woods or the Grand Canyon), or because the scenic resource was not sufficiently noteworthy to be assured Congressional approval as a national park (as at Pinnacles).²⁷

As the implications of the Antiquities Act became clear, Gifford Pinchot must have realized that this legislation provided a more appropriate mechanism for protecting the Pinnacles. Reflecting on this a few years later, one of Pinchot's staff explained how the Forest Service understood the matter:

The Pinnacles Forest was created before the act authorizing the creation of national monuments. The arguments advanced for the creation of the forest were almost entirely such as would now be used to justify the creation of a national monument, viz, the necessity for protecting the national features included within the area now under withdrawal known as the Pinnacles.²⁸

As far as the Forest Service was concerned, once the Antiquities Act was passed, the Pinnacles Forest Reserve became an anachronism. Pinchot believed it should be converted to a monument as soon as possible.

25. Proclamations, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 24, PNM.

26. The first national monument to be established under the Antiquities Act, for instance, was Devil's Tower in Wyoming. Few people doubted that this spectacular formation was preserved primarily because of its dramatic appearance, though the proclamation that enabled it cited scientific value as the formal justification for the monument's creation.

27. Rothman, *America's National Monuments*, p. 34–49.

28. Clyde Leavitt, assistant forester, to F.E. Olmsted, Jul. 20, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 26, PNM.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PINNACLES NATIONAL MONUMENT (1908)

The following summer, Forest Inspector George W. Peavy was sent to the Pinnacles to judge the advisability of establishing a national monument here. In his report—dated September 9, 1907—Peavy described in some detail the principal geologic features of the reserve, purposely emphasizing their scenic rather than scientific value.²⁹ He also acknowledged that the distinctive beauty of the place justified its preservation but noted that the Pinnacles did not possess the high qualities of a national park:

If the objects described in this report were located in Yellowstone National Park they would excite but little comment, but by virtue of their position, remote from other natural objects of interest, they are peculiarly striking and should be preserved from private control, for the benefit of the people.³⁰

Peavy concluded that a national monument was the most appropriate designation for the Pinnacles. As his assessment suggests, national monuments had already come to be seen as a kind of second-tier park system, where the resources were “peculiarly striking” but did not compare with the truly spectacular wonders of a Yellowstone or Yosemite.³¹

The Forest Service also had a practical interest in wanting to see the Pinnacles converted from a forest reserve to a national monument. Although the Forest Service would remain the agency responsible for the monument, it would no longer have to spend any substantial amount of money on its administration or management. The General Revision Act (as amended in 1897) required the Forest Service to obligate money for the management of forest reserves, but the Antiquities Act included no such stipulation, so monuments represented much less of a financial burden for the agency than forests. Peavy’s report confirmed these fiscal motivations. Because of the remoteness of the location and the durability of its principal resource—rocks—Peavy believed there would

. . . be but little expense connected with the preservation of the Monument. The area should be properly posted with the notices usually displayed in National Parks. Aside from an occasional visit from some government official, to let it be known that the area is under supervision no other control will be needed.³²

If the Pinnacles remained a forest reserve, however, the Forest Service would have no choice but to invest additional funds for its operations and management.

On January 16, 1908, Pinnacles National Monument was established by proclamation of President Theodore Roosevelt. It comprised approximately 2,080 acres and lay in the midst of the still extant Pinnacles Forest Reserve. The monument was supposed to contain all of the most interesting geologic and scenic features of the original reserve—the caves and spires of the Pinnacles themselves. In fact, it was later discovered that the boundaries drawn up in 1908 excluded significant portions of these features. Much of Bear Gulch, for instance, was not included. But as long as the Pinnacles Forest Reserve remained intact, all of the Pinnacles and

29. George W. Peavy, Forest Inspector, “A Favorable Report on the Creation of a National Monument on the Site of the Pinnacles Rocks, California,” September 9, 1907, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

30. Peavy, “A Favorable Report.”

31. The notion that monuments were “second-class sites” is discussed at length by Rothman in *America’s National Monuments*, p. 89ff.

32. Peavy, “A Favorable Report.”

much of the surrounding area received some amount of federal protection, but this was not to continue. As soon as the Pinnacles National Monument was established, Gifford Pinchot immediately began to take steps to eliminate the Pinnacles Forest Reserve, which he now considered unnecessary and had always believed to be inappropriate.

Pinchot made no secret of his intentions, openly informing Representative Needham, who in turn communicated Pinchot's plans to all concerned in California, including President Jordan and Schuyler Hain. Hain was probably the only one of these men who understood the inadequacy of the existing monument's boundaries, and he was deeply alarmed. He wrote immediately to the Forest Service protesting the proposed abandonment of the reserve. But Hain also took measures to prepare for the worst. He successfully petitioned the state legislature to have hunting prohibited within the area comprising the still-extant reserve. This protection was in place by the following year.³³ (Hain thought this action would reduce the number of fires as well as protecting wildlife, since he believed that many of the fires in the region were set by hunters.³⁴)

THE ELIMINATION OF THE PINNACLES FOREST RESERVE (1910)

Despite Pinchot's impatience, little happened to affect the status of the Pinnacles Forest Reserve for more than a year. Then in the fall of 1909, Forest Supervisor Raymond Tyler visited the reserve to assess its value. His report was submitted to District Forester F.E. Olmsted in San Francisco on October 22nd and strongly urged its elimination from the Monterey National Forest. As Tyler noted:

Climate, soil, lack of rainfall, elevation and other factors prohibit successful establishment of a forest of commercial timber. The same factors in the occurrence of dense brush and bare exposures of rock limit the possible extension of grazing ranges. Take it all in all, I am convinced that the Pinnacles region is not a proposition for the Forest Service to administer.³⁵

Tyler's report eventually became the principal evidence used to justify dissolving the forest reserve. The matter was taken up by the district office in San Francisco, which was responsible for the region in which the Pinnacles lay.

F.E. Olmsted, head of the district office, had already indicated to Washington that he was in favor of elimination. But Olmsted wrote to both Jordan and Hain summarizing Tyler's report and asking for their opinions.³⁶ Hain responded directly to each of the arguments in Olmsted's letter, but above all he emphasized the inadequacy of the existing monument to fully protect the resources of the Pinnacles themselves. The 2,080 acres that comprised the original monument, he explained, did not encompass all of the "rock scenery." If the forest reserve were eliminated, much of this scenery would be left without any protection at all. Furthermore, the hunting restrictions that Hain had successfully implemented two years earlier would also be

33. From Hain's recollection of events, in Hain to Stephen Mather, October 25, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

34. Hain to F.E. Olmsted, July 26, 1910, PINN Coll., Entry 6, RG 79, Box 336, NARA II.

35. F.E. Olmsted to Jordan, Jul. 13, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

36. *Ibid.* Schuyler Hain was sent a copy of the same letter. Tyler had already written to Hain a few months previously, and Hain was already aware of his views.

lost, since they were legislatively linked to the existence of the forest reserve itself.³⁷ Hain tried to counter the Forest Service's principal objection—that the Pinnacles were not a legitimate forest reserve—by exaggerating the commercial importance of Chalone Creek for agriculture in the Salinas Valley. Hain correctly understood that the Forest Service could legally manage the brush land of the Pinnacles as a forest reserve in order to protect an economically valuable watershed. But Chalone Creek was only a minor tributary of the Salinas River, and only its upper reaches lay within the Pinnacles. As the district foresters already knew, this part of Chalone Creek is dry much of the year.³⁸

In the end, the district office simply ignored Hain's objections. In a prompt reply to Olmsted's letter, the Forest Service reiterated its original position:

Since the preservation of the natural wonders is secured by the existence of the pinnacles national monument withdrawal, the administration of the area as a part of the national forest cannot be said to be necessary on that account. The pinnacles national monument would still continue under the administration of the Department of the Interior and possession and exploitation by private interests would not be possible.³⁹

President Jordan agreed with the Forest Service's position. He was on his way to Europe when Olmsted's letter arrived at Stanford, but the academic secretary managed to get in touch with him while he waited in New York City for his ship's departure. When the secretary conveyed the substance of Olmsted's query, Jordan responded curtly: "The Pinnacles have scenic value alone and no forests. Perhaps the Bureau ought to cut them out."⁴⁰ In a separate letter written shortly after to Olmsted, Jordan explained more carefully:

There is no timber, no water, at the pinnacles. The natural features can not be changed. There are some rare flowers that sheep would eat, and private ownership might shut out the public. But these are all matters of secondary moment, and I should be content to see the Forestry Bureau carry out its general policy, whatever it may be, in regard to such cases.⁴¹

This was consistent with the view Jordan had always held.⁴² Jordan was not opposed to the preservation of the Pinnacles; he simply believed that its scenery was more appropriately protected as a national monument. Like the Forest Service, Jordan ignored Hain's warning that the existing monument was too small and did not afford adequate protection.

District Forester Olmsted also was convinced that the reserve should be eliminated. In early August 1910, he gathered together all of this correspondence and sent it back to Washington with his recommendations.⁴³ Within a week, the Washington office of the Forest Service signaled its agreement with Olmsted, and on December 12, 1910, the boundaries of the Monterey National Forest were changed by presidential proclamation to exclude the

37. The only record of this game restriction is Hain's own recollection from many years later. See Hain to Stephen Mather, October 25, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

38. Raymond Tyler to Hain, February 28, 1910; and Hain to F.E. Olmsted, July 26, 1910, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

39. Roy Headley, acting district forester, to Hain, July 28, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 26, PNM.

40. W.A. Clark, academic secretary at Stanford University, to Olmsted, July 26, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

41. Jordan to Olmsted, July 21, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13.

42. See, for example, Jordan to Pinchot, February 22, 1905, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.

43. Olmsted to the Forester, August 13, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 26, PNM.

Pinnacles.⁴⁴ The forest reserve lands that had once surrounded the monument now reverted to the public domain under the jurisdiction of the General Land Office, which now took over the administration of Pinnacles National Monument.⁴⁵ Since the General Land Office was in the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture was able to relinquish all responsibility for the Pinnacles and ceased to be actively associated with the monument or the surrounding area from this date forward.

Schuyler Hain responded to this development by trying to restore some of the protection that had been lost with the elimination of the forest reserve. He hoped at least to have hunting prohibited from the adjacent areas. Turning to the state as his next best recourse, he succeeded in having a state game preserve established within a few years comprising roughly the same area as the old forest reserve.⁴⁶

THE WEST SIDE ROAD (1910)

Imperfect as it was, Pinnacles National Monument was finally established, and those who hoped to benefit from the attraction now began seeking ways to develop it. The most important problem for many was to improve the roads into the new monument so that tourists would have an easier time reaching it, especially auto tourists. By 1909, automobiles were already becoming a popular means of touring for the wealthy, and within another five years Henry Ford would make them widely available to all classes. During the same period, a national “good roads” campaign was undertaken, at least in part due to enthusiasm for the new technology. Major road improvement projects were started in California as early as 1910.⁴⁷

That same year, the first improved road was constructed to Pinnacles from Soledad on the west side. A rudimentary wagon road had been in existence here since the early 1870s, built by a group of miners who settled in the vicinity of Miner’s Gulch a few miles west of the Pinnacles. This early road was too steep for automobiles and followed a difficult, circuitous route up Shirttail Gulch to its destination. It was extended all the way to the present Chaparral day-use area at the western foot of the Pinnacles by one of the miners, Henry Melville, who had staked several mineral claims here. Melville maintained this road even after the original mining camp was abandoned in 1877 in order to reach his own mines. It appears on the earliest land survey of the area made in 1882 and follows nearly the same route as the present Highway 146 (the west side entrance road).⁴⁸

Toward the end of 1909, a group of Soledad businessmen organized to form the Soledad Improvement Association for the purpose of promoting development beneficial to their

44. A.F. Potter to Olmsted, August 24, 1910; and Secretary of Agriculture to Secretary of Interior, December 16, 1910, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 26, PNM.

45. A.F. Potter, associate forester, to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, February 18, 1911, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 26, PNM.

46. Hain to Stephen Mather, October 25, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

47. Charles L. Dearing and Adah L. Lee, “The Good Roads Movement,” in Charles L. Dearing, *American Highway Policy* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1941), pp. 219–265; Scott L. Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 57–58; “They Eat Dinner in Shirt-Sleeves,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 18, 1911, p. VIII.1.

48. Charles Herrmann, “Map of Township No. 17 South of Range No. 7 East of Mount Diablo Meridian, California,” U.S. Surveyor General’s Office, San Francisco, CA, 1882 [Bureau of Land Management, California State Office, Sacramento, CA].

interests.⁴⁹ One of the first projects they discussed was the construction of an improved road to replace the old miners' road up Shirrtail Gulch. This proposal was only partly stimulated by the recent creation of the Pinnacles National Monument; it would also benefit ranchers in the Palisades District, that section of mountainous country between Soledad and the Pinnacles which had been settled by a handful of bold (or desperate) homesteaders beginning in the 1870s. One of these homesteaders was Harrison Lyons, whose family ranch site is now part of the national monument. Lyons was a member of the California Promotion Committee (CPC), a statewide organization that had been established in 1902 to promote development throughout California. He strongly supported the proposal of the Soledad Improvement Association, because he knew that a better road to the Palisades District would greatly improve the productivity of the ranches in this area—including his own—by providing a more efficient means of getting their products to market and needed supplies back to the ranch.

Lyons' connections through the CPC helped the Soledad businessmen broaden their base of support for the proposed road. By early 1910, they had the endorsement not only of local business interests but also the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, the California State Automobile Association, the Automobile Dealers Association of San Francisco, the Sierra Club, and the Camera Club.⁵⁰ This list represented all of the major tourism advocates in that part of the state at that time. Although the CPC and the Soledad Improvement Association were probably thinking primarily of improving the economic situation of the local Palisades District ranchers, the rest of their supporters were thinking of the tourism opportunities presented by the recently created national monument. The substantial number of automobile-oriented organizations further supports the importance of an improved road for auto-related tourism. The miner Henry Melville was also an active supporter of the road project, perhaps thinking of the lucrative possibilities suggested by an increase in tourism to a place where he already controlled access. By November of 1909, Henry Melville and one of his sons were guiding tourists through the Old Pinnacles and speaking enthusiastically about the proposed road.⁵¹

By March of 1910, Soledad had obtained the money needed to build the new road. In early April a contract was let to local rancher Bey Westcott at \$2,500 to construct a ten-foot-wide grade from Soledad up Stonewall Canyon and then through Lopez Canyon to the Monterey County line. Westcott had completed this job by the beginning of July. His road, which was simply graded dirt, terminated at a point known as "The Chimneys." From there, an additional two miles would be needed to reach the western side of the Pinnacles, but this distance lay across San Benito County, and Soledad did not have the authority to continue the project. For the time being, the improved road simply stopped here, although Henry Melville would later develop the remaining distance to encourage tourists to visit his property at the north end of the monument.⁵²

By 1912, frequent articles and announcements began appearing in the local Soledad newspaper describing weekend picnics at the Pinnacles. Presumably, this was a reflection of the influence of the new road on local leisure habits, but it also reflected the growing popularity of the automobile, which made such excursions possible.⁵³ A few years later, Leo J. Foley, a timber cruiser for the General Land Office, visited Pinnacles to prepare an annual report on conditions

49. *Soledad Bee*, December 10, 1909.

50. *Soledad Bee*, January 21, 1910.

51. *Soledad Bee*, November 26, 1909.

52. *Soledad Bee*, April 8 and July 8, 1910.

53. *Soledad Bee*, various numbers, 1912.



Figure 3. View of Pinnacles from the west side in 1911 showing homestead of Harrison Lyons. [Photo included in report of A.J. Potter to Commissioner of GLO, February 18, 1911, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]

there. Unlike most GLO inspectors, Foley came to the west rather than the east side and spoke with local residents and businessmen around Soledad. One of these, a homesteader named C.W. Bates who owned a ranch along the new Soledad Road about three miles west of the monument, told Foley that he estimated approximately three hundred tourists visited the Pinnacles from that side every year. This contrasted sharply with nearly a thousand annual visitors estimated for the east side over the same year, but this was still a dramatic increase from only a few years earlier, when practically no tourists visited the west side.⁵⁴

EAST SIDE ROAD DEVELOPMENT

By 1912, San Benito County had decided that it, too, wanted to improve access to the Pinnacles in order to enhance tourism (which was already becoming a significant business). That year, Schuyler Hain's younger brother Arthur was elected to the San Benito County Board of Supervisors.⁵⁵ He used this position to promote the Pinnacles, and at his instigation a committee was formed to investigate building a new entrance road. Members of the committee visited the Pinnacles in 1913 and tentatively selected an alignment for the proposed road. They considered two alternatives. The first left the main county road at Nelson Page's ranch and continued through George Butterfield's and Ben Bacon's ranches along the southeast side of Sandy Creek. The second alternative left the county road at J.T. Prewett's ranch and followed the route of an old Spanish trail, over the ridge by Vasquez Cave, and down Merrin Canyon to Chalone Creek just north of Willow Spring.⁵⁶ Both routes were in use at that time, but neither

54. Leo J. Foley to Commissioner of GLO, August 10, 1914, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II. Now that the GLO administered Pinnacles, this agency was required to submit an annual report on the monument. This responsibility would continue until 1916, when the newly formed National Park Service took over the management of Pinnacles.

55. Oberg, *Administrative History*, p. 120ff.

56. The surveyors referred to the route as "the old Spanish trail," but it should not be confused with the more famous Old Spanish Trail between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Los Angeles, now a National Historic Trail. According to local ranchers, this route through Merrin Canyon had been passable for wagons up until 1911, when floodwaters



Figure 4. Looking up Bear Gulch from Sandy Creek in 1910, from the approximate location of present Peaks View Lookout. In foreground is the original road through the Bacon Ranch, which later became Hwy. 146. This is a rare view of Bear Gulch before any road has been cut into its side. [The Russell Bourke Album, Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

was reliable, and only the Sandy Creek route could be traveled by automobile and then only during the dry season.

Not surprisingly, the county surveyors chose the former route on Sandy Creek to be the new entrance road. It was the only route that was feasible for automobiles. The alignment they proposed, however, was not the same as the present entrance road (Highway 146), which lies on the northwest side of Sandy Creek. Their route ran along the toe of the hill on the southeast side of the valley through the old Butterfield Ranch. Parts of this road are still extant.

At the same time that the county was considering alternate routes for a new entrance to the Pinnacles, the idea of building a scenic highway entirely through the monument was broached for the first time when Congressman E.A. Hayes promised to obtain federal funding for such a project if the county were able to build its proposed entrance road up to the monument's eastern boundary. As bold and seemingly impractical as this proposal might seem, it would prove to be a very persistent idea and was considered seriously up until the early 1970s.

Despite the efforts of Arthur Hain's committee, little was done to implement its proposals. The real problem, at that time, was not access to the monument from Bear Valley but access to Bear Valley itself. The main road south from Hollister followed the San Benito River and never entered Bear Valley, which lay perched on a high plateau well above the river. To reach Bear Valley from the main road, one had to climb the Bear Valley Grade at Willow Creek or cross the hills above the town of San Benito. The latter had been the traditional route used by

cut deep channels through the canyon bottoms. [See correspondence and affidavits relating to Ray Hawkins, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 20, PNM.] This may have been one of the reasons the surveyors rejected the route in 1913, just two years later.

local residents since the 1860s, but the former was the most practical alignment for an auto road, despite the challenges of the grade itself. A precarious wagon track had climbed the grade as early as 1889, when John Hain established the first county road through Bear Valley. (A saddle trail had existed before that.)

Between 1912 and 1914, the San Benito supervisors committed themselves to improving roads throughout the county. Among their priorities was the main road through the South County (now Highway 25). This still circumvented Bear Valley, but in 1914 local ranchers also began improving the existing (1889) Bear Valley Road.⁵⁷ Although the result was poorly drained and remained nearly impassable during the winter months, it represented a vast improvement over its predecessor and greatly facilitated tourism to the area. It was now possible—if not actually convenient—to drive from the Southern Pacific railhead at Tres Pinos, six miles south of Hollister, to the east side of Pinnacles National Monument.

The success of these efforts was evidenced through a letter written by a wealthy tourist in 1915 to the Secretary of the Interior, describing his motor excursion into the monument earlier that year.⁵⁸ The author mentioned that the county road from Tres Pinos to Bear Valley had just been finished and that the entrance road to the monument, on which no formal work had yet been done, was nonetheless negotiable by automobile. The writer drove through the Bacon Ranch along Chalone Creek as far as the mouth of Bear Gulch, where he camped for the night.⁵⁹ The following morning, he continued up Chalone Creek another two-and-a-half miles—presumably on foot—on the remains of an old wagon road that was no longer possible to negotiate by automobile, owing to the depth of the sand deposited on it. At the end of this journey, the author found himself at the foot of the Old Pinnacles, which he believed to be the heart of the monument (though he must have seen the High Peaks from his evening campsite). The author of the letter wrote exuberantly about his experience but asked that the government develop the access road all the way to the center of the monument, so that he and other motor tourists might drive the entire distance. The government would eventually respond to this request, which was reiterated by numerous subsequent visitors, but the entrance road it finally developed would purposely avoid the Old Pinnacles at the head of Chalone Creek, for reasons that the letter writer of 1915 could not yet appreciate.

Having made these important improvements, the county now began trying to attract more visitors to the monument (hoping to increase local business). Early in 1915, the Chamber of Commerce prepared informational booklets to promote both the county and the national monument. These booklets were to be distributed at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which opened later that year in San Francisco.⁶⁰

Schuyler Hain was notably absent from these developments around Pinnacles during this period. This silence was the result of his move in 1914 from Bear Valley to Tres Pinos, where

57. Oberg, *Administrative History*, p. 124ff

58. Edward K. Taylor to Franklin Lane, Sec. of Interior, June 8, 1915, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 19.

59. “Since the completion of the San Benito roads, I last week motored over a splendid level road, then had about five miles of fair mountain road, to a camping site about two and a half miles from The Pinnacles. The road is so excellent that the entire distance can be negotiated at a thirty-mile clip, and I know of no wonderful mountain scenery so easy of access.” [Taylor to Lane, June 8, 1915, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 19, PNM.]

60. *Hollister Evening Free Lance*, March 9, 1915, in Oberg, *Administrative History*, 129. Since none of these booklets have been found, it is not certain whether they were actually printed.

he settled in to raise English walnuts.⁶¹ But by the middle of 1914, Hain had once more turned his attention to the monument. In a letter to GLO timber cruiser Leo Foley that year, Hain described how he had renewed his efforts to enlarge the monument and also noted that he had recently obtained an option at \$5,000 from Ben Bacon for approximately three hundred acres of land on Chalone Creek and the Chalone Bench at the southern end of Sandy Creek, where he proposed establishing a hotel and recreation grounds. Hain also hoped to purchase the Root homestead, which comprised much of the Balconies and had been put up for sale by the heirs of George Root after his death. Hain had recently obtained an option on this property.⁶²

All of Hain's efforts presumed a reciprocal response from the federal government. He expected the government to implement the enlargement he recommended—and even convert the monument to a national park—if he were to take care of the various local barriers; namely, acquiring the private property which was most vital to the integrity of the proposed park. But the GLO's inspector for that year, A.O. White, disagreed with Hain.⁶³ Inspector White seemed most concerned about the potential for fire at Pinnacles and the agency's responsibility were any conflagration to break out. This was a legitimate concern, given that no personnel were actually stationed at the monument, and brush fires are a serious threat in this country. During his brief visit, however, White observed that the vegetation was so short and widely dispersed that there was little risk of any such disaster occurring: "The few trees and the chemical brush which constitutes the forestry of the monument, are so scattered and the soil is so unproductive of grass that the fire risk is reduced to a minimum."⁶⁴ From this, he concluded that there was no reason to augment the management of Pinnacles, much less to increase its area (which would require a greater management commitment). In conclusion, he advised the government to ignore Schuyler Hain's proposal:

In view of the fact that if the area of the monument is enlarged as suggested [by Schuyler Hain], it would include about fourteen thousand acres of mountain brush land, and would necessitate the construction of several miles of road by the government, that under present conditions will have to be constructed by the local communities, and would increase the cost of administration of the monument later on, without adding anything to the attractive features of the monument, I do not consider the enlargement of the area of the monument advisable, from either an economical or practical point of view.⁶⁵

Inspector White's observation would prejudice federal administration of the monument for the next decade, though Schuyler Hain would struggle hard to refute it.

Almost in spite of the federal government's lack of interest, local rumors were circulating that the Pinnacles might become a national park.⁶⁶ This idea had received a substantial boost in 1916 with the creation of the National Park Service, but it had been around since at least the

61. Sadie Parker, interviewed by Ro Wauer, August 8, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11, PNM; and Ethel Hain Wilkinson, interviewed by Reta Oberg, May 4, 1977, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 18, f. 16, PNM. The gap in Hain's history is also due to a house fire, which destroyed all of his paper correspondence and personal records from before 1919. What remains is preserved only in the letters received by his correspondents and in the memoirs he recorded after that date. [Hain to Jordan, January 21, 1921, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 13, PNM.]

62. Foley to Commissioner of GLO, August 10, 1914, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II. Hain's letter was appended to Foley's report.

63. A.O. White to Commissioner GLO, August 5, 1915, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

66. *Hollister Morning Daily Advance*, September 17, 1920.

time of the county board of supervisor's visit in 1913. During that visit, many of the supervisors expressed a desire to see the monument expanded in size and converted to a national park. A few adjoining landowners had even offered to sell their property.⁶⁷ In September of 1920, the local Hollister newspaper reported that federal agents were visiting the monument in order to investigate this possibility. The agents referred to were National Park Service photographer Herbert W. Gleason and his wife. Schuyler Hain had originally hoped that Director Mather would make this visit, but Mather had been unable to do so and had sent the Gleasons in his place. They stayed with the Hains and were guided by Schuyler through the Pinnacles as they took photographs. The *Hollister Daily Advance* optimistically predicted, "If Mr. Gleason gives in a favorable report, it is the intention to see what can be done toward making the Pinnacles a National Park."⁶⁸ But it is questionable whether this was Mather's intention or simply Schuyler Hain's. Gleason never shared his conclusions directly with Hain, and when Hain finally received a copy of Gleason's report early in 1921, he discovered that Gleason had advised against trying to acquire the old forest reserve, since he believed that too much of this land was already in private hands.⁶⁹

Despite Gleason's conclusions, Hain remained undeterred in his efforts to enlarge the monument. His confidence was due at least partly to his belief that Gleason had been in error and that the majority of the reserve lands was still open or easily acquired. As Hain had indicated several years earlier in his response to GLO Inspector Foley, he intended to acquire some of this private land himself.⁷⁰ But Hain failed to purchase the piece of private land that was most crucial for the realization of his scheme. This was the quarter section that lay inside the monument boundaries, straddling the Old Pinnacles and the Balconies Caves. It had been patented by George W. Root in 1894 and was included as a legal inholding within the monument in 1908.⁷¹ Early in 1920, though Hain held a rival option on the parcel, it was purchased by the miner Henry Melville.⁷²

Later that year, Hain discovered what the consequences of Melville's purchase were to be. While guiding a group of about ninety hikers from the Sierra Club, he encountered a fence on Old Pinnacles Gorge, guarded by an unnamed person. A sign had also been erected, on which was written "50¢ Admission. Children under 12 not Included." Hain and his party refused to pay and passed through the barrier, arguing that they had a legal right to do so,

67. *Evening Free Lance*, November 3, 1913 in Oberg, *Administrative History*, pp. 121–122.

68. "Federal Agents Make Trip to Pinnacles to Get Data; May Become National Park," *Hollister Morning Daily Advance*, September 17, 1920.

69. Acting Director Cammerer sent Hain a copy of Gleason's report on January 29, 1921. The report itself has been lost, but Hain responded to each of Gleason's assertions in a letter to the Director of the Park Service, and the main points of the report can be inferred from this. [Hain to NPS Director, February 6, 1921, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11, PNM.]

70. Foley to Commissioner of GLO, August 10, 1914, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

71. George W. Root had filed a cash-entry claim on the land in 1892 and received patent on June 12, 1894. In 1893, Root sold all but a quarter interest in his parcel to three men, whom Hain identified as residents of San Francisco: Thomas LeHuguet, Harry D. Nienhaus, and George M. Lawton. Two years later, he sold the remaining quarter interest to these men. In 1904, Lawton sold his interest to W.C. Crowley, though Crowley sold his interest back to Lawton in 1909. I mention this last detail only because the gorge that runs north from Chalone Creek along the eastern foot of the Balconies is labeled Crowley Canyon on some maps, and this brief owner may be the source of that name. [*Abstracts*, Fidelity Title Insurance Co., Hollister, CA.]

72. Henry Melville purchased the land on January 5, 1920. [*Abstracts*, Fidelity Title Insurance Co., Hollister, CA.]

since the trail had been used for so long that it constituted a public highway. Hain describes some improvements that already existed here, including tables and benches, a cemented spring box, and firepits. These improvements lay at the eastern entrance of the Old Pinnacles Gorge and had been constructed by local ranchers. The road had obviously been improved to this point as well, since the picnic area included parking for autos. The picnic area lay just inside Melville's eastern fence line.⁷³

HENRY MELVILLE AND THE ROOTVILLE LEGACY

According to local records (which, for the most part, rely on Melville's own testimony), Henry F. Melville was born of English immigrant parents in 1849 in Hawkins Valley, Ohio. (Given his later troubles with a family by the same name, his place-of-birth was an ironic coincidence.) After traveling and prospecting around the world for several years, Henry Melville eventually came to California and settled in Soledad sometime shortly before 1870.⁷⁴ He filed two mineral claims on the west side of the Old Pinnacles that year—Melville Mines #1 and #2, both copper mines. Four years later, he also filed for two mill sites and two dump sites in the same section.⁷⁵ Melville is also reputed to have opened a hotel, which he operated for a number of years, and to have served as fire chief of Soledad for fourteen years.

Coming from a mining background, Henry Melville was undoubtedly drawn to Soledad by the promise of rich prospects. The mountains around Monterey were believed to contain gold, and rumors were then circulating about more than one "Lost Spanish Mine," reputedly worked by neophyte Indians for the Spanish soldiers who garrisoned the Alta California colony. In 1833, the Scottish botanist David Douglas had recorded finding flakes of gold among the roots of a redwood tree while on a scientific exploration of the Santa Lucia Mountains just south of Monterey.⁷⁶ Not long after the American conquest of California, entrepreneur Samuel Brannan—not to be confused with the more famous California Mormon of the same name—financed a gold mine in the Gabilan Mountains a little northeast of Soledad.⁷⁷ The Chelon Mining District was soon established here, at the center of which was the small town of Rootville, named after one of its pioneers, George W. Root. The town was situated not far from the present western boundary of the monument, probably at the head of aptly named Miner's Gulch, and was inhabited by approximately thirty residents at the peak of development.⁷⁸ Henry Melville was one of this group of early miners who prospected in the mountains around

73. Hain to Mather, October 25, 1920, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11, PNM.

74. "Obituary," *Salinas Index-Journal*, December 11, 1933; and Rolin G. Watkins and M.F. Hoyle, eds. *History of Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito Counties* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1925), pp. 376–377.

75. *Deed Books*, San Benito County Recorder's Office, Hollister, CA. The filings were located in the SE 1/4 of the SE 1/4 of Sec. 33, Township 16 South, Range 7 East.

76. Randall A. Reinstedt, *Monterey's Mother Lode* (Carmel, CA: Ghost Town Publications, 1977).

77. MaryEllen Ryan and Gary S. Breschini, *Overview of Post-Hispanic Monterey County History*, Monterey County Historical Society (<http://www.mchsmuseum.com/mcoverview.html>), 2000; from, G.S. Breschini, T. Haversat and R.P. Hampson, *A Cultural Resources Overview of the Coast and Coast-Valley Study Areas* (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 1983).

78. Ibid. See also, Luther L. Paulson, *Handbook and Directory of Santa Clara, San Benito, Santa Cruz, Monterey and San Mateo Counties.* (San Francisco: L.L. Paulson, 1875), which identifies the residents of Rootville and describes the town as a neighborhood of Soledad.

the little settlement. County records indicate that Melville's first mining claim dates back to 1870, although his first *recorded* claim dates to 1874.⁷⁹

It was at this time that George Root also staked a quarter-section homesteading claim in the middle of the Balconies just east of Rootville. He also claimed Willow Spring, for understandable reasons, since this was the most substantial and reliable source of water in the entire district. Although Root's Balconies claim was eventually patented, he never developed the site, nor is it clear how he would have developed it, given the rugged terrain of the area, which did not lend itself to homesteading. The Willow Spring claim was never patented and eventually expired.

By 1877, drought had forced the small group of miners to abandon Rootville. (Water was necessary not only for the miners' sustenance but to process the ore they excavated.) George W. Root and the other members of his family abandoned this part of California altogether (though one member of the family would stay and later establish the small town of Mulberry, a little north of Bear Valley).⁸⁰ But Henry Melville and another Rootville resident named Abraham Manchester went south to one of the most remote corners of Monterey County—and of California, for that matter—in the Santa Lucia Mountains just north of Cape San Martin. Here they joined a group of miners who had recently established the Los Burros Mining District.⁸¹ Manchester lent his name to the small town that eventually grew up at the center of this community (reputedly after a vicious fight in which Manchester, a blacksmith by trade, slew his assailant with a single blow of his well-muscled arm). Unlike the Chelon Mining District, Los Burros proved uncommonly rich in gold. Its chief liability was the ruggedness of its terrain and excessive distance from major transportation routes. These factors made the Los Burros gold too costly to mine on a large-scale basis, but a small number of very determined, independent miners proved capable of earning a meager living off the lode, and the district remained active well into the twentieth century. One of Henry Melville's sons, in fact, continued to live in Manchester and worked the family gold mine up until his death in 1996 at age 98.⁸²

Although Henry Melville devoted most of his attention to the more-lucrative Los Burros mines after 1877, he never quite forgot his Rootville claims and continued to believe that profitable quantities of mineral might be taken from the mines in this district. He realized by now, however, that the area around Rootville (Pinnacles) was not gold bearing, since its geology was unaccountably different from the surrounding region. But Melville had observed copper and

79. The Monterey County Historical Society has an original claim notice dated August 15, 1874, locating the Couret Ledge for the Couret Gold and Silver Mining Company. The claim lay in the Chelon Mining District, Monterey Co. and the claimants were H. Hart, H.F. Melville, G.W. Root, and F.F. Porter. The exact location of the ledge is not given.

80. According to Paulson, *Handbook and Directory*, the residents of Rootville were Henry Melville, George W. Root Jr., Jacob Roberts and his wife Ann, Spencer Root, and Abraham Manchester. Spencer and Ann were siblings, the children of George W. Root Sr. (and cousins of George W. Root Jr.).

81. The Los Burros Mining District was established on February 5, 1875, with H.C. Dodge chairman, A.C. Frazier secretary, and W.T. Cruikshank recorder of claims. Cruikshank would become one of the most renowned miners associated with the district. See, Sharron Lee Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday: The History of Carmel, Carmel Valley, Big Sur, Point Lobos, Carmelite Monastery, and Los Burros* (Santa Cruz, CA: Valley Publishers, 1980), p. 174.

82. This was Kenneth Melville, commonly known as "Blanco Diablo" (the White Devil). Henry Melville had fourteen children. Concerning Kenneth and his Los Burros endgame with the U.S. Forest Service, see, Anita Alan, "Blanco Diablo: Big Sur Miner" *Monterey County Magazine* 1.3 (Summer/Fall 2005): 10–12.



Figure 5. Photo of Henry Melville's tour bus, early 1920s. Grandson Leland Melville recognized the younger woman on right as his "Aunt Peachy." The other woman may also be one of Henry Melville's daughters. [Courtesy of Leland Melville.]

manganese stains on the rocks of the district and believed that profitable quantities of these ores might lie beneath the surface. As a result, he held on to the claims he had made in 1870 on the west side of the Pinnacles. Melville's faith ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Copper Mountain Mining Company, but it was a more intimate event that actually made this company possible. In 1881, Henry Melville married the young daughter of a prominent Salinas Valley farmer named James Pugh. (Pugh is reputed to have planted the first vineyard and orchard south of the town of Salinas.⁸³) Far more important than Mary Belle Pugh's reputation in local agricultural circles, however, was her international connections. Mary's brother had remained in England and was established in the London financial community. At that time, London businessmen were still exuberant about the prospect of California minerals, although the recent collapse of the Comstock speculations, in which the British had been heavily involved, had introduced a degree of sobriety to the market. But Pugh's good name went far to securing Melville's fortune, at least for the short term.

In 1914, Melville incorporated the Titanic Copper Mountain Mining Company, valued at \$1 million. (In 1919, the name was changed to Copper Mountain Mining Company.⁸⁴) Using the money he raised from the sale of the company's shares in England, he proceeded to develop his putative copper mines, which he designated the Melville Mining District (the old Chalone Mining District having become defunct by this time). An inspector from the State Mining Bureau visited the site in 1915 and noted that there were twenty-one lode claims, three mill sites, two dump sites, a town site and one water right associated with the company.⁸⁵ The mining inspector observed six redwood leaching tanks, a mine car, and some drills and described the work already undertaken as follows:

83. Watkins and Hoyle, *History*, p. 377.

84. Image of Stock certificate to left is courtesy of Leland Melville.

85. According to the inspector (and county land records), the operation lay within Section 33 of Township 16 South, Range 7 East.



Figure 6. Henry Melville's cabin on the west side of Pinnacles, where Ernest Bauman and later Olive Rivers resided. This photo was taken in the late thirties or early forties, not long before the structures were torn down. They had been abandoned for at least five years by then. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

A 40 ft. open cut, 12 ft. wide on a lense of dark rock which shows malachite and traces of bornite stains. This lense 18" by 6 ft. has been cut thru. Strikes NW dips NE 45°. Three or four tons of "ore". Above on same hill to north are 2 - 10 ft. tunnels, showing cu. [copper] stains at portals, and 30 ft. open cut. Twenty feet higher is one more tunnel on cu. stains. Country is granite (weathered).⁸⁶

The quotation marks that the inspector inserted around the word "ore" were strongly suggestive of his skepticism concerning the operation's productivity or even legitimacy. In fact, the mines never produced any profitable quantities of metal, and most of the Copper Mountain Mining Company's assets came from the sale of stocks to its overseas (British) investors. Henry Melville himself must have realized that his copper mines were not worth exploiting, but by this time he was making a substantial profit on speculation alone and so continued the charade. In the meantime, he was drawing enough actual gold from his Los Burros mines to keep himself solvent.⁸⁷

By 1920, Melville's contacts in London were becoming impatient with the newly renamed Copper Mountain Mining Company, which had failed to report any measurable production since its formation.⁸⁸ As a result, the value of the company's shares began to fall. It may

86. Malachite is a native basic copper carbonate ($\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2$), while Bornite is a copper iron sulfide (Cu_5FeS_4) [C.A. Logan, *State Mining Bureau Field Report*, December 7, 1915, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 17].

87. Regarding the Los Burros mines, Melville's son Kenneth later reminisced: "I don't know how much Dad got, but whenever he needed money he was able to dig out two or three hundred dollars' worth." Reinstedt, *Monterey's Mother Lode*, p. 24.

88. L.K. Henri to Henry Melville, August 27, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

not have been wholly coincidental, then, that early the same year Melville purchased the George Root homestead in the Balconies and erected a gate across the west entrance to the Old Pinnacles Gorge. Charging admission to this increasingly popular site became a lucrative source of revenue that compensated for the declining value of the Copper Mountain Mining Company's stocks. Melville even bought a small bus and began conducting motor tours up to the Pinnacles.

Melville's actions are precisely what Schuyler Hain had feared ever since the abolishment of the forest reserve left much of the Pinnacles and all of the major access routes into it in the public domain. In October of that year (1920), Hain wrote a passionate letter to Director Mather—"I am in sore straits. I have labored years, I am much afraid, in vain, to save one of the wonderlands of the world from commercialism." He went on from here to describe the fence that Henry Melville had erected and his recent encounter with Melville's hired hand while guiding the Sierra Club group. Hain seemed to realize that there was nothing that could be done about Melville's fence, short of buying him out. He also realized that Melville now controlled access to all the northern half of the monument—the region known as the Old Pinnacles—since he owned both east and west entrances to the Old Pinnacles Gorge. Hain knew, however, that the monument could also be entered further south through Bear Gulch, which provides access to the equally spectacular High Peaks and Little Pinnacles. No road or trail had yet been developed here, but Hain was familiar with the area through his explorations with the Bacon brothers, whose ranch lay just a little below the mouth of Bear Gulch. Unfortunately, only the upper half of Bear Gulch actually lay within the monument boundaries at that time. The lower half and Chalone Creek itself down to the border of Ben Bacon's ranch remained in the public domain and had recently been filed on by a local man named Viggo Petersen. Hain warned Mather that, if Petersen's claim was successfully patented, the only other access into the monument would be in private hands as well and could be closed in the same way that Melville had closed off the Old Pinnacles. To prevent this, Hain asked that Mather have Petersen's claim invalidated by the General Land Office. He also repeated his old request that the monument's boundaries be enlarged to the extent of the original forest reserve. But now he added a novel twist to this idea—he proposed that the enlarged monument be made into a national park. Rumors that the Park Service was considering such a move had been circulating around San Benito County since NPS photographer Herbert Gleason had visited earlier that year, but it is likely that Hain himself, rather than Gleason, was responsible for the rumors, since nothing to this effect was mentioned in official Park Service correspondence.

Simply enlarging the monument could be done relatively easily, since it only required a presidential proclamation to modify the existing boundaries, but to create a national park required an act of Congress, and the only advantage to this time-consuming alternative was the symbolic prestige associated with the designation. Why, then, did Schuyler Hain start promoting this daunting idea? The timing is the most revealing clue. Hain only began advocating for a national park after realizing that he was going to need much broader support and a greater financial commitment just to protect the existing monument. At this late date, it was no longer possible for the government to simply withdraw land from the public domain, since many of the most vital parcels needed for the preservation and future development of the monument were already in private hands. Henry Melville's acquisition of the Root homestead was the sharpest reminder of this fact, as was Viggo Petersen's recent claim in Bear Gulch, but other private claims were quickly accumulating just outside the eastern and northern borders of the monument. Hain knew that the government could do nothing about these lands once they had been legally claimed and patented except to buy them back. This would almost

certainly require financial support from the local business communities, which Hain believed he could raise if the Park Service agreed to elevate the status of the Pinnacles by designating it a national park. “I am sure if the people were assured of a National Park of all the public land surrounding the Monument,” Hain wrote to Mather, “I could secure enough to buy all valid claims inside that would be at all necessary for its preservation.” This had not been necessary five years earlier when few such claims existed and the Root homestead had not yet been sold to Melville. Its previous owners had even been willing to sell to Hain at a reasonable price. But this situation had changed dramatically by 1920. Once Melville had acquired the Root parcel, he quickly made it clear that he would not part with it except for an exorbitant price.

A few months after Hain’s letter imploring Director Mather for his support of a Pinnacles National Park, William E. Parker, a director of the prestigious Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation in San Francisco, also wrote to the Park Service director, supporting Hain’s request.⁸⁹ The Bethlehem letterhead must have carried weight with Mather, who had himself once been a prominent California businessman. Parker’s support of Hain suggested to Washington that Hain was building a coalition of California businessmen on behalf of the Pinnacles. This was essentially true, if exaggerated. What Mather could not have known is that William Parker was Schuyler Hain’s brother-in-law.⁹⁰ When the Director’s office responded to Hain’s proposal, it carefully ignored any mention of a national park and instead focused on the issue of Henry Melville, which it said it was investigating.⁹¹ The Washington office also wrote that it had received information from members of the county government that San Benito County was considering purchasing the old Root homestead from Melville and intended to convey it to the National Park Service. As far as the Park Service was concerned, the only significant challenge facing the monument at that time was Henry Melville’s monopoly over access to the Old Pinnacles Gorge, and the most expedient way to solve this problem seemed to be cooperation with local interests to buy Melville out. (The Park Service’s budget began to grow at the beginning of the 1921 fiscal year, although very little of this money went to the national monuments, which were funded through a separate account.) Hain realized that the challenges facing the Pinnacles were far more complicated and could not be solved as easily as Mather and his colleagues imagined, but the understanding that the Washington office had settled upon by the fall of 1921 would dominate its policy with respect to Pinnacles for the next decade (if not longer), and Schuyler Hain’s recommendations were largely ignored.

Although Schuyler Hain may have been driven by necessity to promote the conversion of Pinnacles National Monument to a national park, he was also inspired by a certain idealism when it came to imagining what this park should be. By the fall of 1920, Hain already had a coherent vision for the proposed park, and over the ensuing months he would refine his concept as he corresponded with potential supporters. In the spring of 1921, he wrote to his local Congressman describing in some detail what he hoped to achieve:

As I told you in our talk at Gilroy that if this region could be withdrawn from entry and we were assured of its being created a national park with the name American Legion National Park, a number of us would undertake the financing of the matter. Would purchase the 160 acres now within the Nat. Mon. [Melville’s parcel] and acquire the entire Bacon holdings.

89. Parker to Mather, December 14, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

90. Parker had married Schuyler Hain’s younger sister Sadie. [Ro Wauer “Notes on talk with Mrs. Sadie Parker, brother of Schuyler Hain” August 8, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11, PNM.]

91. Cammerer to Hain, November 8, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

There is no finer climate and no prettier or more suitable location for a convalescent home for our boys and land to irrigate to give work to those able to act in that capacity. The Bacon property just before entering the reserve boundaries is the only feasible hotel site and naturally the equal of any in Cal.⁹²

In essence, this idea was much the same as what Hain had conceived back in 1914 when he wrote to Inspector Foley describing his plans to acquire the Bacon Ranch and build a resort just outside the borders of an enlarged national monument. Over the intervening years, however, World War I had inspired Hain to adopt a plan with greater civic and patriotic value than the simple tourist hotel he had proposed earlier.

The idea for a veterans' hospital appealed to the general feeling of many of Hain's contemporaries and elicited a widespread and generally favorable response. By November of 1920, Hain had already discussed his idea with the Hollister Chamber of Commerce and received its endorsement.⁹³ A few months later, he wrote to David Starr Jordan outlining his plan and appealing to the president of Stanford University to once again support him, as he had nearly fifteen years earlier when the Pinnacles were first reserved.⁹⁴ Most importantly, by June of 1921, Hain had received the endorsement of the American Legion and was assured that they were in the process of raising money to help him.⁹⁵

At the same time that Hain informed the Park Service of his support from the American Legion, he also conveyed to the Washington office a substantial collection of signed petitions from visitors to the Pinnacles, including members of the Sierra Club and the California Alpine Club. Although the exact phrasing of these petitions varied, the substance was the same. The one distributed to Sierra Club members was the most carefully written: "We hereby petition for a withdrawal of all public land from sale or entry within the boundaries of the original Pinnacles Forest Reserve upon which no filings are made, and to cancel the recent entry of Viggo Petersen, and give him time allowance on any entry subsequently located."⁹⁶ This was the other half of Hain's two-pronged campaign, aimed at getting the National Park Service's legal support to make the proposed national park possible. His campaign among the private businessmen of California was directed at raising money to purchase lands already patented within the proposed park boundaries and to build a fund for future infrastructure development once the park was created. (His chief concern was the construction or improvement of access roads.) But Hain's fund-raising campaign would have been in vain if the majority of the desired lands that still lay in the public domain was not withdrawn from private entry by the General Land Office, and Viggo Petersen's claim, which lay on the most strategic of all parcels at the mouth of Bear Gulch, was not invalidated.

Only a few months before sending this petition to Washington, Hain had finally received a copy of Herbert Gleason's discouraging report on Pinnacles from the photographer's visit in 1919. In response, Hain wrote immediately to the Washington office giving precise details of

92. Hain to U.S. Congressman Hersman, February 11, 1921, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

93. Hain to Cammerer, November 16, 1920, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

94. Hain to Jordan, January 21, 1921, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11. President Jordan never responded to Hain's proposal.

95. Hain to NPS Director, June 4, 1921, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II. It seems very unlikely that Hain had not been in contact with the American Legion before this date. He probably had the support of the American Legion from the very beginning, but this letter to the Director of the Park Service represents the earliest surviving evidence of the Legion's involvement in his plan.

96. Enclosure in Hain to NPS Director, June 4, 1921, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

the configuration of private and public lands within the old Pinnacles Forest Reserve.⁹⁷ He observed that only 720 acres of the original 14,000 acres had been filed on, and not all of this had yet been patented. Melville held an additional 160 acres in the monument, plus 40 acres at Willow Spring just outside the monument on the east side. These were the lands that had been legitimately patented by George Root and purchased by Melville in January of 1920. Melville also possessed a mineral claim just outside the western boundary of the monument, but Hain observed that this claim had been cancelled by the General Land Office some years earlier.⁹⁸ (This proved to be correct but would become a matter of intense litigation a few years later.) In concluding, Hain insisted that the Pinnacles could still be preserved in its entirety but only if action were taken quickly. He repeated his request that the Park Service have the remaining public lands within the old forest reserve withdrawn from private entry and Viggo Petersen's claim invalidated. He reassured the Washington office that this was all he needed as a precondition to enlarging the monument and establishing a national park. He himself would see to the financing of associated infrastructure once these initial steps had been taken. Hain also informed the Park Service that he had given an outline of his proposal to his congressional representative so that the legislative process for creating a national park could begin.⁹⁹

THE STRUGGLE FOR ACCESS

By the summer of 1921, Arno Cammerer, acting director of the National Park Service at that time, finally responded to Schuyler Hain's petitions and initiated an investigation into his various requests for the enlargement of the monument, the invalidation of private claims adjacent to the monument and a right-of-way through the Old Pinnacles Gorge, which Henry Melville had denied. (Cammerer simply ignored Hain's proposal for a national park, and the Park Service never did address this issue.¹⁰⁰) After consulting with representatives from both the General Land Office and the Department of Justice, Cammerer concluded that Melville's claims in the Old Pinnacles were valid and that the NPS could do nothing to assert its right to pass through Melville's property unless a public right-of-way predating George Root's patent already existed here—a matter that would have to be determined by the local authorities, not the federal government. In essence, Cammerer was telling Hain that he had been wrong to challenge Melville's closure of the Old Pinnacles Gorge back in 1920. As for enlarging the monument, Cammerer informed Hain that too many private claims had already been filed on the surrounding lands to allow this to be done feasibly. He did, however, acknowledge the prudence of establishing easements across these lands before they were patented so that the public would be assured access to the monument. (What he specifically had in mind was the

97. Hain to Director, February 6, 1921, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

98. Melville's mineral claim lay on the SE 1/4 of the SW 1/4 of Sec. 26, Township 16 South, Range 7 East and dated back to 1870. Hain does not say where he got his information—presumably it was from the GLO—but writes that the claim was cancelled by the GLO on December 5, 1908 and later by the surveyor general on January 22, 1915. These facts were essentially correct and would come to light once more a couple of years later, with greater consequences, during the litigation between Melville and Herman Hermansen, discussed in the next chapter.

99. Hain had already approached Congressman Hersman with his proposal a month earlier, as he mentioned to President Jordan, "I have taken up the matter with Mr. Hersman, our member of congress, and told him that if it could be set aside and named the American Legion National Park, we would finance the project only asking the government to take the necessary action and give it its protection." [Hain to Jordan, January 21, 1921, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11, PNM.]

100. Cammerer to Hain, June 24, 1921, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

road along Chalone Creek, which passed through several parcels that had recently been filed on.) Cammerer said nothing about access to the west side.

At the same time that Acting Director Cammerer was considering Hain's various proposals, he was also puzzling over a stack of complaints that had been forwarded to him by the GLO's San Francisco Field Office. The GLO had been receiving these letters from visitors outraged by Henry Melville's admission charge for more than a year now. As the letters made clear, Melville had gated both sides of his property in the Old Pinnacles and was charging any tourist who came up the Soledad Road for the right to pass in and visit the monument.¹⁰¹ After confirming the legitimacy of Melville's land claims with the commissioner of the GLO, Cammerer decided to send somebody from his own bureau to investigate the situation on the ground. He chose W.B. (Dusty) Lewis, superintendent of Yosemite, who visited the monument from the west side in April of 1922.

The majority of Lewis' report described the difficulty of simply getting to the Pinnacles—perhaps he wanted to make a point about the remoteness of the monument and the inadequacy of its development. After taking the train to Soledad, Lewis was met by friends and attempted to drive up the treacherous road through Stonewall Canyon. The car became mired somewhere near the top of the grade, so Lewis and his friends walked the remaining few miles to the west boundary of the monument, where they enlisted the help of a burly miner who worked for Melville and was living in a small shack near the foot of the Balconies. The miner—a man named Ernest Bauman—got the party's vehicle out of the mud, and Lewis was able to finish his reconnaissance of the Pinnacles.¹⁰²

Dusty Lewis was impressed with what he saw, but his observations were confined entirely to the Old Pinnacles Gorge, which was in the possession of Henry Melville. Like most visitors, he was unaware that there was anything more to the monument than this formation, which lay at the terminus of the only access road from the west. (At that time, the sole east side road also terminated at the Old Pinnacles, though on the other side of the gorge.) Since Melville possessed a legitimate claim that allowed him to control both entrances to this gorge, Lewis could see no way for the government to effectively manage the monument in the public's interest, and he recommended its abandonment:

The retention of the Palisades Gorge (Copper Mountain Mining Company holding), which is the key to the monument, in private ownership strangles any possible development of the reservation by the Government. The Gorge is the only thing in the monument that

101. Cammerer to Spry, Commissioner of GLO, September 21, 1921, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 19, PNM.

102. Ernest Bauman is a rather infamous figure in Monterey County history. Of Russian background, he was generally known as the "Mad Russian" on account of his quarrelsome character. Bauman had joined Henry Melville and the rest of the small community of miners in the Los Burros Mining District at the south end of Monterey County in 1913, staking his own claim in the area. His bad temper eventually got the better of him in 1937, when he shot his neighbor, James Krenkel Jr. Apparently, Bauman had become irritated by the growing number of motorists who were now coming through the once remote area and leaving his gates open. In retaliation, he scattered bent nails across the road in front of his cabin, puncturing the tires of the next passerby. The distraught motorist got help from Krenkel, whose cabin also stood nearby, but when Krenkel called to Bauman to come out as well, Bauman fired a well-aimed shot from his window, killing his neighbor. Although acquitted by the courts, Bauman was forced to flee Los Burros for fear of retaliation from Krenkel's many friends. Had Dusty Lewis been aware of this Mad Russian's temper, or his dislike for motorists, he might have thought twice about asking his assistance, but fortunately for Lewis, Bauman was in an agreeable mood that day. (Many years later—in 1954—Bauman himself was found murdered, allegedly shot by an escaped mental patient in Butte County.) [Sharron Hale, *A Tribute to Yesterday*, pp. 176–177.]

could possibly require protection and there is practically no game that could be benefitted by Governmental protection in so small an area. This it seems to me leaves the Government with no real interest and unless there is early possibility of acquisition in some way of these holdings by the Government my recommendation would be that the monument be abandoned.¹⁰³

Lewis added that the area surrounding the rest of the monument had also been taken up in private claims and therefore could no longer be considered for withdrawal by the Park Service. Cammerer conveyed the substance of this report to Hain with his own assessment of the situation. He concluded that the only hope for the survival of the monument—much less its enlargement—was the acquisition of Melville's land. But unless Melville was willing to donate it, this would have to be purchased by local interests, since Congress would not be able to allocate the necessary funds.¹⁰⁴ This news appears to have dashed Hain's hopes and effectively ended his involvement with Pinnacles, but soon other local advocates would emerge and continue Hain's efforts.¹⁰⁵

A SECOND-CLASS PARK

Superintendent Lewis' appraisal of Pinnacles supports the notion, put forward by some historians, that the early national monuments were established to protect resources that were not valued as highly as those in the national parks.¹⁰⁶ This estimation of Pinnacles' relative significance was shared by other early visitors, like David Starr Jordan of Stanford University and George W. Peavy of the Forest Service, neither of whom thought Pinnacles could compare with the much grander scenic parks like Yosemite or Yellowstone. They were willing to see the place protected but only under the less-prestigious designation of a monument. Pinnacles suffered further in that it was almost entirely the product of local initiative and still had no official representation and little recognition or support in Washington. The Forest Service had agreed only grudgingly to include it in its Monterey National Forest when no other means of protection was available. When the Department of the Interior inherited the monument from the Forest Service a few years later, it committed scarcely any resources to its management—the General Land Office had an inspector visit Pinnacles once a year but kept no staff on site. The Park Service was able to do even less. Superintendent Lewis was the first representative from the new agency to even see Pinnacles. This neglect was not necessarily from lack of interest but because the Park Service had far too many other responsibilities and not enough staff to manage this small, out-of-the-way unit more actively. Lewis' recommendation that Pinnacles National Monument be abandoned, therefore, represented a pragmatic weighing of the monument's needs against the agency's severely limited resources. The Park Service could not commit any funds or personnel to Pinnacles without drawing them from other, more valuable units, which it was not willing to do. It was only the persistent efforts of local advocates like Schuyler Hain that kept the monument intact and eventually attracted enough attention from Washington to raise the priority of Pinnacles and have more federal resources committed to its management and development.

103. W.B. Lewis to NPS Director, April 5, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

104. Cammerer to Hain, May 1, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

105. Though Schuyler Hain was less active after this date, he did remain involved with the monument, later sitting on the board of the Pinnacles National Park Association in 1924 and continuing to give public talks and slide presentations to promote the monument.

106. See especially Rothman, *America's National Monuments*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PINNACLES BOYS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1921–1925

For more than a decade after its establishment in 1908, Pinnacles National Monument had no on-site staff and was visited only rarely by representatives of the different federal agencies that claimed nominal responsibility for it. This included the National Park Service after 1916. This unfortunate situation would change unexpectedly after 1921 when a group of young war veterans settled on public lands adjacent to the monument and adopted Pinnacles as their personal charge. The most energetic and outspoken of these men—Herman Hermansen—would become the monument’s first official custodian (superintendent). Another member of the group—Zotic Marcott—would become its first chief ranger. The Pinnacles Boys, as the group came to be known locally, would construct the earliest public infrastructure to be developed at the monument, building trails through Bear Gulch and the High Peaks, establishing campgrounds and a tourist lodge, and even putting in the first Bear Gulch entrance road, which made it possible for visitors to drive almost to the very foot of the Pinnacles formation.

Just as important as these physical contributions, but less tangible, were the connections that Custodian Hermansen began to make with federal agencies, local county leaders, and the broader business community throughout the state. These relationships would assist Hermansen with some of his most significant accomplishments—the invalidation of Henry Melville’s mining claims, which monopolized access to the west side of Pinnacles (and for a brief time threatened the very existence of the monument itself); and the construction of the Bear Gulch entrance road. But the greater visibility that resulted from his successes also increased competition for control of the lucrative tourism resource which Pinnacles promised to become. Herman Hermansen would not do very well in this competitive environment, impaired by inexperience and the relative poverty of his social background. These liabilities would contribute to his dismissal as custodian in 1925, less than two years after he had been appointed to the position. As unfortunate as this was for Hermansen, the event ironically signaled the growing maturation of Pinnacles itself. No longer would it be possible to manage the monument with enthusiasm and hard work alone. Social status and the ability to establish and maintain working relationships with politically powerful partners had become even more necessary. Hermansen’s successor, local Hollister businessman W.I. Hawkins, was chosen precisely because he possessed these capacities. His appointment would inaugurate an entirely new stage in the evolution of Pinnacles National Monument.

THE ARRIVAL OF HERMAN HERMANSEN (1921)

During the week of May 2, 1922, a notice appeared in the *Hollister Free Lance* announcing that the entrance to the Old Pinnacles Gorge from the east side would be closed as of June 2nd. This was to occur during the height of the tourist season, so when a copy of the announcement was sent to the National Park Service’s Washington office, it immediately caught the attention of the staff there. The Park Service was already feeling dubious about the value of Pinnacles, and this new threat seemed to justify the very concerns it had over the remote monument. Acting Director B.L. Vipond wrote to the author of the notice—Mrs. Olive Rivers—asking her very

pointedly to explain her intentions. Vipond had never been to Pinnacles, and his knowledge of the place was based solely on the report of Yosemite Superintendent Dusty Lewis, which his office had received only a month earlier. According to Lewis, the only practical means of getting into the monument was through the private inholding owned by miner Henry Melville and leased to Robert and Olive Rivers. Thus, as far as Vipond knew, Olive Rivers' closure of the east entrance to her property would effectively close the monument on the San Benito County side of the mountains. This seemed an intolerable affront to the authority of the Park Service and to the right of the public to enjoy the resources it managed. Rather than accept Rivers' actions, Vipond preferred to rid the Park Service of the source of this embarrassment. He warned Rivers that, if visitors could not be assured free access to the monument, the Pinnacles would have to be abandoned

Vipond had been forwarded Rivers' announcement by a local resident writing on behalf of the San Benito County Chamber of Commerce.¹ The reason for this organization's concern was obvious—Olive Rivers' actions would result in a significant loss of tourism and associated business for the county. An article printed a few days later in the *Soledad Bee* (in Monterey County) asserted that this was Rivers' intent, and the editor praised the “energetic woman” for boosting the economies of Soledad and the Salinas Valley by diverting tourism toward them and away from San Benito County.²

Olive Rivers' actions galvanized San Benito County business leaders to do something about the situation on their side of the monument.³ Shortly after her announcement, the secretary of the San Benito County Chamber of Commerce, R.L. Townsend, wrote to Washington asking for information to clarify the relationship of Henry Melville and his tenant Olive Rivers to the national monument and to put right their abuses, if that was possible. Acting Director Cammerer wrote back explaining what he knew of the situation based on Superintendent Lewis' limited observations and advised Townsend, rather soberly, that there was little the National Park Service could do about it. He quoted Superintendent Lewis' report at length, including Lewis' recommendation that the monument be abandoned if the property which Melville owned in the Old Pinnacles could not be acquired. Cammerer added that this could not be done by the federal government with its limited budget and advised the county that it would have to undertake the task on its own.

There is but one solution to the problem of affective administration and development of the Pinnacles Monument as such, namely, that some means be found to extinguish the private holding of the Copper Mountain Mining Company in the gorge which now prevents any possibility of development of the monument by the Government. Whether this private holding can be acquired by gift through the generosity of the present owner or by purchase

1. Jasper Blackie to Stephen Mather, May 18, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II. Judging from his return address, Blackie was a neighbor of Olive Rivers. Olive Rivers' family home was in Hollister, though she currently resided in Soledad with her husband.

2. *Soledad Bee*, May 5, 1922. According to the editor, Olive Rivers' decision followed the San Benito County Board of Supervisors' refusal to “deed the roads on the Monterey county side of the national monuments as the San Benito solons first agreed upon.” More precise details of this arrangement were never given, but the roads in question must refer to the remaining two-mile section from the end of the Monterey County road up Stonewall Canyon to the western boundary of the monument. This distance lay within San Benito County.

3. No further mention was made of the east side closure, suggesting either that it never occurred or that it was not enforced. The Park Service's threats of abandoning the monument may have influenced Rivers, since her business would have suffered as a result.

through contributions by locally interested persons, and thence by gift to the Government, as has been done in the Sequoia National Park, would appear to be a local problem.⁴

The Copper Mountain Mining Company to which Cammerer referred was for all intent and purposes just another name for Henry Melville. He had filed its articles of corporation, served as its president, and owned the majority of the company's stock. (The company also included a secretary and treasurer, who worked part-time out of an office in Soledad.) Cammerer already knew from Superintendent Lewis that Melville was unlikely to sell his property—and even less likely to donate it—so he must have held little hope for the future of Pinnacles at that time. But he was not ready to abandon the monument just yet, and he did not share his gloomiest thoughts about Henry Melville with Secretary Townsend, preferring to leave open the possibility that the county might find a way to negotiate with this stubborn man where Superintendent Lewis had seen no chance. Cammerer also urged Townsend to acquire rights-of-way across the private lands along Sandy Creek. If a tradition of usage already existed, he observed, this would need to be determined legally and the process initiated by state or county authorities.⁵ (In the end, the county never tried to determine whether such a tradition existed, but it did seek an easement across the Bacon and Petersen lands, which was finally granted in 1924, as discussed below.)

Early that fall, the Washington office received a surprising letter from a young man named Herman A. Hermansen. The writer identified himself as a veteran of the recent war who was deeply interested in affairs at the Pinnacles and went on to explain that he and two other veterans had taken up homestead claims just outside the monument and had spent the last few years building trails and acting as guides. Secretary Townsend was aware of Hermansen's work and so had shown the young man his recent correspondence with the Director of the Park Service, which included Superintendent Lewis' report from April 5th. Hermansen was incensed by Lewis' cursory appraisal of Pinnacles (and equally cursory dismissal of the monument). "[Superintendent Lewis] is wrong," he wrote, "so far wrong that [he] sounds like a tourist. He evidently did not ask many questions or did not use his eyes. As the part he visited took but forty-five minutes to see and was the end of the road at the extreme northern line of the Pinnacles National Monument." Hermansen went on to explain that the Old Pinnacles Gorge was not the only point of access into Pinnacles, but that Bear Gulch could also be used to enter the monument in the vicinity of the High Peaks and Little Pinnacles. Schuyler Hain had also noted the importance of Bear Gulch and warned that the government should obtain this land before any private claims could be made on it. But the Washington office had failed to regard Hain's warning, and the lower half of the gulch and much of Chalone Creek below it had already been patented by private homesteaders earlier that year.⁶ Hermansen now informed the Director that these private claims belonged to himself and his friends. (The homestead that actually encompassed Bear Gulch belonged to Viggo Petersen; Hermansen's homestead was further upstream along the northern and northwestern boundaries of the monument.) Rather than locking up the only remaining access to Pinnacles, as Hain had feared, these homesteaders were endeavoring to do just the opposite. Viggo Petersen encouraged visitors to camp on his land on Chalone Creek—free of charge, according to Hermansen—and then to explore the monument through Bear Gulch with himself or Hermansen as guide. He and

4. Cammerer to R.L. Townsend, August 10, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Hain to Director, April 17, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

the other homesteaders had constructed a rudimentary trail up the gulch to the monument's eastern boundary, which at that time lay near the upper end of Bear Gulch.⁷

Hermansen insisted that Bear Gulch was the key to the monument and that a road could be built up it, providing access for automobiles from Chalone Creek. This would allow visitors to avoid Henry Melville's monopoly of the Old Pinnacles (though only if they arrived from the east side through San Benito County). Hermansen promised that Viggo Petersen would grant an easement through his homestead for this purpose.

THE PINNACLES BOYS

There were ultimately five men in this group of veterans who came to be known as the "Pinnacles Boys," though they arrived at slightly different times. Not all of them played as substantial a role in the history of Pinnacles as Hermansen, their energetic spokesman, but they all contributed in one way or another to the early development of the monument. The earliest to arrive in the area was Viggo Petersen, who had no prior acquaintance with the other men. Viggo and his brother Otto Petersen had first come to south San Benito County from Denmark in the mid-teens and settled along Chalone Creek, just upstream of Ben Bacon, with another Scandinavian named Carl Olsen (unrelated to the Petersens). According to Schuyler Hain, who knew the men, the Petersens and Olsen had all filed claims on Chalone Creek but had been denied patents by the General Land Office, which believed it would not be possible to make a living on such dry land.⁸ Otto eventually returned to Denmark, and Viggo left to fight in the European war.

After the war ended, Viggo returned to Bear Valley and worked as a farmhand on local ranches. He decided to try filing once more for land on Chalone Creek and took over a relinquished homestead at the foot of Bear Gulch. This now forgotten homesteader—named Berry or Barry—had left a cabin that Petersen occupied. The small building stood on the flood plain not far from the present Chalone Creek Bridge until it was destroyed by fire in 1931. Viggo Petersen's second application was approved by the General Land Office, and he was awarded patent for 640 acres in 1924. According to an acquaintance who remembers him from these years, Viggo originally had no intention of developing the land any further but only wanted a place to live. Apparently he continued to support himself working for other ranchers—a practice not uncommon among the smaller homesteaders in the area.⁹

7. The eastern boundary cut north to south through the middle of the valley that the Bear Gulch reservoir now fills. It included none of Bear Gulch itself, the caves or Condor Gulch. These features were added to the monument the following year, at the recommendation of Hermansen and J.H. Favorite, moving the boundary of the monument just east of the present Moses Spring picnic area. The original trail that Petersen and Hermansen cut followed the contour of the hill along the north side of the canyon, a little above the present road. It was obliterated when the first road was constructed in 1924.

8. Schuyler Hain to Director, February 6, 1921, PINN Coll., Entry 6, RG 79, Box 336, NARA II. Carl Olsen filed an entry on Chalone Creek at the same time and was also denied patent. Olsen later married Bessie Hain, Arthur Hain's daughter, and the couple lived on the family Hain Ranch in Bear Valley. This helps explain how Schuyler Hain came to learn such detailed information—Carl Olsen was his nephew by marriage. According to Bessie, the Petersens also lived for awhile on the Hain ranch when they first came to Bear Valley before the war. [Bessie Webb, interviewed by Reta Oberg, February 15, 1978.]

9. Lois Bourke, *The Bourke Engine Documentary* (Sun Valley, CA: E. Coutant, 1968), p. 19. Lois' older sister Bessie married Carl Olsen.

The other Pinnacles Boys came to the area a few years later in 1921. At that time, Herman Hermansen and Alonzo Bourke were both working in San Francisco and sharing an apartment. They were old friends from Petaluma—a small agricultural town just north of San Francisco—where they had gone to school together before the war. Another old friend of theirs from Petaluma, Zotic Marcott, had been working summers in the logging camps up north since leaving the military and was staying with Hermansen and Bourke in San Francisco for the winter. Marcott had tried homesteading in Canada before the war and suggested to the group that they all look for land together in California. The others agreed. Alonzo's older brother, Russell Bourke, soon joined the project as well. Hermansen was chosen to look for an appropriate place for the group to file claims and went south to Monterey County during the summer of 1921. Here he stumbled by accident on the Pinnacles, which he first saw from a distance across the Salinas Valley. On investigating the intriguing place, he was surprised to learn that much of the Gabilan Mountains surrounding the monument was still in the public domain. Hermansen also encountered Olive Rivers and the Copper Mountain Mining Company's tourist operation on his first excursion up the Soledad Road and was appalled. According to his own account, Hermansen determined right then to do whatever he could to break this unscrupulous monopoly. But he had also decided by then that Pinnacles would be an ideal location for himself and his friends to establish their homesteads. After visiting the place themselves, the others agreed, and all had filed claims for 640 acres under the Stock-Raising Homestead Act by the end of that year.

Viggo Petersen soon became a friend of this group of young veterans from Petaluma. That was fortunate, since his own homestead was surrounded on three sides by their claims. Alonzo Bourke was Viggo's immediate neighbor. His claim lay along Chalone Creek upstream of the mouth of Bear Gulch to a point just below Willow Spring. (It was centered around the present Chalone Creek maintenance yard and residential area—Alonzo probably built his homestead cabin here, or possibly west of the creek in the old Chalone Creek Annex.) Alonzo's original claim also comprised a narrow strip that ran along the east side of the monument to the top of Bear Gulch. (At that time, the monument boundary lay just west of the present Bear Gulch Dam.) This part of Alonzo Bourke's claim included all of the Bear Gulch Caves and met the border of Viggo Petersen's land at the upper edge of the present Bear Gulch parking lot. When the group inspected Alonzo's claim and realized what it comprised, they persuaded him to adjust his application, substituting a few hundred acres further north for the land at the top of Bear Gulch. Hermansen subsequently persuaded the federal government to withdraw this portion of Alonzo's original homestead and add it to the monument, since everyone agreed that its scenic values ought to be preserved inside the park boundaries.

Of all the Pinnacles Boys, Alonzo was probably the least concerned with the land he received, since he had no intention of making a living off of it. Alonzo was trained in the medical profession—he had been a medical corpsman with the U.S. Navy during the war—and was working at Lane Hospital in San Francisco when the group first conceived their idea for the homesteading venture.¹⁰ He left Pinnacles as soon as he received his patent in 1926, working for a while for Schuyler Hain in Tres Pinos, then moving to Los Angeles, where he got a job as a sales representative. He remained in Southern California until his retirement in the 1950s.¹¹

10. Lane Hospital is now part of California Pacific Medical Center.

11. "Alonzo Bourke" [Obituary], *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, December 22, 1974. Alonzo spent the last twenty years of his life living in retirement in Petaluma. He was buried with military honors at the Presidio of San Francisco.

Just north of Alonzo Bourke's homestead, on the north fork of Chalone Creek, was Zotic Marcott's claim. Marcott's homestead included Willow Spring, which subsequently became known as Marcott's Spring. Of all the Petaluma homesteaders, Marcott probably possessed the greatest practical experience. He had already homesteaded before and was accustomed to hard work out-of-doors from his years in the lumber camps. He also knew animals and was considered a skilled teamster. This would prove invaluable when it came to grading the road that was eventually built up to Bear Gulch a few years later. Marcott also became one of the more popular and adventuresome guides leading tourists through the Pinnacles, a fact that helped him secure a job as first chief ranger of the monument in 1925. Like Alonzo Bourke, Zotic Marcott had little interest in obtaining agriculturally valuable land, since he did not intend to support himself off his homestead and does not appear to have cultivated the parcel—the surviving ruins of his homestead show scant evidence of agricultural development.¹² Instead, Marcott contracted his labor, working not only as a guide but also with government surveying crews. He originally intended to develop his land for a boyscout campground, taking advantage of its proximity to the national monument and its scenic resources, but nothing ever came of this short-lived proposal.¹³ Marcott's land was later acquired by the National Park Service in 1938 in order to secure rights to the valuable water resources at Willow Spring.¹⁴

Russell Bourke was the only member of the Pinnacles Boys who ever developed his homestead on an agricultural basis. He claimed 640 acres along the north fork of Chalone Creek just upstream of Zotic Marcott. Although very little cultivable land lay within the homestead—most of the claim comprises steep slopes covered in chaparral—Bourke used his mechanical skills to adapt the rudimentary tractors of the day to the task of clearing brush. Evidence still survives of extensive clearing along the tops of ridges and other level areas within his homestead. Russell Bourke remained at Pinnacles only until 1926, when he married Schuyler Hain's niece, Lois Hain, and moved back to his family home in Petaluma. Russell Bourke later became known for his invention of a new type of internal combustion engine. Shortly after returning to Petaluma, he developed the first working prototype of this engine for the Army Air Corps, but World War II eventually interrupted development of his design, and the Bourke Engine was abandoned by all except a cult following of independent engineers (some of whom continue to promote the idea even today).¹⁵

Russell Bourke's homestead was abandoned in 1926 when he left the county, and most of his improvements were destroyed by the fire of 1931.¹⁶ The land itself remained in his ownership, however, until 1944, when he sold it to his older brother Leo, and it became part of the Must Hatch Incubator Company, at that time the largest chicken hatchery in the world. Must Hatch had been founded by A.E. Bourke Sr. in 1898, shortly after the family moved to Petaluma from Los Angeles. Alonzo, Russell, and Leo were all children and heirs of A.E. Bourke, though it was Leo who would take over the family business. In 1944, the Bourke Company asked permission from the National Park Service to use Russell Bourke's old homestead, which was now a private inholding within the monument, as a poultry farm. This was only one year after Russell had

12. This has been documented as historic archeological site CA-SBn-121H. [Trudy Haversat, Gary S. Breschini and R. Paul Hampson, *Cultural Resources Inventory of Newly Acquired Lands at the Pinnacles National Monument* (Salinas, CA: Archeological Consulting, 1981)].

13. See, for example, Herman Hermansen to Director, January 3, 1924, PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

14. The name was changed to Willow Spring at this time.

15. Lois Bourke, *Bourke Engine Documentary*.

16. The site has been documented as CA-SBn-122H. [Haversat et al., *Cultural Resources Inventory*.]

sold the land to his brother's company. Given the scale of Leo Bourke's operation in Petaluma, the Park Service was understandably concerned by this proposal and first recognized the need to acquire the Bourke property—and all other inholdings for that matter—as the only security against the introduction of adverse development within the wilderness areas of the monument. (The company willingly sold the land to the Park Service in 1959.) Russell Bourke himself never had any further association with the monument after selling his property to his brother, though he did return to Bear Valley in 1961 to live on his wife's family property—the Arthur Hain Ranch—for a brief period before retiring to Penngrove, a small suburb of Petaluma. He died there in 1968.

The last parcel to be filed on belonged to Herman Hermansen. He claimed a narrow corridor of land that began on the east side just outside the Balconies Caves (which Henry Melville owned) and continued around the north side of the Balconies to the broad valley of oak savannah just north of the present Chaparral Picnic Area. The North Wilderness Trail now descends through Hermansen's old homestead claim in this area. Hermansen clearly never intended to develop his property on an agricultural basis, although its western side would have been ideal for this purpose. As he later explained to the Director of the Park Service, he chose this property specifically to challenge the claims of Melville's Copper Mountain Mining Company and to prevent any further claims of similar nature along the north boundary of the monument.¹⁷ Hermansen's non-agricultural intentions were demonstrated by his choice of location for his residence, which he placed along the west fork of Chalone Creek, just east of the Balconies Caves. This narrow valley has no practical utility for a subsistence farmer but is vital for anyone desiring to control the tourist traffic into the Old Pinnacles, since it lies along the only passable route into the Old Pinnacles Gorge from the east side. Hermansen's homestead claim was a mirror image of Melville's mineral claim on the west side—both controlled routes into the Old Pinnacles, which at that time was the only portion of the monument generally accessible to tourists. Although Hermansen claimed to be entirely altruistic in his choice of land when he filed his land claim application in 1921, he may have chosen this parcel *because* of Melville's example, not *in spite* of it. It is impossible now to know whether Hermansen was honestly trying to thwart further attempts to monopolize access to the monument, as Melville had done, or whether he himself was attempting a similar sort of monopolization. If Hermansen's intentions were the latter, he could not have chosen his location more appropriately. On the other hand, if he did want to challenge Melville, he had also chosen well, since the General Land Office would be forced to investigate Melville's dubious mineral claims in order to patent Hermansen's homestead claim, as the two partially overlapped. Hermansen would always claim that this was his only motive.¹⁸

Almost immediately after receiving Hermansen's introductory letter, Acting Director Vipond wrote back requesting further information. He enclosed a map and asked Hermansen to mark on it the claims that he and his friends had entered as well as Bear Gulch and the new entrance which Hermansen was proposing. It was clear that the Washington office had failed to fully appreciate the complicated geography of Pinnacles, and Vipond appeared to acknowledge this. For the first time since Superintendent Lewis' report warning that the monument might have to be abandoned, there seemed hope for an alternative resolution. Vipond readily agreed

17. See, for example, Hermansen to Director, August 27, 1925, PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

18. J.H. Favorite, chief of the GLO's San Francisco division, believed Hermansen's motives were honorable and always presented him in a positive light. See J.H. Favorite, "Report on Pinnacles," December 11, 1922 [transmitted to the Director of the National Park Service December 22, 1922], PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

that a road should be put in up Bear Gulch, but he cautioned Hermansen that it would be impossible for the Park Service to build it, because the Park Service could not spend funds on projects outside the monument's boundaries. This threw responsibility for the ambitious proposal back on the local residents. As reserved as Vipond's answer seemed, it nonetheless represents the first time that a road up Bear Gulch was formally considered. The idea would have a lasting effect on the future development of the monument.¹⁹

Hermansen quickly supplied the information Acting Director Vipond requested. He also identified an area of land still within the public domain that he strongly recommended the Park Service add to the monument. This was the land that Alonzo Bourke had originally claimed but abandoned once the Pinnacles Boys realized that it included the Bear Gulch Caves. Hermansen worried that if it were not withdrawn soon, Melville's example in the Old Pinnacles might be repeated by somebody else. If that were to happen, the opportunity to get a road up Bear Gulch would be lost.²⁰

CUSTODIAN HERMANSEN VERSUS THE COPPER MOUNTAIN MINING COMPANY

Henry Melville's monopoly over the north end of the monument was a source of ongoing frustration for visitors, especially those who left from Soledad and motored laboriously up the long and treacherous dirt road through Stonewall Canyon, only to be greeted by a toll gate at the monument boundary. This situation became increasingly galling to the Park Service after Melville hired Robert and Olive Rivers, whose energetic but unorthodox methods often provoked a strong reaction. Although one west side newspaper praised Olive as "a good booster" for both Soledad and Pinnacles, the *Oakland Tribune* complained about her uncivil habit of collecting fees at gunpoint.²¹ Custodian Hermansen had nothing but contempt for Rivers, calling Olive a "prostitute" and her husband a "roustabout" (strong terms for the day). In addition to collecting admission from visitors, Hermansen alleged that the couple also stole livestock from local ranchers to support themselves. In his monthly report to the director, Hermansen described in detail how one visitor had been ill treated by the couple:

On the 12th of this month [July 1923] Reverend Charles T. Patchell visited the National Monument via the Soledad road. He made camp [in Juniper Canyon near Oak Tree Spring] within the National Monument boundary, claimed by H.F. Melville as a townsite whereon he has some old dilapidated leaching tanks. Reverend Patchell was comfortably located in his camp, when on the following morning about 5 AM Mrs. Rivers and her consort entered the camp and ordered an immediate removal. Rev. Patchell had come for his health and intended to remain several weeks, therefor did not care to move, on offering to pay for the privilege of remaining was met with a refusal. Due to the hour of the morning he made no effort to move, so guns were flashed on him with profane orders to get out immediately. Of course he had no alternative but to move.²²

Many visitors had already written letters of complaint to the Washington office of the National Park Service or to the General Land Office in San Francisco, but nothing could be done

19. Vipond to Hermansen, October 21, 1922, PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

20. Hermansen to Director, November 19, 1922, PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

21. The *Soledad Bee* [May 5, 1922] wrote, "Mrs. Rivers is an energetic woman and a good booster for Soledad and the Salinas valley. She has been at the head of a movement to advertise the Pinnacles and Palisades to the outside world and has been very successful. She is also after good roads to the resort." The article in the *Oakland Tribune* appeared in May 1923.

22. Herman Hermansen to Director, July 29, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

without first proving that Melville and the Rivers were in violation of the law. Hermansen finally forced this issue when he filed a homestead entry on September 1, 1921, on a 640-acre parcel of land that overlapped Melville's mining claim. Hermansen knew that Melville already occupied this land and was purposely testing the legal validity of his mineral claim. He was confident that Melville's mining operations would be proved fraudulent if all the evidence could be examined before a judge, and Melville would be forced to relinquish the land to Hermansen. Once that happened, Hermansen intended to grant a public easement to provide access to the monument, just as Viggo Petersen had promised to do on the east side.

Melville quickly responded to Hermansen's threat by renewing all of his mineral locations with the county recorder and hiring a laborer—Ernest Bauman—to resume work on his mines. (It was later learned that he had not done any mineral work prior to that since 1909.) On November 23, 1922, one day before Hermansen submitted final proof on his homestead claim, Melville filed a legal protest against him with the General Land Office. A hearing was scheduled with the field division of the General Land Office in San Francisco for February 8, 1923, but Melville failed to appear. This allowed the Land Office to rule in favor of Hermansen, but the Copper Mountain Mining Company shortly afterward appealed this decision to the commissioner of the General Land Office. This would prolong the investigation—possibly Melville's intention—but it also created an opportunity to resolve the matter for good, or at least that is what the Park Service hoped.

Hermansen was aided in his defense by Chief J.H. Favorite of the Land Office's field division in San Francisco. Favorite had become interested in the case after receiving numerous letters of complaint from visitors who were surprised and outraged by Melville's entrance fee. In investigating the matter, Favorite had become acquainted with Hermansen and offered to help him in his pending trial with Melville. (Favorite eventually acted as U.S. intervener in the case.) Like Hermansen, Favorite was convinced that Melville's mineral claims were fraudulent and could be legally invalidated. Favorite also seems to have been impressed by Hermansen himself, as the two men later became close friends.²³ Early in December, in anticipation of the coming hearings, Favorite submitted an extensive report to the commissioner of the General Land Office describing the situation and as much of the history of the Copper Mountain Mining Company as he could discover. This report remains one of the most complete and reliable sources on Henry Melville and the Copper Mountain Mining Company. The commissioner later transferred a copy of it to the National Park Service.²⁴

Favorite explained in his report that Henry Melville had originally settled on a small parcel of land just inside the western boundary of the monument nearly fifty years ago, prior to the monument's establishment, and had lived there intermittently ever since. A cabin and two outbuildings had been constructed on the site in 1921.²⁵ Melville never patented this land under any of the homesteading acts—for reasons that are not clear—but instead claimed the

23. Favorite later acted as best man at Hermansen's wedding to Aldah Fowles in 1925. [Hermansen to Cammerer, June 25, 1925, PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.]

24. William Spry, Commissioner of the General Land Office, to Stephen Mather, December 22, 1922, PINN Coll. RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II. Favorite's report was dated December 11, 1922.

25. The parcel is the E 1/2 of the SE 1/4 of Sec. 33 Township 16 South, Range 7 East and now includes the development within the Chaparral Area. According to the testimony later given during the hearings, Ernest Bauman, a laborer hired by Melville, must have been living here at the time Favorite visited the site, though Favorite never mentions Bauman. ["Copper Mountain Mining Co. vs. Herman A. Hermansen, Protest Dismissed," August 29, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 33, NARA II.]

land under the Mining Act of 1872.²⁶ This gave him only a conditional title to the land, since the Mining Act required that Melville submit annual proof of profitable labor or forfeit his claim. Melville had also filed on land just outside the monument boundaries under the same terms. In all, he had made more than thirty mineral claims in the immediate area by 1921. These included mines, mill sites, dump sites, and even a town site.²⁷ The latter he had staked out and named “Palisades” but had not developed any further. Melville incorporated all of these assets in 1914, forming an early version of the Copper Mountain Mining Company. (The company was reorganized in 1919 into its final form.) Since Melville was president and chief shareholder of the company, he and the Copper Mountain Mining Company were effectively synonymous.

In 1921, Melville purchased a 160-acre parcel inside the monument boundaries and a 40-acre parcel just outside the eastern boundary of the monument at Willow Spring on the north fork of Chalone Creek.²⁸ These two parcels had been filed in 1892—both as cash-entry homesteads rather than mineral claims—by George W. Root Jr., Melville’s old friend from Rootville. George Root had since moved to Nevada County, where he became manager of a mine in Grass Valley after selling his share of his Pinnacles claims to business partners.²⁹ Root’s quarter section homestead comprised most of the Old Pinnacles, including Machete Ridge, the Balconies, and the Old Pinnacles Gorge.³⁰ Since the parcel had been patented before the establishment of the national monument, it remained a legal inholding at the time Melville bought it. Melville never developed this property beyond erecting fences and maintaining the trail through the middle of it.³¹ He claimed he had made the purchase to protect his mines just west of this parcel from encroachment or trespass.

The trail through Old Pinnacles Gorge and the Root homestead was at that time the only established route across Pinnacles. The road leading up from Bear Valley terminated at one end of this trail, while the Soledad road terminated at the other. On the east side of the gorge, a picnic area had been established many years earlier by local ranchers, who occasionally rode

26. Had Melville filed a homestead claim, he would have been able to retain the land in spite of Hermansen’s challenge and would even have possessed priority over the monument, a fact that was later demonstrated by Melville’s ownership of the Root homestead, which became a legal inholding within the monument and had to be condemned before it could revert to federal ownership.

27. A mineral survey made that year recorded 26 mines. This is reproduced in “Copper Mountain Mining Co. vs. Herman A. Hermansen, Protest Dismissed,” August 29, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

28. The 160-acre parcel comprises the NE 1/4 and the W 1/2 of the NW 1/4, and the NW 1/4 of the SW 1/4 of Sec. 34, Township 16 South, Range 7 East. The forty-acre parcel at Willow Spring comprises the SE 1/4 of the SW 1/4 of Sec. 26, Township 16 South, Range 7 East. The former claim was filed by George W. Root in 1894 and patented in 1909, while the latter was never patented, though Root had apparently claimed it. (He filed a transfer of title in 1893). Melville bought both parcels in April of 1920, though of course his deed to the latter was not valid, since Root had never perfected his title. It would subsequently be claimed by Alonzo Bourke and patented to him in 1926. [*Abstracts*, Fidelity Title Insurance Co., Hollister, CA; *Deed Books*, San Benito County Recorder’s Office, Hollister, CA.]

29. Anita Mason, researcher for the Monterey County Historical Society, in telephone conversation with author, September 20, 2007. The names listed in the transfer of title are Thomas Huguet, Harry and Hermann Nienhaus, George Lawton, and W.C. Crowley.

30. At that time, this chasm was often called the Palisades Gorge.

31. This trail is reputed to have existed long prior to Anglo-American settlement and was known among some local residents as an old Spanish trail. [See Chapter 1, “East Side Road Development.”] By the 1920s, it had largely been abandoned. Herman Hermansen described it as “just an old cattle trail” [Hermansen to Director, October 9, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II].

up here for holiday gatherings. As tourists began visiting the monument in the early twentieth century, the site was used by them as a dining area and a campground. It had been improved over time and by 1921 included several wooden tables, masonry barbeque pits and a masonry-lined spring box for drinking water. Melville closed off this campground that year with a gated fence.³² On the west side, Melville also erected a gate across the entrance road, so that motorists arriving from Soledad were compelled to pay an admission fee before they could even approach the monument. The duty of patrolling this gate and collecting the fee was given to the Rivers after Ernest Bauman left in 1922.

Since the only good campground and reliable source of water on the west side lay within the Copper Mountain Mining Company's claims, there seemed to be no way around Melville's monopoly of the monument on this side.³³ It was this observation that led Superintendent Lewis to recommend abandoning Pinnacles. When Favorite visited the site in 1922, however, he noticed that the mineral claims had not been worked for many years, and he could see no evidence of any vein or lode of mineral-bearing rock. He was accompanied by a mineral examiner (Mr. Fibush), who later corroborated these observations during the hearings over Hermansen's homesteading claim. Based on this evidence, Favorite concluded that Melville's claims were invalid and that he could legally be evicted. This would make at least the camping area on the west side—if not the Old Pinnacles themselves—accessible to the public.

Favorite noted that the opportunity for circumventing Melville's monopoly was even better on the east side, where Bear Gulch provided both excellent camping and an alternative point of access into the monument. Favorite also noted that the canyon was more than just another way in; it was an attraction in its own right:

Bear Gulch, extending into the monument from the eastern or Hollister side, is a beautiful canyon containing a very good stream of water and possessing many scenic attractions. In this canyon there are two sets of so-called caves which are said to be even more pretentious than those to be found on the patented land [that is, the Old Pinnacles].

To emphasize his point, Favorite included photographs of Bear Gulch and the landscape above it (see Fig. 7).

Favorite explained how Viggo Petersen and Herman Hermansen had constructed trails into this canyon from the road on Chalone Creek, so that it was already possible to get into the monument from this point, though only on foot or horseback. If Bear Gulch could be adequately protected through the withdrawal of the remaining public land at the top of the canyon and a satisfactory road built up it, the monument could be made fully accessible to the public from the east side, and there would no longer be any reason to abandon it. If the Copper Mountain Mining Company's claims on the west side could also be invalidated, then access from Soledad would be assured and that side developed as well. Favorite concluded by recommending all of these measures and by suggesting that the Park Service appoint a caretaker or custodian to oversee the monument and develop its trails. He considered Viggo Petersen "a very good man for this work" and "thoroughly dependable," though he also suggested that Herman Hermansen would be a good candidate.

32. Schuyler Hain to Stephen Mather, October 25, 1920; Herman Hermansen to Director, June 17, 1923; and Hermansen to Arno Cammerer, January 28, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II. Hermansen transferred the wooden tables to Viggo Petersen's campground after Melville fenced this site off.

33. The only exception was a small canyon on the east side of Section 4, just south of Juniper Canyon, where an intermittent spring and a long, shaded bench make a suitable campsite for at least part of the year, but Melville erected a fence along the Soledad Road at the canyon's mouth to prevent visitors from entering here.



Figure 7. View looking up Bear Gulch toward the Monolith from the Moses Spring Trail, 1922. [Included in report of J.H. Favorite to Commissioner of the GLO, Dec. 11, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]



Figure 8. View of Pinnacles from the west side showing relative position of Henry Melville's claim. His cabin is circled in the middle of the picture. [Included in report of J.H. Favorite to Commissioner of the GLO, Dec. 11, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]

Given his position in the General Land Office, Favorite spoke with as much authority as Superintendent Lewis, but his report was far more thorough and accurate than the latter's cursory observations had been. As a result, Favorite's report now became Washington's principal source of information about Pinnacles, replacing Lewis' report. All of Favorite's recommendations were taken seriously and many were eventually implemented. The easiest

of these was the withdrawal of the remaining public lands along the eastern border of the monument, and this was done immediately. Within a few months, a proclamation for the addition of this land to the monument was prepared and presented to President Harding for his signature, which he duly gave on May 7, 1923. This was the second proclamation affecting the boundaries of Pinnacles, and it increased the size of the monument by just over 562 acres. The added lands included the upper half of Bear Gulch with the Bear Gulch Caves. This brought the monument's eastern boundary to the edge of Viggo Petersen's homestead, which encompassed the lower half of Bear Gulch and Chalone Creek down to the western side of Ben Bacon's ranch.

Another of Favorite's recommendations that the Park Service quickly acted upon was the appointment of a custodian. Since Hermansen had already made himself known to the Washington office even before the receipt of Favorite's report, he was offered the job rather than Petersen. Acting Director Cammerer wrote to Hermansen on May 8th, one day after the presidential proclamation enlarging the monument, and asked if he would be willing to accept the job at the nominal salary of \$12 per year. (This was standard at that time for most custodians of the national monuments.) Hermansen immediately accepted and entered on duty at the beginning of June 1923. Cammerer also informed Hermansen of the efforts that were being taken to eject Henry Melville from the unpatented land he occupied within the monument.³⁴ In reality, this amounted to little more than an interdepartmental request for the General Land Office to investigate the validity of Melville's claims. Hermansen's own case would have far greater effect, but Cammerer's actions nonetheless illustrate how quickly his office moved to support Pinnacles after only recently considering its abandonment. Favorite's report had been decisive in convincing the Washington office that it was possible to preserve the monument. Hermansen and the other Pinnacles Boys would be equally decisive in determining how the monument would subsequently be developed.

The long-delayed hearings in Hermansen's homesteading case were finally held beginning on October 25, 1923, before the commissioner of the General Land Office.³⁵ They continued through February 14, 1924. Through the course of these proceedings, many further details were revealed that added to the account already provided by J.H. Favorite's report. Henry Melville's testimony corroborated Favorite's assertion that the first mineral locations had been made in 1870. Although Melville had worked actively on these mines during the remainder of that decade, he acknowledged that no ore had been shipped after 1876. His millsites were not developed, and the wooden leaching tanks, which he had installed near Oak Tree Spring in 1909, had never been used.³⁶

William D. McPhie, a rancher from Soledad and secretary of the Copper Mountain Mining Company, provided a brief account of the history and nature of the company. He said it had been organized in 1919 and capitalized at \$1 million with the issuing of one million shares at \$1 each. Some fifty thousand of these shares had been sold in England at sub-par value,

34. Cammerer to Hermansen, May 8, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

35. Henry Melville had filed an initial protest in his own name on November 23, 1922, one day before Hermansen submitted the final proof for his homestead entry. A hearing was scheduled for February 8, 1923, but Melville failed to show up, and the following day his protest was dismissed. On March 14th of the same year, a new protest comprising essentially the same substance was filed on behalf of the Copper Mountain Mining Company. Although the GLO initially dismissed this protest, when appeals were filed, the GLO was forced to schedule formal hearings. [PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]

36. An announcement describing the installation of six leaching tanks was made in the *Soledad Bee* November 9, 1909.

realizing \$28,600. This money was used to pay the executive staff of the company, which consisted of only three individuals: a secretary (W.D. McPhie), a treasurer (P.H. Smith), and Henry Melville, who held the title of president and general manager. Melville received \$50 per month for this position. The only work toward which this money was applied was in improving and maintaining the road from Soledad.³⁷

In 1920, Melville used \$15,000 dollars from this sum to purchase the Root homestead on behalf of the Copper Mountain Mining Company. He assured the company's shareholders that this was done to protect their investment in the mining operation, which, he insisted, would have been threatened if the property had gone to someone unsympathetic to their interests. (Melville was probably thinking of Schuyler Hain, who had taken out an option on this parcel.) According to Melville, one of the conditions for purchasing the Root homestead placed on him by the shareholders was that he charge an admission for visitors wanting to enter the land, thereby helping defray the cost of the purchase.³⁸ Melville accordingly leased the property to Robert and Olive Rivers, who were legally identified as caretakers and required to charge fifty-cents admission for any member of the public desiring access to the property. Fifty percent of this sum—after taxes—was to be remitted to the Copper Mountain Mining Company, from which Melville drew his own salary. McPhie testified that this was the only revenue ever produced by the company.³⁹

About the same time Herman Hermansen arrived in the country and began taking an interest in the monument, Melville became actively concerned with the legitimacy of his mineral claims. On July 10, 1921, he amended all twenty-six of these claims in the recorder's office and had them surveyed, with assays made, the following month. Only a week after this was completed, Hermansen filed his homestead entry on the same land, claiming that he could see no evidence of any recent work having been done. The existing tunnels and cuts, Hermansen testified, were eroded and overgrown with weeds.

As the court soon discovered, no work had been done on them since 1909 or 1910, when the U.S. Forest Service, which then administered the land as part of the Pinnacles Forest Reserve, had filed a protest with the General Land Office, alleging that Melville had ceased to do any meaningful work and that the claims themselves were non-mineral in character.⁴⁰ The General Land Office sustained this protest, with an amendment that three of Melville's claims

37. There were at least three roads leading up to the Pinnacles from the west side. La Gloria Road is reputedly the oldest. It ran from Gonzales up to the agricultural lands in the La Gloria Valley, and from there one could continue south to the Pinnacles. The Rootville miners built another early road up Shirttail Gulch, probably in or about 1870. In 1912, the county built its road—the present road—up Stonewall Canyon. [Anita Mason, researcher for the Monterey County Historical Society, unpublished notes.]

38. *Soledad Bee*, April 8, 1921.

39. Hermansen to director, monthly report. According to Hermansen, who met separately with the officials of the Copper Mountain Mining Company, Treasurer P.H. Smith was convinced by this time that there was no copper in the mines and was planning to withdraw from the company. Secretary W. McPhie believed that the mines did possess copper, but he did not like Melville's practice of charging admission to the Old Pinnacles. Both men resented leasing to the Rivers and noted, apparently with some bitterness or suspicion, that Melville held most of the stock and so controlled the company. [Hermansen to Director, July 29, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]

40. "In comparing the testimony given in March 1910 at the contest proceedings brought at the instance of the Forest Service against this group of claims as to the mining development work that had been done on them at that time, with the testimony given in this hearing as to the condition of the development work in 1921, it appears that very little, if any, work, was done except to repair the road." ["Copper Mountain Mining Co. vs. Herman

be excepted from the verdict for lack of evidence. The final decision was recorded on February 1, 1911, only a month after the Forest Service abandoned its Pinnacles Forest Reserve and the land reverted once more to the public domain. Probably emboldened by the Forest Service's loss of interest in the land, Melville had simply ignored the court's decision and maintained possession of all his mineral claims, although he did no work beyond maintaining the road and taking a few samples to send to his shareholders once he had organized the Copper Mountain Mining Company—or its predecessor—in 1914. Melville probably filed amendments in 1921 in order to reassert his legal right to these mineral claims, reasoning that these would operate as new locations. This, at least, was how the court interpreted his actions.⁴¹

Only a few months after Hermansen filed his homestead entry, Melville hired Ernest Bauman, an experienced miner, to resume work on the Copper Mountain Mining Company's claims. Bauman lived in a cabin on site from the beginning of February 1922 until the summer of 1924, when his contract expired. During this time, Bauman maintained the road and worked on the mines, driving one of the tunnels about two hundred feet further into the hill. He also helped collect the admission fee from visitors. According to his testimony at the hearings, Bauman had seen no evidence of ore within any of the tunnels or cuts on which he worked, and he worried that Melville would not be able to pay him.⁴² It appears that the only reason Bauman was hired was in order to validate Melville's mineral claims by demonstrating work being done as required by the conditions of the 1872 Mining Act. The fact that Melville took these actions so soon after Hermansen's arrival seems hardly coincidental, as J.H. Favorite, now acting as intervener for the United States, pointed out:

After it became known that this land was entered as a homestead by Mr. Hermansen, preparations were made for active development work, and a contract was entered into with Mr. Bauman, as described by Mr. Melville and Mr. Bauman in their testimony. Therefore, when we consider the failure to mine and ship any ore from these claims during the past fifty years, or since their location; the failure to do any considerable amount of development work from 1910 until the spring 1922, after the filing of the homestead entry; the paying of \$15,000 for 160 acres of non-mineral land adjoining the claims on which is situated a natural wonder; the collecting of admission fees from persons viewing the Pinnacles, or this natural wonder; the constant repairs to the road leading beyond the claims to the natural wonder for the use and convenience of the sight-seers who would pay these admission fees, one is led to conclude that possession of these claims is desired not for any mineral or prospects of mineral which they may contain, but in order that through their possession the road leading to the National Monument may be controlled for revenue derived from the exploitation of the scenery. These facts bear strongly against the good faith of the mineral claimants.⁴³

By the beginning of 1921, Henry Melville knew that he could not sell any more stock in the Copper Mountain Mining Company without first demonstrating that he could produce

Hermansen, Argument for the Intervener," January, 1924, p. 30. (Enclosure in Favorite to Cammerer, January 23, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.)

41. "Copper Mountain Mining Co. vs. Herman Hermansen, Protest Dismissed," August 29, 1924; and Hermansen to Director, May 25, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

42. Ibid.

43. "Copper Mountain Mining Co. vs. Herman Hermansen, Argument for the Intervener," pp. 30–31, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

profitable quantities of mineral from his claims, which he could not.⁴⁴ But by now he had discovered a new source of revenue as Pinnacles became an increasingly popular tourist destination. Although Melville always insisted that his mines were legitimate and contained potentially valuable quantities of ore, it seems hard to believe that he maintained them for any other purpose after 1921 than to control access to Pinnacles.⁴⁵

Although most of the hearings subsequently focused on whether Melville's mining claims were legitimate or not, the court acknowledged that the validity of Hermansen's homestead claim, not Melville's mineral claims, was the ultimate purpose of its inquiry. In order to reach this conclusion, however, the court first had to determine which of the contested claims—Melville's or Hermansen's—had legal priority. The Stock-Raising Homestead Act, under which Hermansen had made his claim, stipulated that the claimant's land must be legally unoccupied at the time of filing.⁴⁶ Melville's occupation of this land was justified on the basis of his mineral claims, filed under the Mining Act of 1872, and could be considered legal only if his claims remained active and valid under the terms of that act. In other words, if Melville and the Copper Mountain Mining Company were in violation of the conditions of their claims, then they were not legally occupants of the land at the time Hermansen entered his homesteading claim in 1921, and Hermansen's claim would therefore be determined legitimate. If, however, the mining company's claims were in good order at that time, then Hermansen was not in his rights when he filed his entry, and his claim would be determined illegitimate.

Everything hinged on the court's evaluation of the Copper Mountain Mining Company's mineral claims. Among other things, the Mining Act required that a claim be substantially mineral in character—in other words, that it possess marketable quantities of mineral—and that work be ongoing.⁴⁷ Both these conditions were found to be lacking in this case. So far as the court could determine, no work had occurred on the company's mines between 1910 and 1922. Work resumed in 1922, but only after Hermansen had entered his homesteading claim. More importantly, numerous witnesses testified that the claims in question possessed no significant quantities of mineral and never had. One mining engineer who inspected the site, made the following observation:

An alleged manganese deposit on the Black Warrior claim was found to be only a vegetable stain. Wherever any deposits of copper carbonate have been found they were found along joint planes or along surfaces where the rock was fractured and a small channel had been opened for the circulation of mineral solutions. The rocks were not impregnated with the

44. Melville's agent in London, L.K. Henri (apparently a relative of Melville's by marriage), was under increasing pressure from the company's British shareholders by the end of 1920 to demonstrate positive results from the mines, and he himself was beginning to express skepticism. See, L.K. Henri to Henry Melville, August 27, 1920. This letter is part of a package of private correspondence belonging to Henry Melville that Hermansen seems to have stolen. He sent these letters as an enclosure in, Hermansen to the Director, April 3, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

45. According to his grandson, Henry Melville never waived in his belief that these mines contained ore. [Leland Melville, interviewed by author, May 14, 2007.]

46. The Stock-Raising Homestead Act of 1916 was one of several modifications of the original Homestead Act of 1862. Among other things, it increased the amount of land that could be claimed by a single individual from 160 to 640 acres. It also exempted the mineral rights from the claim. This made it possible for a prospector to file a mineral claim on a stock-raising homestead even after the latter was patented.

47. The Mining Act of 1872, as amended in 1893, required a miner to have his ore evaluated by a certified assayer to determine its value and to record an affidavit—a "Proof of Labor"—attesting to work done each year.

minerals, and the proportion of the total copper mineral to the entire mass of rock was so exceedingly small that even the unpracticed eye could discern the fact that the deposits were exceedingly low in grade.⁴⁸

This and other testimonies from expert witnesses finally convinced the commissioner that all of Melville's mineral claims were invalid, and Hermansen's homestead entry was sustained on August 29, 1924. In his final verdict, the commissioner upheld the decision rendered on behalf of the U.S. Forest Service in 1911, which had invalidated all but three of Melville's original claims. Melville's amendment of these claims in 1921 was determined to have had no effect on their legitimacy. The three mines excepted from the 1911 decision, as well as several more claims that Melville had located subsequent to 1911, were also declared null and void. This decision eliminated all of the Copper Mountain Mining Company's assets on the west side of Pinnacles and effectively shut its operations down, though the company would not be dissolved until after Melville's death in 1933. Melville subsequently filed another appeal and a motion for rehearing, but these were denied, and the commissioner's original decision was made final on March 14, 1925.

From this date forward, Melville lost all legal right to occupy or use any of the lands he had once claimed on the west side. Although most of these mineral claims now belonged to Herman Hermansen, about eighty acres lay within the boundaries of Pinnacles National Monument in the area now comprising the Chaparral Picnic Area and Ranger Station.⁴⁹ Melville had constructed a cabin and two outbuildings here as well as a corral and miscellaneous fencing.⁵⁰ His continued use and occupation of these structures now constituted trespass on federal lands, but knowing how stubborn Henry Melville could be, the government correctly acknowledged that further legal action would be required to evict him and eventually filed suit with the attorney general's office.⁵¹ This case dragged on through several postponements and was not finally resolved until July of 1931, with Melville—or his tenants Robert and Olive Rivers—occupying the property for the duration.⁵²

The Copper Mountain Mining Company's possession of the Root homestead in Old Pinnacles Gorge was wholly unaffected by the 1925 court decision, since that land was already patented when Melville bought it on behalf of the company in 1920. He had turned down repeated offers to sell this parcel over the years, and it would remain the property of the Copper Mountain Mining Company until finally condemned by San Benito County in August of 1935 (almost two years after Melville's death).⁵³

George Root's homestead included forty acres at Willow Spring, which Henry Melville had also purchased in 1920. Unlike his 160-acre claim in the Old Pinnacles, however, George

48. "Copper Mountain Mining Co. vs. Herman Hermansen, Argument for the Intervener," pp. 19–20.

49. This small parcel lay in the E 1/2 of the SE 1/4 of Sec. 33, Township 16 South, Range 7 East.

50. This development lay in the approximate location of the present Chaparral Area.

51. J.H. Favorite had foreseen this in 1923 and predicted that they would eventually have to involve the Justice Department. [Favorite to Director, June 7, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]

52. Despite appearances to the contrary, Melville denied that he was in occupation, so the suit actually brought against him was for damages to government property in order to allow the Park Service to remove his improvements. [W.I. Hawkins to the Director, July 31, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

53. In 1921, Universal Pictures spent three weeks filming *The Fire Cat* in the Old Pinnacles. Afterward, the studio offered Melville \$65,000 to buy the property. Melville refused. [W.B. Lewis to Director, April 5, 1922, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.]

Root apparently never made final proof on the latter entry, and it remained unpatented at the time Melville bought it.⁵⁴ Shortly after the sale, one of Herman Hermansen's friends, Alonzo Bourke, filed a homestead entry on the same land. When Melville complained to the General Land Office a few years later, his protest was dismissed and the Root title was invalidated.⁵⁵ Bourke was awarded patent to the land in 1926.

THE FIRST BEAR GULCH ENTRANCE ROAD (1924)

Invalidation of the Copper Mountain Mining Company's claims on the west side was not Hermansen's only preoccupation during these years. He also worked hard to develop improved access to the east side of the monument, primarily by raising support for an entrance road up Bear Gulch to the foot of the High Peaks. During November of 1923, Assistant Director Arno Cammerer was out in California and visited Pinnacles for the first time. Although he missed seeing Hermansen, Cammerer was able to inspect the monument and came to appreciate the importance of an east side entrance road. He also got a good sense of the problems facing it. Noting that it was impossible to reach the monument from any side without first passing over private land, Cammerer wrote to Hermansen after returning to Washington and strongly recommended that he obtain easements through all of the private ranches that lay between the main road in Bear Valley and the eastern boundary of the monument.⁵⁶ The existing entrance road along Sandy Creek passed through three separate private parcels after leaving the county road. These belonged to Benjamin Bacon, his brother Oliver Bacon, and Viggo Petersen, respectively. Viggo, of course, had already agreed to donate an easement over his land, but the Bacon brothers were less enthusiastic about the idea. Hermansen observed that the county had approached Ben Bacon several times in the past, beginning in 1913 when the initial county road survey was made. Ben Bacon had remained noncommittal on each of these occasions. According to Hermansen, he was not strongly opposed to the idea of a public easement but claimed he was concerned about his cattle getting out if visitors left the gates opened. (Hermansen offered to build cattle guards.) He also said that he was worried visitors would use the easement to poach wild animals—Ben described himself as a strict preservationist and refused to allow any hunting on his land.⁵⁷ Hermansen noted that Oliver Bacon was of the same opinion as his brother (though probably not on the matter of shooting wild game, since Oliver was widely known to be an avid hunter).⁵⁸

Hermansen was having far better success raising support for the Bear Gulch road with the San Benito County business community, represented by the Farm Bureau, the Merchants Association and the Chamber of Commerce. He had first approached members of these

54. *Abstract*, Fidelity Title Insurance Company, Hollister, CA.

55. This occurred on December 18, 1923. There was some confusion over exactly who claimed what land. According to one local newspaper, Melville addressed his protest against Zotic Marcott, who claimed the land directly north of Alonzo Bourke, though it was Bourke whose entry actually encompassed the original Root claim. [*Soledad Bee*, December 28, 1923.]

56. Cammerer to Hermansen, December 14, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

57. Ernest Sevenman later obtained a permanent hunting easement over the entire ranch from Ray Marcus in 1942 after Marcus bought the ranch from the estate of Ben and Orea Bacon. [Abstracts, Fidelity Title Insurance Company, Hollister, CA; Tim Regan, interviewed by author, March 19, 2007.]

58. Hermansen to Director, January 3, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Box 336, NARA II.

groups in June of 1923.⁵⁹ Initially, the businessmen had been reluctant to offer any support. They were still frustrated by Melville's closure of the Old Pinnacles Campground, which they had helped improve several years earlier by grading the road up the north fork of Chalone Creek and installing a spring box for drinking water. They were also skeptical of the Park Service's commitment to the Pinnacles, which is not surprising considering that the Service had recommended abandoning the monument only a year earlier.⁶⁰ But this skepticism was substantially eased after Hermansen described a recent allotment of \$600 for trail work as well as Cammerer's promise of further money from the separate roads budget—still pending in Congress—which would be used to extend the Bear Gulch Entrance Road a short ways into the monument if the county would build the road up to its boundary and ensure unimpeded access across the intervening private lands.⁶¹ This unexpected news was greeted with enthusiasm, and resulted in both the Hollister Merchants Association and the San Benito County Farm Bureau proposing to raise a public subscription to fund the project.⁶²

In July, Hermansen also spoke to members of the Soledad Chamber of Commerce, warning them about Henry Melville's control of the west entrance to the monument and proposing to donate a right-of-way through his own land, which bordered the monument along the north, if Monterey County officials would build a road along this route to connect with the east side at Bear Gulch. This cross-monument road would circumvent Melville and the Copper Mountain Mining Company's lands altogether, but it would also compliment Hermansen's proposed Bear Gulch Entrance Road by providing an additional connection from Monterey County, thereby giving access to the same point of entry into the Pinnacles from both east and west. The Soledad businessmen expressed interest in this proposal, but no action was taken at that time.⁶³

On January 25th, a delegation representing all of the major San Benito County business organizations visited Pinnacles in order to consider the proposed Bear Gulch Entrance Road and tour the new trails that the Pinnacles Boys had recently constructed.⁶⁴ The following month, the county engineer came down to locate a route for the new road. Seeing these developments and perceiving the road to now be all but inevitable, Ben and Oliver Bacon finally agreed to provide an easement across their ranches, but only for \$1,600 each plus the cost of cattle guards. This was a setback for the county, but only a minor one. Far greater was the outbreak of Foot-and-Mouth disease.⁶⁵ In the midst of this discouraging epidemic,

59. Hermansen to the Director, June 28, 1923 [mistakenly dated July 28], PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

60. A copy of Yosemite Superintendent Lewis' report making this recommendation had been forwarded to the San Benito County Chamber of Commerce and was even excerpted in the local newspaper.

61. Cammerer to Hermansen, December 14, 1923; and Mather to Hermansen, February 13, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Boxes 336 & 337, NARA II. Congress had not yet approved this budget—and would not until the following year—so it is possible that Hermansen exaggerated the Park Service's very cautious offer in order to reassure the businessmen.

62. Hermansen to the Director, September 11, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II. W.I. Hawkins was the president of the Farm Bureau, and this date seems to represent the beginning of his involvement with the monument.

63. Hermansen to the Director, July 29, 1923, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II.

64. Hermansen to Cammerer, January 28, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

65. Kendrick A. Clements, "Managing a National Crisis: The 1924 Foot-and-Mouth Disease Outbreak in California" *California History* 84.3 (Spring, 2007): 23–42.



Figure 9. The turnoff to Pinnacles National Monument from the unpaved county road in the 1920s. As the sign indicates, the monument still lay six miles distant across several private ranches (each separated by closed gates). The first ranch belonged to Gustav Lange, whose house is just visible under the large oak in the right-hand side of the photo. This is now the eastern boundary of the monument. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

which resulted in severe travel restrictions throughout the state for much of that summer, Pinnacles received some much-needed encouragement when Park Service Director Stephen Mather visited on March 28th. He was introduced to the Pinnacles Boys, inspected their trail work, and met with local business leaders and politicians. While in Hollister, Mather became acquainted with Washington Irving Hawkins, president of the San Benito County Farm Bureau and member of a prominent local family. W.I. Hawkins' father, T.S. Hawkins, was one of the original founders of the town of Hollister.⁶⁶ The friendship that resulted between Mather and Hawkins would soon have important consequences for Pinnacles, as Hawkins would later become the second custodian of the monument.

After much delay resulting from concern over the Foot-and-Mouth epidemic, the county board of supervisors finally voted on an appropriation for the road project at Pinnacles on April 7, 1924. The supervisors unanimously agreed to allot \$3,500 from the county budget to purchase easements through the two Bacon ranches and to build cattleguards. But they refused to allot any further money for construction of the road up Bear Gulch, because of

66. Thomas S. Hawkins, *Some Recollections of a Busy Life* (San Francisco: P. Elder & Co., 1913); and George H. Tinkham, "The Story of San Benito County" in J.M. Guinn, ed. *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of Santa Cruz, San Benito, Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties . . .* (Chicago: The Chapman Publishing Co., 1903). Mather may have stayed with the Hawkins while he was in Hollister, since he seems to have gotten to know the family.



Figure 10. Photo of Park Service Director Stephen Mather with the Pinnacles Boys in 1924. This must have been taken during Mather's visit on March 28th. Herman Hermansen is third from left (wearing a badge on his shirt pocket), Mather is to the right of Hermansen, and the older man with his hands resting on a wooden staff is Schuyler Hain, the "Father of the Pinnacles." To the right of Hain is Zotic Marcott, who would become the monument's first chief ranger. On the far left of the group is Viggo Petersen, and to the right of him is Russell Bourke. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

the economic difficulties caused by the livestock epidemic that year.⁶⁷ However, the Farm Bureau, led by its president W.I. Hawkins and treasurer Waldo Rohnert, quickly stepped in and assumed responsibility. They began raising funds through public subscription to finance this part of the project, and by May of that year were able to start construction on the new road.⁶⁸ Russell Bourke—of the Pinnacles Boys—received the contract for grading. He attached a blade to the front of his Fordson tractor so that it could be used as a bulldozer and, with the assistance of Howard and Ralph Hain and Joe Netto of Hollister, began cutting the first road into the steep hillside.⁶⁹

On April 12th, the monument was closed to all visitation as part of the state-wide quarantine for the Foot-and-Mouth disease. This was a discouraging blow for business leaders who were trying to promote tourism. Even Olive Rivers was troubled, as she depended heavily on the fees she got from visitors to the Old Pinnacles. In frustration, she began collecting signatures on a petition to have the quarantine lifted, but to no effect. Construction on the Bear Gulch road was also forced to stop. In June, the county received more discouraging news when it was notified that Congress had failed to pass the proposed federal roads budget, and the Park

67. Hermansen to Cammerer, April 8, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

68. Hawkins to Mather, April 10, 1924; and Hermansen to Director, May 25, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Box 336, NARA II.

69. Lois Bourke, *Bourke Engine Documentary*.

Service would not be able to allot any money toward construction of the Bear Gulch road extension into the monument, at least not during the present fiscal year. However, a meager \$225 was allotted from the national monument's budget for the construction of toilets.⁷⁰ This string of bad news was mitigated only by the lifting of the Foot-and-Mouth quarantine on June 16th.

On August 22, 1924, the San Benito County Chamber of Commerce hosted a benefit picnic on Viggo Petersen's ranch to reinvigorate the stalled road-building effort. With the quarantine lifted and tourists finally beginning to return to the monument, the prospects for renewed activity seemed auspicious. Among those attending this picnic were Congressional representative Arthur Free and Chief of the California Highway Commission Harvey Toy. Also present were delegates from the Soledad Chamber of Commerce, who were escorted through the Old Pinnacles Gorge to Petersen's ranch by no less than Henry Melville and Olive Rivers. The presence of the Monterey County delegates was a surprise, given that the completion of the Bear Gulch road would greatly prejudice competition for tourism in San Benito County's favor. This had already proven to be a source of tension between the two counties. The sudden willingness to cooperate suggests that the counties may have already begun to discuss a joint effort to build a cross-monument road, as would soon be revealed, allowing both sides to benefit from tourism to the monument. Such a proposal would also explain Harvey Toy's presence that day, since a cross-monument road would be administered as a state highway and would qualify for state highway funds.

Only a few months earlier, Hermansen had publically invited Monterey County officials to discuss the possibility of an alternative west side road that circumvented the Copper Mountain Mining Company lands in the Old Pinnacles. Hermansen imagined this road continuing all the way to the east side along the north fork of Chalone Creek, connecting the two sides of the monument. Whether he ever sat down with Monterey County officials remains unknown—Hermansen never mentioned it in his letters—but this represents the earliest recorded proposal for such a project and may have been the origins of the present spirit of cooperation between the two counties.⁷¹

The August picnic seems to have been a success, and work resumed on the east side road shortly afterward. By the middle of September, the last of the easements across Petersen's land and the two Bacon ranches had been obtained and all of the gates replaced with cattleguards. Automobiles had free access up the Chalone Creek Road—present Highway 146—as far as Bear Gulch for the first time. Meanwhile, the county board of supervisors took over responsibility from the Farm Bureau for the unfinished Bear Gulch road and began advertising bids for contract. In a little over a month—on December 15th—the road was finished as far as the monument boundary at the top of the Bear Gulch Grade.⁷² Although this road was drivable and represented a considerable achievement, it was still a rudimentary affair. It followed the original foot trail built by Viggo Petersen and Herman Hermansen up the north side of the canyon and represented little or no improvement over the trail's rugged alignment. For much of its length, the new road was too narrow to allow more than one car to pass at a time. Owing to the inconvenience and possible danger of two cars meeting head-on, two time clocks were installed, one at the top and another at the bottom of the steep grade. Drivers were instructed

70. Cammerer to Hermansen, June 12, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

71. As noted above, the old Spanish trail already crossed the Pinnacles, but it was passable only on foot or horseback.

72. Actual work lasted from October 20 to December 15 [Hermansen to Director, October 17, 1924; and Hermansen to Director, January 5, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II].



Figure 11. View looking east down original Bear Gulch Entrance Road, ca. 1930. Motorists could only travel one-way during designated time periods within each hour. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

to proceed in alternate half-hour periods. (Later, a telephone line was also installed, allowing a driver to call up before proceeding to see if anyone else had started down.)

Approximately fifteen hundred feet of road still had to be built to enable automobiles to reach all of the campsites on the level terrace at the top of Bear Gulch, but this remaining section lay within the national monument and could only be constructed under government authority. The failure of the Congressional roads bill earlier that year seemed to extinguish the chances of this happening, but when Congress reconvened for its second session in December, the bill was resubmitted and this time passed. The appropriation allowed the Park Service to finally allot the funds it had promised for the completion of the road. In January, Director Stephen Mather wrote to Hermansen announcing that \$3,000 was now available for him to use toward this purpose.⁷³

EARLY DEVELOPMENT AT BEAR GULCH (1925)

The rapid developments at Pinnacles by the end of 1924 left Custodian Hermansen feeling enthusiastic about the monument's future. He now had the support of leading citizens in both San Benito and Monterey County and was even attracting attention in San Francisco, where he periodically traveled in order to promote the monument. In January of 1925, he visited the offices of the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Oakland Tribune*, and *Sunset Magazine*, three of the leading publications in the Bay Area, and got their commitment to write features about Pinnacles. The last of these—*Sunset Magazine*—was owned by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company and advertised tourist destinations accessible by rail. Hermansen also approached the leading automobile clubs—the California State Automobile Association, the Automobile Club of Southern California and the recently formed National Automobile Club.

73. Mather to Hermansen, January 17, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II. On the same day, Mather also wrote letters to Harvey Toy, chief of the California Highway Commission, and W.I. Hawkins, president of the San Benito County Farm Bureau, informing both these men of the allotment as well.

With the rapidly growing popularity of the automobile, these clubs were becoming powerful lobbies in California and were already important partners with the National Park Service. Hermansen also contacted Bay Area tour companies, like Peck-Judah, which operated a line of tourist buses. He hoped to have bus routes connecting the monument to the major passenger railheads at Hollister and King City. In all this promotional activity, Hermansen consciously drew attention to the east side rather than the west, even though he himself now owned one of the most scenic and readily developed parcels on the west side. This decision to neglect the west side—despite his own interests here—was probably the most important of Hermansen’s brief career as Custodian of Pinnacles and would have profound and lasting consequences for the future of the monument. Hermansen was motivated largely by Henry Melville, who had stubbornly refused to relinquish his property in the Chaparral Area, despite the recent decision of the General Land Office, and continued to control visitor access on the Soledad Road. As a result of Melville’s obstinacy, Hermansen had committed himself and the attention of the monument’s supporters to Bear Gulch, and this would remain the center of development at Pinnacles for nearly a century afterward.

Hermansen’s friend Viggo Petersen had already established a popular campground on the east side of the monument. At this time, the campground was on Chalone Creek at the foot of Bear Gulch, but as the county road to the top of the canyon neared completion, he and Hermansen began to think of how they might expand this primitive operation once the more desirable terrace at the top of the grade was made accessible to automobiles. Hermansen got the financial support of a photographer from Berkeley named Harrison Ryker, and the three men initiated a partnership sometime during the first half of 1924. When Stephen Mather visited the monument in March of that year, Hermansen vaguely alluded to these plans and got what he assumed was the consent of the Director (at any rate, he was not explicitly forbidden from the undertaking). In June, Hermansen wrote to Mather to remind him of their conversation and to tell him that he had formed a partnership with Petersen and Ryker and wanted advice on how they might establish a recreational business inside the monument at the top of Bear Gulch—they proposed building a lodge and restaurant. The letter was referred to Acting Director Cammerer, who explained that Hermansen might obtain a concession license on a year-to-year basis in accordance with standard Park Service policy, but that he would have to give up his position as custodian in order to avoid a conflict of interest.⁷⁴ Since he was not willing to do this, Hermansen agreed to withdraw from the partnership but submitted an application in Petersen’s name for the concession.⁷⁵ After considering this application at greater length, Both Mather and Cammerer agreed that the proposed development would be excessive for Pinnacles and chose not to endorse it. Mather wrote back to Hermansen shortly afterward with the denial of Petersen’s application and explained that the Park Service preferred that a development of this magnitude be built outside the monument rather than in it. He noted that there appeared to be sufficient private land of suitable character for such of business not far from the monument, obviously referring to Petersen’s own property at the foot of Bear Gulch. Mather made it clear, however, that the proposal was not undesirable in principle and offered the services of a Park Service landscape engineer to assist in developing the design. Viggo readily agreed to these conditions, and the matter seemed settled at this point.⁷⁶

74. Cammerer to Hermansen, June 28, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

75. Hermansen to Director, October 4, 1924; and Petersen to Director, October 4, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

76. Hermansen to Director, January 5, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

THE PINNACLES NATIONAL PARK ASSOCIATION (1925)

The new year saw the beginning of even bolder plans for Pinnacles. On January 29, 1925, representatives of business organizations from several of the cities and counties south of San Francisco met in San Jose to discuss the future of the monument and how they might promote its development. They designated this date “Pinnacles Day” to emphasize the common theme of their discussion. All members were interested in the economic potential represented by a popular national monument in their backyard, especially the delegates from Soledad and Hollister, which were gateway communities on either side of Pinnacles. The meeting was also attended by Harvey Toy, the current chief of the state highway commission. Both Toy and W.I. Hawkins seem to have played a leading role in organizing the event. One week earlier, Hawkins had visited Soledad to raise support for the development of good roads into the monument and had encouraged members of the business community in that small but strategically located town to attend the San Jose conference. Indeed, road development was the principal theme of the evening, as promotion of Pinnacles was seen to be largely dependent on the ability of the promoters to make the monument accessible to motor tourists. This explains why Harvey Toy’s presence was so important. Before the night was over, a new organization had been established—the Pinnacles National Park Association (PNPA)—dedicated to the development and public promotion of the monument.⁷⁷ Harvey Toy was elected president and Hawkins secretary-treasurer. Interestingly, Schuyler Hain, who had been so instrumental in the establishment of the monument and its early promotion, was also present and served on the board of the new organization, though he never took a leading role in its affairs. Hain was treated as an honored guest and gave an inspirational presentation that highlighted the scenic and spiritual values of Pinnacles. He exhibited the magic lantern slides that he had used so effectively some twenty years earlier to stimulate interest in the monument. Following this presentation, he recited a poem of his own authorship:

Ode to the Pinnacles

Thou great majestic rocks,
Thy weird fantastic forms
And breasted winter’s storms
That beat in vain.
Thy massive canyon walls
The echoes multiply,
And from Thy caverns cool
The rocks shut out the sky
Where night birds reign.
Thou great stupendous whole
Art gift from God to man;
Thy beauties teach of Him

77. The name may have been a misunderstanding of the Pinnacle’s legal status or it may have represented an earnest hope that the Pinnacles would be converted from a monument to a park. Schuyler Hain, who was one of the directors of this new association, had, after all, promoted such a conversion a decade earlier and helped sponsor a state legislative act that petitioned the federal government to effect this change. It is important to remember that, at this time, parks enjoyed far greater status in American culture than monuments, so an organization devoted to the promotion of the Pinnacles and associated tourism would naturally prefer the designation of a national park. Even if it was not part of the association’s formal agenda to have this designation made, the name itself, though used in error, would have carried more emotional weight than the more strictly accurate “Pinnacles National Monument Association.”

And glimpse a mighty span
Of years we find.
Here, nature's wond'rous book
With pages all unfold
And graven on the stone
Is thy creation told
To studious mind.
Thou art a temple grand
With mossy cushioned pews
And wooded aisles that lead
To vast entrancing views
To while each hour.
Baptismal fonts are found
In caverns' dark retreats;
The incense wafted here
Is exhaled from the sweets
Of herb and flower.
The music of the pines
When awakened by the breeze
Their fitting choir.
Here God, with nature's brush
Hath covered all thy walls
With primal pigments, spread
In beauty that enthralls
And minds inspire.
Here I have worshipped oft
Amid Thy lovely scenes
And pondered much on life
And what to us death means
When hearts grow cold;
God gives the lily bloom,
He marks the sparrow's fall;
Then why should man need fear,
Will He not gather all
Within His fold?
Were I alone to choose
The final resting place
For my poor form, 'twould be
In cosy niche, in face
Of rugged wall.
Here Thy vast monuments
Would sepulcher adorn,
And in this spot I love
I would on final morn
List to His call.⁷⁸

Hain's poem echoed themes that had been common in late nineteenth century nature writing—the analogy of nature to scripture, for instance, and the idea that spiritual truths were revealed

78. Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 42, f. 11, PNM.

through the beauty of the physical world.⁷⁹ Although it is unlikely these values were the principal motivation of the pragmatic businessmen who organized that night to promote the economic development of the monument, they represented an additional justification for their efforts.

In Monterey County, the press reported with enthusiasm that the event had given new hope to the idea of building a good road into the monument from Soledad, an effort that had languished since its abortive beginnings back in 1912.⁸⁰ Only a few days before its delegates attended the San Jose meeting, the Soledad Chamber of Commerce had proposed the idea of a cross-monument road. “It was the unanimous opinion of those present that a movement should be started to boost such a road to the Pinnacle National Monument with the idea in mind of connecting the road through the Little Pinnacles with the road on the Hollister side.”⁸¹ The following day, a committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce visited the proposed route, which circumvented the Copper Mountain Mining Company’s land to the south and crossed the Little Pinnacles through the low saddle between Scout and North Chalone Peaks, continuing from there down the Bear Gulch drainage until it met the new San Benito County road on the east side of the monument. Despite the challenges posed by this alignment—the road would have to be blasted through the narrow chasm of the Bear Gulch Caves—this would remain the preferred alternative for west side boosters for some years, primarily because it was the only alternative within the monument that avoided the Copper Mountain Mining Company’s inholding. Rancher Fred Fabry, who owned the adjacent land west of the monument, supported the plan and was willing to provide an easement across his property.⁸²

On February 2, 1925, the Monterey County Board of Supervisors met to discuss the matter of a road to Pinnacles. Their meeting was attended by members of all the local chambers of commerce as well as by delegates from Hollister and the newly formed Pinnacles National Park Association. The supervisors voted unanimously to endorse the idea of a cross-monument road, and a team of engineers from the California Highway Commission, headed by Division Engineer J.H. Skeggs, was assembled to survey potential alignments for it. In his final report, Skeggs proposed two alternatives through the monument. One was the route that had already been selected by the county promoters, running through the Little Pinnacles at Bear Gulch. The other followed the existing hiking path through the Old Pinnacles Gorge. Although the Balconies alternative would require purchasing the Copper Mountain Mining Company’s land, Skeggs preferred this route, since he believed it would be considerably less expensive than the one through Bear Gulch. (The latter he estimated would cost about \$50,000 per mile—oddly, Skeggs and his team never considered the possibility of running their road *around* the monument, as Hermansen had proposed doing.) Skeggs’ proposed alignment through the Old Pinnacles would go through the Balconies Caves, widening this narrow chasm to accommodate two-way automobile traffic. The Skeggs report also considered various alternatives for an improved road from Soledad to the San Benito County line just west of the monument. The survey team’s preferred alignment here would climb up Stonewall Canyon

79. Much has been written concerning the influence of such ideas on the preservation of scenic nature in America, but see, for example, Mark Stoll, “Milton in Yosemite: *Paradise Lost* and the National Parks Idea,” *Environmental History* 13.2 (April, 2008): 237–274; and this author, “The Cross in the Wilderness: An Aesthetic History of the American Park Idea” doctoral dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 2004.

80. “Good News, Pinnacles Association is Formed at San Jose” *Soledad Bee*, January 30, 1925.

81. “Pinnacle Road Discussed by C.of C.” *Soledad Bee*, January 30, 1925.

82. “Local People Visit Little Pinnacles” *Soledad Bee*, January 30, 1925.

north of the existing road, then through Lopez Canyon to the county line at the top of the grade.⁸³ This followed an existing dirt grade that had been constructed in 1910. Another alternative followed the present alignment of Highway 146 up Shirttail Gulch a few miles south of Stonewall Canyon. (This was also the route of the original Rootville mining road from the 1870s.)

Custodian Hermansen, who had been present at the San Jose meeting on January 29, responded with far less enthusiasm to the proposed plan than the other delegates. He detailed his objections a few days later in a lengthy report to Washington. Hermansen thought that the PNPA wanted to run the road through the monument, rather than around it, in order to save the local counties money, for if this alignment were adopted, then the federal government would have to build the most difficult and costly segment. But Hermansen was most concerned with the extent of the roadwork planned and the detrimental effect it would have on the scenic resources of the monument. The association's alignment would pass through what he believed was some of the most valuable scenery in the Pinnacles. This is precisely what made the alignment attractive for many of its chief supporters, who wanted to make this scenery available to auto tourists, but Hermansen believed that doing so would destroy the landscape's essential qualities:

Such a road [he wrote] would leave an ugly scar along the face of those fine majestic rocks. Would also rob this Monument of Its one great attraction, the mystery of what is around the next rock or in the next canyon. Those who love nature in quietness and solitude would not be able to find such sanctuary with such a road in the Monument, as Mr. Hawkins proposed.⁸⁴

Hermansen's objections seemed naive to the county developers, and a special meeting was convened at which Hermansen's membership on the board of the PNPA was rescinded. There is no record of Schuyler Hain's opinion in this matter, though as author of the "Ode to the Pinnacles," he might have had reason to agree with Hermansen. At least a few in Washington did, for Arno Cammerer penciled the observation "He's dead right" in the margins of Hermansen's letter before passing it on to Director Mather.

Hermansen had other reasons for objecting to the PNPA's proposed plan of development. He wished to avoid making any investment on the west side until Henry Melville could be removed. The only suitable campgrounds, in his opinion, lay on or adjacent to the lands Melville still controlled. Until these lands could be acquired, he saw no reason to attempt developing the area, because any development would either be confined to inappropriate locations or would be situated so as to benefit Melville. But the PNPA was obliged to support Monterey County interests because of Monterey's large representation in the association. As its founding charter suggested, the PNPA was a regional organization.⁸⁵ Its purpose in developing Pinnacles was to promote the economy of the entire region, not just that of a single county. From this larger point of view, Monterey's interests were at least equal to those of San Benito, if not greater, because its population was larger and its location more accessible to the state's major metropolitan centers. (The principal transportation arterials connecting Los Angeles and San Francisco passed through Monterey County but not San Benito County.) At the same time, San Benito County had done far more to develop Pinnacles by this date and had a better-organized and more influential lobby (led by Hawkins). For the PNPA to remain effective,

83. Skeggs to Toy, April 28, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

84. Hermansen to Director, January 31, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

85. This had been made clear on January 29 at the meeting of the Downtown Association of San Francisco when the association was first established.

the interests of both counties had to be satisfied, and the best way to do this was to propose a cross-monument highway, which would bring tourist business to communities on both sides of the county line.

As head of the California Highway Commission, Harvey Toy was well positioned to obtain state support for the construction of such a road. Why he should want to do this, however, is another question. Hermansen later suspected that he was trying to build popular support to back a run for the governorship, but there is no evidence to corroborate this idea.⁸⁶ For their part, the leaders of the PNPA—particularly Toy and Hawkins—suspected Hermansen of trying to stymie competition with his own project on the east side. While this allegation seems dubious, it was widely believed and became a source of growing resentment against Hermansen by a large part of the business community of both counties. The idea had begun to take root sometime early that year, after Hermansen partnered with Viggo Petersen and Berkeley photographer Harrison Ryker to found the Pinnacles Company, Inc., which operated the east side campground and proposed resort in Bear Gulch. Petersen's campground was now the only such facility open to visitors on this side, since Hermansen had closed the road to the Old Pinnacles Campground on the Root Homestead.⁸⁷

This seemed to some people like a monopoly—Melville and Rivers certainly saw the matter in this light. It was to avoid giving this impression that Acting Director Cammerer had warned Hermansen back in January that he could not operate a concession and serve as custodian at the same time. Whether or not Hermansen's intentions were innocent did not matter, for even the appearance of a conflict of interest was sufficient to embarrass the Park Service and would not be allowed. In response, Hermansen had agreed to withdraw his request, and Petersen had agreed to build his resort outside the monument on his own land. What Washington did not know, however, is that once Petersen no longer sought a concession to operate inside the monument, Hermansen believed he was free once more to enter into partnership with him. Legally he was, but since the proposed resort lay in the path of the principal entrance to the monument, Hermansen's involvement remained ethically dubious. Many people now believed he was abusing his position as custodian and using his authority to channel public resources to the benefit of his own interests. Hawkins and Toy both ascribed Hermansen's opposition to the PNPA's plans to this motive. But their allegations were disingenuous, for Hawkins at least knew that Hermansen was not opposed to building a road between Monterey and San Benito Counties; Hermansen objected only to building a road through the monument.

All of these suspicions and cross-accusations lay in the background as Hermansen began work on January 30, 1925, on the last fifteen hundred feet of road at the top of Bear Gulch with the \$3,000 allotment he finally received from the federal roads budget. He was assisted by Viggo Petersen, Zotic Marcott and Russell Bourke, whom he hired at \$4 per day. Bourke provided his Fordson tractor with its grading attachment, the same that he had used to cut the road grade in bulldozer fashion, but now he used it to clear brush.⁸⁸ According to Hermansen, this was the

86. Since Toy was also manager and owner of the Hotel Manx on Powell Street in San Francisco, he had a personal interest in promoting tourism. He later played a prominent role in the San Francisco hotel strike of 1937 as an anti-union man.

87. Hermansen's cabin lay along the Old Pinnacles Road just below the eastern border of Melville's land. He had closed the road to prevent visitors from mistakenly entering Melville's property when they were searching for the national monument.

88. Hermansen to Director, January 31, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

first instance of using a tractor in this manner, at least in South County.⁸⁹ The implications of this novel experiment concerned the San Benito County Farm Bureau less, however, than the fact that all of the government appropriation was going to the east side. Worse, it was going to develop that part of Bear Gulch where the Pinnacles Company proposed to relocate its campground. As far as W.I. Hawkins was concerned, this apparent coincidence simply corroborated his suspicion that Hermansen was abusing government funds. He responded with outrage to Hermansen's actions and skillfully used the appearance of abuse to undermine Hermansen's reputation among local business leaders and eventually the Park Service as well.

During the early stages of this controversy, Washington staff remained supportive of Hermansen. In response to his request to be given more responsibility—he asked for superintendency of Lassen—Mather decided to offer him the superintendency of Platt National Park (now Chickasaw National Recreation Area) in Oklahoma.⁹⁰ Aware that he needed to earn more money, especially with his recent plans to be married, the Washington office also prepared to give Hermansen a pay-grade increase to \$240 per year from his present \$12.

In a letter to Stephen Mather dated February 24, 1925, W.I. Hawkins described in detail the work of the Pinnacles National Park Association from his perspective. According to Hawkins, the association had retained a publicity agent (Charles Jacobs) to promote Pinnacles nationally, it was preparing further legal action against Melville's Copper Mountain Mining Company to prevent its closure of roads leading up to the monument, and it had sponsored an appropriations bill in the state legislature that would make funds available for a state survey of a cross-monument road. This would be the first tangible step toward actually building the road. Hawkins also noted that the association had successfully turned the opinion of Monterey County officials against the Copper Mountain Mining Company. This last was an important piece of information, because it indicates that Henry Melville was still respected by at least some members of the Monterey County business community and explains why business leaders from Soledad resisted efforts to circumvent Melville's possessions in the Old Pinnacles or to avoid making any developments adjacent to them—they did not yet consider Melville a threat. This view contrasted sharply with the general opinion in San Benito County, not to mention that of Herman Hermansen and the National Park Service, all of whom perceived Melville as an opportunist.

The legal action that the PNPA was preparing to bring against the Copper Mountain Mining Company was distinct from Herman Hermansen's suit, which was still in appeal at this time. The PNPA was arguing that the Soledad Road from Lopez Canyon through the Old Pinnacles Gorge and continuing—as a trail—all the way to the east side of the monument was a public highway established by traditional use. (This route was thought to have been used since Spanish times and possibly earlier.) The association brought a condemnation suit on behalf of the state

89. The success of the experiment would have a profound effect on the agriculture of the region, as area ranchers began utilizing the new technology to expand their agricultural and pastoral operations onto the surrounding hillsides for the first time. [Stanley F. Schmidt, "The Frederick T. Schmidt Family, from 1889 to 1955," pdf manuscript, 1995.]

90. Platt National Park had been created in 1906 from land donated to the government by Native Americans in 1902. In 1976, the park was combined with Arbuckle National Recreation Area to create the Chickasaw National Recreation Area.

the following month and was granted the desired easement on April 29, 1925.⁹¹ This is the argument that Schuyler Hain had proposed back in 1920 when Melville first closed the route and began charging a toll, and it is entirely possible that Hain, as a director of the PNPA, was responsible for the idea.

The final effort of the PNPA described by Hawkins was the most critical. This was the appropriations bill in the state legislature for surveying the proposed road. Since the cross-monument road was the single most important issue that united all members of the PNPA and their bi-county coalition, the appropriation that would pay for the first stage of the project was the item on which success or failure hinged. Hawkins chose not to elaborate on the matter, perhaps because of its importance, but at that time prospects seemed very positive, since the bill had broad support in the legislature. By the end of the month, it had passed unanimously in the state senate, and on April 2nd the Downtown Association hosted a celebration at the posh St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco. The following day, Harvey Toy rushed down to Soledad to make a presentation before the town's Chamber of Commerce. He announced enthusiastically that the cross-monument road would be built.

THE PNPA'S GRAND PICNIC (MAY 1, 1925)

It was around this time, as the first road up the Bear Gulch grade neared completion, that plans began to be laid for a grand celebration by the PNPA on May 1st. This would be the largest event yet organized by the association, and thousands were expected to attend. The governor of California, Friend W. Richardson, was invited, as were congressional representatives and all the important leaders from the regional business community. The event was intended to bring Pinnacles to the attention of the state and national public. It was also intended to raise support for the proposed cross-monument road that the PNPA hoped would represent the next stage of development after the Bear Gulch Entrance Road was finished. Unknown to the directors of the PNPA, however, Hermansen was planning a separate ceremony on April 19th to officially open the monument to automobiles, expecting to have the road inside the monument finished by that date. In a report to Washington dated March 31th, Hermansen described both the PNPA picnic and the road-opening ceremony, clearly acknowledging that they were distinct events. The first was designed to be only a small affair, held in honor of the Pinnacles Boys (Russell Bourke, Zotic Marcott, and Viggo Petersen) and the newspapermen and automobile clubs in San Francisco who had helped Hermansen raise support for the monument over the previous few years.⁹² During this ceremony, a ribbon was to be cut from the new road and the first car would drive up it, with two young women—Miss California and

91. This was a separate suit from that brought by San Benito County against the Copper Mountain Mining Company to condemn the Root Homestead. The latter was originally filed in February of 1930 and not resolved until August 27, 1935. [*Abstracts*, Fidelity Title Insurance Company, Hollister, CA.] The federal government planned to file its own case against Melville in April of 1929 to remove his improvements from the eighty acres he still occupied in the Chaparral Area. This was delayed until April of 1931 and finally resolved in the government's favor on July 31 of that year. [Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, to Attorney General, April 30, 1931; and Custodian Hawkins to Director Horace Albright, July 31, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II]

92. Hermansen had the support of the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Oakland Tribune*, and the National Automobile Club (NAC). The latter's support would become problematic for Hermansen, since the NAC had only recently been formed and was resented by the older automobile clubs—the California State Automobile Association (CSAA) in Northern California, and the Southern California Automobile Association (SCAA) in Southern California. These two clubs had divided California between themselves and enjoyed a virtual monopoly of influence in their respective

Miss Pinnacles—riding inside.⁹³ (Miss Pinnacles was represented by Alda Fowles, the daughter of a local rancher; Hermansen would marry her shortly afterward.) Hermansen thought this preliminary ceremony would also help draw attention to the more general celebration planned by the PNPA for May 1st, but when the directors of the PNPA learned of Hermansen's plans, they were enraged, thinking that he was trying to snub them by holding a rival celebration to preempt their own.⁹⁴ The whole affair illustrates how thoroughly communication between Hermansen and the PNPA had deteriorated by this time. Hermansen claimed that he had not been in touch with the association since its founding meeting on January 29th (when Hermansen had been thrown off the association's board of directors). The misunderstanding that resulted further exacerbated the bad feelings which had developed between the two parties.

Two weeks later, the PNPA's grand picnic was held as scheduled. In preparation for the event, Hermansen and Viggo Petersen had constructed a wooden lodge at the top of Bear Gulch, just outside the monument's boundaries, to serve as a dance pavilion and dinner kiosk. (This was also to be the cornerstone of their future resort.⁹⁵) Somewhere between five and six thousand people showed up, so the principal festivities had to occur outside the monument where there was more space. Ben Bacon volunteered his ranch for the occasion, and large pits were dug along Sandy Creek for cooking the vast quantities of beef and salmon that were served.⁹⁶

Apart from Hermansen, the only representative from the Park Service to attend the event was Yosemite superintendent W.B. Lewis, who came at Assistant Director Albright's request. This was the first time that Lewis had visited Pinnacles since writing his initial report on the monument back in April of 1922. Lewis spent most of the morning with Custodian Hermansen, inspecting the improvements that had been made in Bear Gulch and discussing Hermansen's difficulties with the PNPA. In the afternoon, Lewis attended the barbecue down on the Bacon Ranch and met with various local business leaders and the directors of the PNPA, including Harvey Toy and W.I. Hawkins. He formed a strong impression of Hawkins based on this first meeting, as he later wrote in his report to Albright:

Mr. W.I. Hawkins, of Hollister, evidently is a man of high standing in the community and apparently has the full confidence of everyone in San Benito County as on all sides I was told of his great public spirit and his unselfish interest in the betterment of the community, not only from the standpoint of physical and mental effort, but in the matter of outright contributions to public work.⁹⁷

As mentioned above, many of the local businessmen had grown frustrated with Hermansen by this time and wanted the Park Service to replace him with someone whose interests were closer to their own. Hawkins was their natural choice, and much of the enthusiastic praise that Lewis heard that day was directed toward bringing this change about.

regions. The National Automobile Club challenged that monopoly, and Hermansen, by supporting the NAC, risked damaging the important relationship that had developed between the older clubs and the National Park Service.

93. Hermansen to Director, March 31, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

94. Hermansen to Harvey Toy, April 20, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

95. They had also erected tent cabins and barbecue pits for their future campground. [Hollister *Evening Free Lance*, April 20, 1925.]

96. Ernie Prewett, a local Bear Valley rancher, remembers helping tend these pits as a young boy. [Ernie Prewett, interviewed by author, March 19, 2007.]

97. W.B. Lewis to Albright, May 5, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

Lewis was much more guarded in his assessment of Hermansen. He acknowledged the merit in Hermansen's criticism of the cross-monument road and agreed that the proposed road should be aligned north of the monument boundaries so as not to impair the scenic resources of the Old Pinnacles. (Lewis made no mention of a road through the Little Pinnacles.) But Lewis also noted that Hermansen had compromised his professional position through his partnership with Viggo Petersen and Harrison Ryker in the Pinnacles Company. This last piece of information must have come as a surprise to the Washington office, which had not been informed of Hermansen's continuing involvement in the partnership and must have thought he had lied to them when he stated, back in the fall of 1924, that he was giving up this involvement so as to retain his position as custodian.⁹⁸ Throughout the course of the afternoon, Lewis heard repeatedly how Hermansen's compromising situation had brought suspicion and resentment upon him:

There is a strong feeling [Lewis recounted] on the part of all of the men to whom I talked, that in view of this partnership Mr. Hermansen is either maliciously or inadvertently making every move in his Monument work in such a way as to redound primarily to the interest of the partnership, and thereby to his own personal interest. The charge is even made that in the expenditure of Government funds entrusted to him for the building of a short piece of road in the Monument and the development of a campground therein that Government funds have been wasted or possibly diverted to the development of the camp layout at the Monument boundary.⁹⁹

Lewis did not believe that Hermansen was intentionally abusing his position—he charitably noted that “Hermansen is apparently a straightforward sort of a chap and I doubt if there is very much in this charge.” Nevertheless, he noted that the situation undermined Hermansen's respect among local business leaders and made it impossible for him to communicate effectively with them. Reading this correspondence a little later, Acting Director Cammerer, who had always been Hermansen's most consistent supporter in Washington, commented sadly, “Hermansen now is working at cross purposes with people that we will have to work with in the future.”¹⁰⁰ He had become a liability to the Park Service's interests, and Cammerer would reluctantly concur with Lewis in recommending that he be replaced.

By June, the Park Service was resolved to dismiss Hermansen and notified Hawkins of its desire to appoint him in Hermansen's place. Hermansen's pay increase was immediately suspended and his pending appointment as superintendent to Platt National Park withheld. (Hermansen never even learned that he had received this appointment.) Hermansen tried to defend himself against the accusations that now came not only from his foes in the county but from his superiors in Washington. When he finally became aware of the gravity of his situation, he moved to absolve himself of his ties with the Pinnacles Company. On July 1, 1925, he wrote to the director:

After a long deliberation I have come to the decision of giving up all interest in the Pinnacles Company . . . I have therefore started arrangements for the disposal of my interest in the company, and am therefore looking forward to continuing on with my duties as Custodian of the Pinnacles National Monument. It was a rather hard decision to make as I am cutting

98. Hermansen to the Director, October 4, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

99. W.B. Lewis to Albright, May 5, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

100. Cammerer to Albright, June 3, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

off a livelihood. But feel that I can hold out until such a time that this Monument will be able to get an appropriation allowing a full time salary.¹⁰¹

Unfortunately for Hermansen, there was no longer any chance of his continuing as custodian of Pinnacles; Washington had already made its decision. He was at first given the opportunity to resign in order to preserve his reputation, but when he failed to respond in a timely fashion—he later explained that the blow rendered him unfit to write—the Washington office ordered his separation “without prejudice” effective September 15, 1925.¹⁰² W.I. Hawkins officially entered on duty as the second custodian of Pinnacles the following day, September 16, 1925, at the nominal salary of \$12 per year.

Hermansen made no response to Washington after receiving this news. According to the county records, he quickly reversed his decision to sell his shares in the Pinnacles Company, obviously hoping now to make a go of it.¹⁰³ But he and Petersen were heavily mortgaged, and the business was suffering financially. It survived into the following year, but by the end of 1926, the two men had been forced to shut down the resort. (Custodian Hawkins wrote in June of 1927 that the resort had been abandoned for nearly a year and was deteriorating into an unsightly mess.¹⁰⁴) Hermansen and Petersen lost possession of the Pinnacles Company in May of 1927, when their creditor, Frank Sparling, seized the property.¹⁰⁵ This included all of the land that Petersen and Hermansen had originally homesteaded, totaling some 1,280 acres, plus the improvements they had made on the resort itself. Sparling gave the men until January 1928 to redeem their mortgage before he foreclosed, and amazingly Hermansen was able to do so by October, though apparently with borrowed money, since he immediately deeded the property over to Thomas A. Work and J.D. Mathoit.¹⁰⁶ Work and Mathoit leased the property to a businessman named H.G. Coffee, who reopened the resort and operated it successfully for a few years longer under the name “Camp Pinnacles.” But Coffee was killed shortly afterward in an automobile accident, and the venture was abandoned. In 1931, the land was finally condemned by the county and transferred to the national monument. Hermansen by this time was living in Hollister, where he worked for an automobile tire business.¹⁰⁷

Hermansen’s fall was sudden and probably unwarranted. It was certainly unnecessary. Superintendent Lewis had made a very pragmatic assessment of the problems surrounding the Pinnacles when he visited on May 1st and based his recommendations on what he considered to be the best interests of the National Park Service. By all accounts, Lewis was a stern but

101. Hermansen to the Director, July 1, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

102. Hermansen to the Director, August 27, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II. Hermansen was officially informed of his separation on September 10. (See Cammerer to Hermansen, September 10, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II).

103. Abstracts, Fidelity Title Insurance Company, Hollister, CA; and Deed Books, San Benito County Recorder’s Office, Hollister, CA.

104. Hawkins to Demaray, June 14, 1927, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

105. Frank Sparling was a close relative of W.I. Hawkins, and Hawkins hoped to use this family connection to acquire the property for himself and have it added to the monument. [Hawkins to Demaray, June 14, 1927, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

106. Both actions were recorded on the same day. [Abstracts, Fidelity Title Insurance Company, Hollister, CA.]

107. Hawkins to Albright, October 21, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. Hermansen would remain in Hollister until 1942, when he moved back to Petaluma. [“Herman Hermansen” [Obituary], *Petaluma Argus-Courier*, July 7, 1971.]

reasonable man. He concluded that Hermansen should be dismissed because he had become a liability for the Service, and it is difficult to argue with him on this point. But there was more to his conclusion than Hermansen's conflict of interest. This became clear in Assistant Director Albright's response to Lewis' report. Almost immediately after receiving it, Albright, who resided in Berkeley only a few hours north of Pinnacles, commenced a detailed investigation of the matter. Being so near at the time, Albright was able to meet personally with all of the individuals directly involved, including Hermansen, whom he invited to his office for an interview on March 18. Albright acknowledged Hermansen's honest enthusiasm and intelligence, noting even that Hermansen had versed himself on the Park Service's principles of landscape design, which informed his criticism of the PNPA's proposed cross-monument road. But Albright also noted Hermansen's narrow-minded and paranoiac distrust of authority. He is "essentially a product of main street," Albright wrote. This was more than just a character judgment; Albright meant that Hermansen was poor. Though presumably he received some sort of a veteran's pension, he did not have enough personal wealth to manage a national monument on a volunteer basis without another source of income. Since his homestead could not sustain him—most of his land was steep and unproductive—Hermansen was forced to engage in some sort of business. This need for a supplemental income had become even more acute by 1925, when Hermansen married Alda Fowles.¹⁰⁸ Though he might have worked as a hired laborer on one of the nearby ranches, the depression in the agricultural economy after 1921 may have limited such opportunities. The only reasonable prospect that would allow him to remain near Pinnacles was the tourist business. Partnering with Viggo Petersen in the Pinnacles Company was therefore a matter of necessity rather than choice for Hermansen, though it might not have been so had the Park Service been able to provide him with an adequate salary for his position as custodian.

W.I. Hawkins was not subject to the same financial limitations as Herman Hermansen. As a prominent businessman and member of one of the most established families in San Benito County, Hawkins was financially independent and able to serve as custodian without salary.¹⁰⁹ Though he was often complimented for his energy—his nickname was "Tireless Irv"—it was his social connections that really mattered. His easy acquaintance with leading businessmen and politicians, facilitated by the prominence of his family name, made it possible for Hawkins to raise money and organize campaigns for the benefit of the monument in ways that simply eluded Hermansen. What is truly amazing is not how successful Hawkins proved to be, who had numerous resources at his disposal, but how successful Hermansen had been, who had comparatively few. Though Hermansen was an outsider to the area and lacked any substantial wealth, he had managed through sheer enthusiasm to build a base of support for Pinnacles that included several of the most important newspapers in California, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, a leading tour-bus company, and the National Automobile Club.¹¹⁰ This

108. They were married on June 15, 1925, in San Francisco. [Hermansen to Cammerer, June 25, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.]

109. The importance of independent wealth to fill what was essentially a volunteer position was openly acknowledged by Hawkins and the Park Service Directorate. [Hawkins to Mather, March 24, 1926, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.] W.I. Hawkins was manager of a large haberdashery based in San Francisco. He also had an interest in the Pacheco Cattle Company, of which his elder brother Charles was manager and the largest owner. His father, Thomas Hawkins, was one of the original founders of the town of Hollister.

110. Among these newspapers were the San Francisco *Examiner* and the Oakland *Tribune*. The tour-bus company was the Peck-Judah, no longer in existence. The National Automobile Club reflected a poor decision on Hermansen's part, but it is interesting to note that the club still exists and has contributed significantly to California's economic development.

is to say nothing of the physical labor he and the other Pinnacles Boys contributed to the exploration of the area and the construction of the monument's earliest roads and trails, feats that the more urbane Hawkins could not have accomplished by himself.

In a separate irony, the PNPA's campaign for the cross-monument highway died in the weeks following the May 1st celebration. The appropriations bill, on which everything depended, had passed unopposed through the legislature only to be vetoed by Governor Richardson. Also vetoed was a bill that would have assessed a one-cent gasoline tax to pay for state highway construction. As subsequent events would prove, Hawkins remained committed to the idea of a cross-monument highway and would continue working toward its realization for many years to come, but Harvey Toy and the coalition that had grown up around him ceased to play any further role in the monument. The Pinnacles National Park Association also disappeared at this time. Despite its grandiose claims, it had been organized for only one purpose and could not survive once that purpose had evaporated.

CHAPTER THREE

CUSTODIAN HAWKINS AND PLANNED DEVELOPMENT, 1925–1932

Washington I. Hawkins' appointment as second custodian of Pinnacles in 1925 brought greater professionalism in the management of the monument and improved relations with the surrounding business community. But Hawkins' custodianship also corresponded to a period of growing professionalism (and an expanding budget) within the National Park Service itself. With more resources at its disposal, the Park Service began to make a solid commitment to the monument's future. It had finally accepted that Pinnacles would remain within the national park system and was now willing to invest substantially in its development. Among the signs of this commitment was a growing number of official visits by technical specialists from the regional field office. These inspections resulted in a series of reports and planning documents that would guide the development of the monument over the next few decades. By 1928, work had begun on Pinnacles' core trail system through the High Peaks and Bear Gulch Caves and on some of its earliest permanent architecture, all done in the so-called "park rustic" style characteristic of the period. In 1932, construction began on one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken at Pinnacles—the present Bear Gulch entrance road. It was built using local labor supported by federal unemployment relief funds, which President Hoover made available as the country slipped deeper into the economic travail of the Great Depression. This high-standard road replaced the original single-lane track that had been built by the Pinnacles Boys seven years earlier.

THE TRANSITION FROM HERMANSEN

At the time W. I. "Irv" Hawkins entered on duty on September 16, 1925, he was the only paid staff at the monument (though at \$1 a month, his pay was only nominal). Hermansen had also been the sole employee during his custodianship. He had hired friends and neighbors to help him with the various construction projects he undertook during his tenure. He had also issued at least one permit (to his friend Russell Bourke) to manage a guide service for visitors, but for the most part this service was provided in a traditional manner by the children of local ranchers, who earned summer pocket money in tips. Lois Hain, for example, was one of many Bear Valley residents who worked at the monument on weekends and holidays when she was home from school. Lois was one of Arthur Hain's daughters—Schuyler Hain's niece—and lived close to the monument on the other side of the Bacon Ranch. She got to know the Pinnacles Boys during the years she helped out as a guide and in 1926 married Russell Bourke, whose homestead lay on the north fork of Chalone Creek directly above Zotic Marcott's.

After the controversy over Hermansen's alleged conflict of interest, Hawkins had strong incentive to formalize labor relations at Pinnacles, and it appears he did just this. It was considerably easier for him than Hermansen to avoid the appearance of favoritism while still hiring local residents—Bear Valley ranchers and their children were the only laborers available—because Hawkins lived in Hollister and had few close friends in the immediate vicinity of the monument. He continued to use local ranchers on a contract basis for individual jobs. He also hired Zotic Marcott as the first chief ranger of the monument in October of that

year.¹ Given that Hawkins' own employment was largely honorary, Marcott was really the first full-time paid employee of the monument. He remained in this position until 1932, when he and Hawkins had a falling out that resulted in Marcott being fired. The details of this incident are not available, but the official records strongly suggest that the nature of the disagreement was personal and probably resulted from the profound differences of personality and social background that divided the two men.² Their mutual antipathy would last for many years and surfaced once again in 1938, when Hawkins pressured the Marcott family into selling their 640-acre homestead to the government in order to provide access to Willow Spring, at that time the most reliable source of water in the monument.³

In addition to hiring Zotic Marcott, Hawkins also hired Ellis Walton Hedges Jr. as assistant custodian on April 20, 1926.⁴ This position had no precedent in the Park Service and at first raised a few eyebrows in Washington when Hawkins proposed it, but Hedges' duties would essentially be those of a clerk. The advantage of Hawkins' proposal, as Washington soon realized, was that Hedges also came from a privileged background and would not need to be paid except on a nominal basis to satisfy legal requirements. Most custodians and just about all superintendents had administrative clerks to manage the ever-growing burden of paperwork associated with their duties. Hermansen had satisfied these bureaucratic needs through his own rather idiosyncratic talent for writing—he recorded everything and was especially adept, and eloquent, at writing the sort of narrative report that the Service was just then starting to require—but Hawkins had too many other responsibilities to devote so much attention to Pinnacles alone (though he was an adequate writer). Moreover, he continued to live in Hollister at his family home and remained more detached from the monument than Hermansen had been. This made it necessary for him to rely on an assistant to keep up with daily events at the monument and to fulfill the onerous reporting required by Washington while Hawkins managed his other responsibilities in town. Eventually, the assistant would move on, and his responsibilities were absorbed by a paid administrative clerk.⁵

HAWKINS' FIRST YEAR

Following his appointment in 1925, Hawkins discovered that he had inherited a number of problems from Hermansen and would spend the first several months at Pinnacles trying

1. Zotic Marcott entered on duty on October 17, 1925, at a salary of \$100 per month. [Hawkins to Cammerer, September 16, 1925; and October 17, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.]

2. Zotic Marcott was officially separated (fired) on February 29, 1932, and replaced by Hugh Schilling in June. Schilling was originally hired as a temporary ranger at the GS-7 grade. In August, he was converted to permanency at the GS-8 grade. [NPS Chief Clerk to Hawkins, June 11, 1932; and Hawkins to Albright, July 20, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.] According to the official record, Marcott was initially suspended for "insubordination and abusive language." He was later separated from the service without disciplinary action "because his lack seems to be a matter of temperament rather than turpitude." [Hawkins to Marcott, March 10, 1932; and Director Albright, Memo, March 11, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

3. The fact that the site is now called Willow Spring, rather than Marcott Springs, as they were popularly known since the early twenties, is another vestige of this feud between Hawkins and Marcott; once the property was acquired for the monument, Hawkins wanted no memory of Marcott to remain and seems to have expunged the older name from the record. [Custodian's Narrative Reports, November, 1938, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 17, PNM; and Mrs. Marcott, interviewed by Ro Wauer, August 12, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 3, PNM.]

4. Hawkins to Mather, March 24, 1926, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

5. Ellis Walton Hedges Jr. entered on duty April 20, 1926, as assistant custodian. How long he remained is not recorded. [Hawkins to Mather, March 24, 1926, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

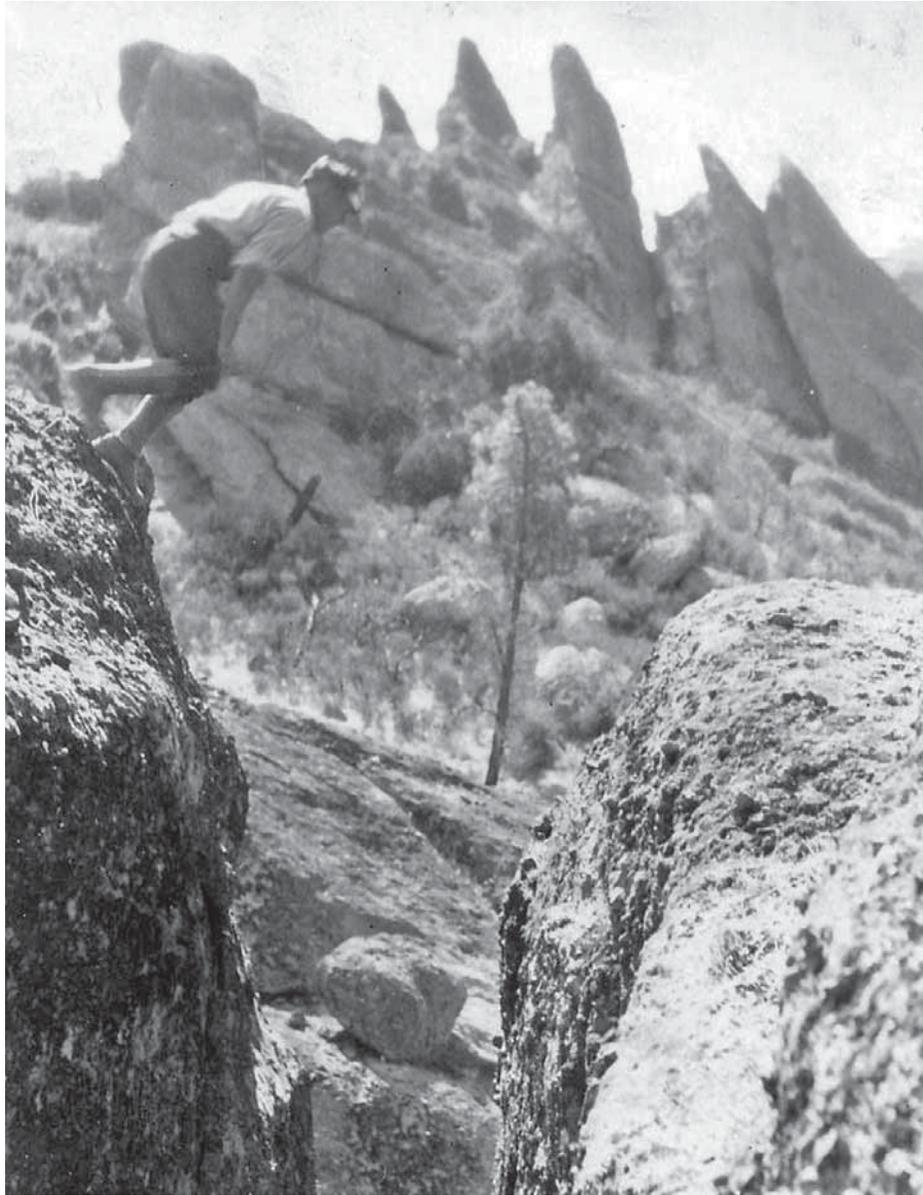


Figure 12. Ranger Marcott leaping the “Chasm of Death” during one of his guided walks, ca. 1926. Lois Bourke described this piece of showmanship in *The Bourke Engine Documentary* [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

to clean them up. The first was simply a matter of setting the record straight. After reading Hermansen’s final report, dated September 3rd, Hawkins discovered that his predecessor had been inflating the visitation figures, possibly by as much as a factor of ten. Hermansen had reported that sixty-three thousand visitors had come to Pinnacles during the previous season. Hawkins knew that the figure was closer to six thousand at most. Hawkins also believed that visitation had been decreasing—rather than increasing, as Hermansen claimed—over the last few years, and he blamed this trend on Hermansen’s poor management. He wrote an angry letter to the Director of the Park Service describing this alleged deceit so as not to be held responsible for what would appear to be a ten-fold *decrease* in visitation when he reported the

statistics accurately.⁶ This revelation further eroded Hermansen's reputation in the minds of the Washington staff.

Another problem that Hawkins inherited from his predecessor concerned signage. Through an arrangement with Hermansen, the National Automobile Club (NAC) had fabricated trail signs for the monument at its own expense. These had been delivered but not yet installed at the time Hawkins took over the custodianship, and the NAC was asking why. Dusty Lewis, superintendent of Yosemite, had investigated the matter and wrote a lengthy explanatory letter to the Director.⁷ According to Lewis, the signs included NAC's logo and so functioned as advertisement for the club. (This is why the NAC was willing to provide them free of cost.) But the Park Service had long since developed relationships with the older state automobile clubs—the California State Automobile Association (CSAA) and the Southern California Automobile Association (SCAA)—and had reached an agreement that no individual club would be allowed to display its symbol on federal property within a national park. This was to avoid giving the appearance that the National Park Service was preferring one club over another. Since the NAC was a new club, it had not participated in these arrangements and was suspected—or altogether resented—by the established clubs. Hermansen had become acquainted with the staff at the NAC during his many trips to San Francisco and had disregarded the Park Service's traditional understanding with the older clubs, probably out of ignorance. His courting of the new National Automobile Club appeared to snub the CSAA and SCAA. His actions—however unwitting—embarrassed the Park Service and compromised its relationship with these older automobile clubs. He had infuriated Superintendent Lewis in particular, because Yosemite owed a great deal to the other clubs, which had already done much to encourage and facilitate visitation to his park. Nevertheless, Hermansen was not acting entirely on his own. In February of 1925, he had consulted then-Acting Director Arno Cammerer about this issue, and Cammerer had supported his negotiations with the NAC. Cammerer had written, “Regarding the possibility of securing the cooperation of the National Automobile Club in putting in trail signs in the Pinnacles National Monument, such cooperation would be greatly appreciated and there would be no objection to the Club having their emblem on any of the signs which they would furnish for erection on the monument.”⁸ Thus, Hermansen had acted with the explicit consent of the Washington office. The subsequent turmoil reflected poor communication among the Washington staff rather than any impropriety on Hermansen's part. But Hermansen ultimately took the blame for this mistake. Since he was already under suspicion with the Washington directorate, he became a natural scapegoat to hide their errors.

Unwilling to admit his role in the affair, Cammerer wrote to Hawkins instructing him to return the signs to the National Automobile Club rather than install them.⁹ Hawkins did so and explained to the club that his predecessor had been at fault when he originally negotiated the deal, and he summarized existing NPS policy for dealing with the automobile clubs.¹⁰ The NAC later disputed this policy, sending the director some well-chosen photographs of

6. Hawkins to the Director, October 17, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

7. Lewis to the Director, October 23, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

8. Hermansen to the Director, February 27, 1925; and Cammerer to Hermansen, March 25, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

9. Cammerer to Hawkins, November 4, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

10. Hawkins to the National Automobile Club, November 12, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.



Figure 13. Auto camping at Pinnacles during the 1920s. Rapid innovations in automobile technology made this sort of luxury available to growing numbers of Americans during this decade. Parks like Pinnacles, which had once seemed remote and relatively inaccessible, began to see more and more visitors and became increasingly important as a result. [The Russell Bourke Album, Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

CSAA signs with the club's logo that currently hung in Yosemite.¹¹ (Lewis rather lamely tried to explain that these signs were displayed on concessionaire facilities rather than on federal property, even though they were within the national park.¹²) But despite the merits of the NAC criticism, the Park Service could not afford to risk injuring its relationships with the more powerful automobile clubs and refused to bend.

The whole episode is noteworthy for two reasons in particular. First, it provides further illustration of Hermansen's character and his tragic weakness. He was full of enthusiasm and deeply committed to the monument, but he was also naive and did not know how to work with established interests. In fact, given his decidedly working-class biases, Hermansen was naturally disposed to mistrust established interests and to favor the underdog wherever possible, a tendency that comes across in several of Hermansen's paranoid rants in his official correspondence. Second, it shows how the Park Service purposely sought out and cultivated relations with privileged private interests in order to realize its own objectives. This strategy—or institutional predilection—was reflected in the Park Service's decision to support Hawkins and other established businessmen within the county against outsiders and upstarts like Hermansen when the latter presented a challenge or threat to their economic interests. In the end, the Park Service proved to be more pragmatic than principled. It sacrificed one of its most

11. The National Automobile Club to Cammerer, November 30, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

12. Lewis to the National Automobile Club, December 10, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

ardent supporters, but did so in order to accomplish its long-term goals for the monument itself.¹³

The final issue that Hawkins had to deal with after taking over from Hermansen was the improvement of sanitary conditions at Bear Gulch. At this time, the only infrastructure existing at the monument was here, and much of it was privately operated and poorly maintained. The recently completed entrance road made it possible for visitors to drive to the top of the Bear Gulch grade and park more or less where they do today. Viggo Petersen and Herman Hermansen, anticipating the completion of the road, had relocated Petersen's campground from Chalone Creek to Bear Gulch and constructed the lodge nearby. Their private campground extended from the terrace where the superintendent's residence (Building #19) now stands up to the lower edge of the present visitors' parking lot. The lodge stood in the middle of this area, which at that time was graded level and lined with boulders around the edges. At least four operators' cabins stood just below the lodge along the side of the creek. Water was pumped out of a shallow well that had been dug near the edge of a small swale in front of the cabins. This provided water for both drinking and bathing. The latter was provided in bathhouses located somewhere between the operators' cabins and the lodge (or approximately where the flagpole is today). Sanitary facilities consisted of wooden pit toilets, which were burned out periodically with creosote.¹⁴

The national monument at that time began just above the lodge, about where the road to the Moses Spring picnic area now begins. Hermansen was in the process of establishing a government campground here, the first such to be constructed within the monument. For years, this area would be called the upper campground, while Petersen's private operation was called the lower campground. As at Petersen's, sanitary facilities consisted only of wooden pit toilets, and water was drawn directly from the creek or from open springs—there were several in the immediate vicinity. The only other improvement that existed was a rudimentary trail system, consisting of one trail leading from the upper campground to the Bear Gulch Caves, and another from the lodge up Condor Gulch.

In March of 1926, sanitary engineer H.B. Hommon visited Pinnacles to inspect these facilities and make recommendations for the most urgently needed improvements.¹⁵ A few weeks later, Chief Landscape Architect Daniel Hull from the Field Headquarters in San Francisco also arrived to inspect the upper campgrounds and make similar, stop-gap recommendations.¹⁶ These visits represented the earliest formal interest that the Park Service showed in the monument and would soon inaugurate the first period of federally sponsored development at Pinnacles. The time of local leadership in building the monument was nearly at an end,

13. As the controversy over trail signage illustrates, Hermansen was not capable of representing the best interests of the monument now that Pinnacles had become more than just a local concern. While Hawkins may not have possessed the same ardor as Hermansen, he had far greater social skills, and this is what the Park Service needed most at that time.

14. H.B. Hommon, "Report on Sanitation," March, 1926; Albright to Mather, May 27, 1927; and Hawkins to Demaray, June 14, 1927, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

15. H.B. Hommon was an engineer with the U.S. Public Health Service, whose services the NPS frequently contracted. He was responsible for doing similar surveys in Yosemite, for example, at about the same time as he was active at Pinnacles.

16. Hommon, "Report on Sanitation" March, 1926; and Hawkins to Mather, March 24, 1926, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.



Figure 14. View of Lodge from above, looking east from top of Bear Gulch Caves. The original 1925 entrance road is just visible in distance. [Included in report of Dunn to Hommon, August 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

though Hawkins would continue to utilize his many local connections and personal wealth to ensure that the Park Service's plans were ultimately carried out.

By early fall of that year, the recommendations of both Hommon and Hull had all been implemented. Hawkins had obtained \$1,000 in private donations, which he had used to improve the water supply according to engineer Hommon's advice. A concrete spring box was constructed at Split Rock Spring, not far from Moses Spring. The water was conveyed from here through a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch steel pipe to two 6,000-gallon above-surface storage tanks. These had also been donated by Hawkins' private benefactors. The tanks were placed just above the Bear Gulch Caves Trail, and water was drawn from them down to the upper campground as needed. The campground area was also reconfigured according to landscape engineer Hull's suggestions, and Hawkins claimed it could now accommodate five hundred cars, though this figure must have been an exaggeration.¹⁷

These improvements were made to address the most immediate sanitary needs of the monument that could not be ignored, but they were not meant to be permanent solutions. Even as he was seeing them implemented, Hawkins was considering plans for the long-term development of the Bear Gulch area. In the summer of 1927, he requested plans for two permanent comfort stations and a ranger cabin. With Washington's approval to go ahead with these projects, the plans were sent to Hawkins from the San Francisco Field Headquarters at the end of July, and

17. Hawkins to Mather, March 24, 1926; and Hawkins to Director, September 3, 1926, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.



Figure 15. View to the east of the original Bear Gulch lodge in 1934. Operators' cabins are just visible in the background to the right. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

work had begun by late September.¹⁸ The plans were all standard, off-the-shelf variety, and the buildings would be nearly identical to others being constructed around the same time in other national parks throughout the west. The cabin had become necessary after Pinnacles hired its first, full-time ranger—Zotic Marcott—two years earlier. Marcott's duties required him to reside in the park so that he would be available in the event of an emergency even when he was off-duty. Superintendent Dusty Lewis had recommended building this ranger's residence as early as November of 1925, not long after Marcott entered on duty.¹⁹ At the time, Marcott was living in his own small cabin on the north fork of Chalone Creek, just outside the monument. He would remain here several years longer, as the proposed residence in Bear Gulch was delayed for lack of sufficient funds.

The comfort stations that Hawkins requested promised a more lasting and effective solution than pit toilets to the problem of disposing human waste. Providing a sanitary comfort station for campers allowed waste to be flushed out of the immediate campground area and reduced the risk of contaminating the water supply, one of the chief concerns expressed by engineer Hommon when he made his inspection in 1926. The upper comfort station (Building #18) was completed by December 1927 but was not actually serviceable for at least another year, until the plumbing and septic system could be installed. This utility work required an additional allotment of \$500, which had to be borrowed from Boss Frank Pinckley, superintendent of the southwest region monuments.²⁰ With Pinckley's money in hand, Hawkins probably had the upper comfort station finished and operational within a month. This would have been August

18. Vint to Director, June 3, 1927; and Cammerer to Hawkins, July 22, 1927, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

19. Lewis to Director, November 28, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 337, NARA II.

20. Demaray to Pinckley, July 7, 1928; and Pinckley to Demaray, July 26, 1928, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. Pinckley's response is worth quoting, not only for its color, but to illustrate how thinly spread the monuments' resources were at that time: "I can spare \$500 just about as nicely as I could spare an arm or a leg. In



Figure 16. Lodge operators' cabins, looking east from lodge porch. Well is visible in shallow depression to left. These cabins are in approximate location of the present headquarters buildings. [Included in report of Dunn to Hommon, August 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

or September of 1928 at the latest. The original comfort station did not have the rustic stone facing it currently possesses, however. This was planned but not implemented until later.

THE BEGINNING OF MASTER PLANNING AT PINNACLES (1928)

With Pinnacles' most immediate needs taken care of, thought could now be given to planning for the future. The Park Service was just then beginning to implement a program of master planning for the entire park system. The antecedents of this program date to 1925, when Daniel Hull, chief landscape engineer for the National Park Service, first proposed the idea. Hull was frustrated at having to implement large, multi-year projects on a budget that was planned only one year at a time. He reasoned that it would be more efficient to lay out all of the larger projects proposed for a park in a single comprehensive outline of development so that the park's full budgetary needs could be anticipated several years in advance. Such a development plan would also make it easier to coordinate the various projects being undertaken and integrate the needs of a park more harmoniously. Hull's idea was brought up at the annual superintendents' conference that year and appealed to Director Stephen Mather. As a result, he directed all of the superintendents present to draw up five-year development plans for their

the 17 monuments under my charge we need about 20 comfort stations, some of which we have not yet been able to build for lack of funds and none of those we have built have cost to exceed \$25, also because of lack of funds. If we had \$500 lying around loose we would build a custodian's residence with it. The only way to get \$500 out of my funds is to go right in with a wrecking bar and pry it loose, setting the work back for another year . . . ” He then goes on to authorize the requested transfer of funds.

respective parks. Park superintendents would initiate the plans, but they were instructed to work closely with Daniel Hull and his assistant Thomas Vint in order to actually develop them. The first plan was completed for Mt. Rainier and submitted to the director for approval in 1926.²¹

Hawkins had not entered on duty at Pinnacles until five months after the 1925 superintendents' conference and would not have taken part in it. Moreover, his preoccupation with the immediate needs of the monument would have precluded any interest in long term planning for the time being. But in January of 1928, Thomas Vint, who by then had replaced Daniel Hull as chief landscape engineer, visited Pinnacles to propose a development outline for the monument. This outline was very rudimentary—only one typed page—and lacked any details, maps or plans, but it represents the earliest comprehensive or Master Plan proposed for Pinnacles.²² In it, Vint identified only one development area—Bear Gulch—and listed the facilities that he anticipated being constructed here over the next five years. In addition to the ranger's residence and two comfort stations, which were then nearing completion, his proposals included an information building, a utility building, and a four-room employee cottage. He also proposed completion of the auto camp started by Hermansen in the present Moses Spring picnic area. In addition to these developments, Vint recommended that a High Peaks loop trail should be constructed, which would constitute the backbone of the future trail system. Approximately two miles of spur trails would connect with this central loop. The only addition to the existing system of roads that Vint recommended was improvement of the Bear Gulch Entrance Road to accommodate two-way traffic. In his cursory inspection of the monument, Vint obviously failed to appreciate what an extensive and challenging undertaking this would be, but his outline was not meant to examine the practical logistics of each item; it was only meant to identify what needed to be done and assumed that the details would be worked out later.

In 1929, Stephen Mather issued a directive to the effect that development plans would be mandatory for all parks. At this time, the plans were expanded into a standard, three-part format. The first part was a narrative outline, like the brief sketch that Vint had prepared the previous year for Pinnacles. Outlines were usually made in consultation with the superintendent and the superintendent's staff. The second part was a general development plan, which was graphic and produced by the Landscape Division staff incorporating and synthesizing the park's development needs as outlined in the first part. The third part was a six-year plan, which laid out in detail all proposed projects according to cost and anticipated date of implementation. In the new format, projects were divided into categories—for example, roads and trails, development areas, entrance units, etc.

In 1931, Congress passed the Employment Stabilization Act, which required that all government bureaus produce six-year development plans in order to be ready to implement public works programs should the present economic crisis make these necessary. This was a strong incentive to the Park Service's planning program, which had anticipated this measure by at least two years. When President Hoover began releasing funds for public works in 1932 in response to the worsening Depression, the Park Service was better prepared than most federal agencies to take advantage of the opportunity. At that time, its development plans began to

21. Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service: 1916 to 1942* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1993), pp. 173–193.

22. Thomas Vint, "Development Outline, Pinnacles National Monument," January 15, 1928, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

be called Master Plans. The first of these to be prepared for Pinnacles was not submitted until 1933, but it built upon the rudimentary proposals already recommended by Thomas Vint in 1928. By this time, most of the items outlined by Vint had been supported by extensive field investigations, and detailed plans had already been prepared.

BUILDINGS AND UTILITIES

The Dunn Report, 1929

The first field investigation to examine buildings and utilities at Pinnacles following Vint's development outline occurred more than a year after Vint's visit. In the summer of 1929, Assistant Engineer Allison van V. Dunn of the San Francisco Field Headquarters came down to Pinnacles and prepared a comprehensive report on existing conditions and future needs. Although he focused principally on buildings and utilities, the purpose of his visit, as Dunn later clarified, was to establish a broad conception of all permanent improvements that should be developed in the future. He expected that the details would be filled in later by each of the various discipline specialists, but Dunn's report was still considerably more detailed than Vint's original outline.²³ In addition to expanding on the proposals recommended by Vint, Dunn also provided a valuable description of conditions as they had developed up to this time after the first flurry of activity following Custodian Hawkins' entry on duty. Dunn confirmed that the ranger cabin and the Moses Spring comfort station had both been completed, though the plumbing and septic system had been installed only on the latter building. Neither structure had yet received the rustic stone facing that the original plans called for.

Dunn also observed that the principal water supply remained the same as that implemented in response to Hommon's recommendations, though the lodge and lower campground continued to draw their water from the shallow well in the swale adjacent to the original complex. Dunn believed that this source should be condemned at once, since it lay downstream of the upper campground and was in danger of being contaminated by sewage from the new comfort station. He recommended that, as a temporary measure, all drinking water should be taken from the springs upstream of the government campground and that all sewage should be conveyed through waste lines to a point below the intersection of Bear Gulch and Chalone Creek. He warned that deep wells would eventually be needed to provide adequate supplies of clean water for the expected increase in visitation to the monument. Relying on local opinion, he believed that a reliable source of water could be developed through deep wells bored at least a hundred feet below the surface of Chalone Creek at the foot of Bear Gulch. Dunn believed that a shallow layer of impermeable clay protected these underground supplies from surface contaminants but acknowledged that at least a year would be required to investigate and develop these sources.

The Second Hommon Report, 1931

In May of 1931, H.B. Hommon returned to Pinnacles to follow up on the general recommendations made by Dunn nearly two years earlier. Hommon observed that the septic systems for both the ranger cabin and the Moses Spring comfort station were now in place and functioning as designed. These systems comprised a relatively short waste line that conveyed sewage to a masonry-reinforced filter trench. This structure was a loosely enclosed excavation with unlined floor where solid wastes were allowed to settle and slowly disperse

23. Dunn to Hommon, August 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

through the soil while liquids evaporated through the permeable roof. The design was a temporary measure but widely used throughout the parks in lieu of a more effective and permanent sewage treatment system. Hommon had designed a nearly identical system for Tuolumne Meadows in Yosemite that same year.²⁴ He was well aware of the shortcomings of this design as it was applied at Bear Gulch, where the filter trenches lay upstream of the lower campground; this had just been acquired by the Park Service a little over a month before Hommon's visit. One of Hommon's most urgent requests was that the two campgrounds be united under a single comprehensive system. As the situation currently stood, waste from the upper campground could potentially filter downstream into the drinking supply of the lower campground. But now that the lower campground was part of the national monument, a second comfort station—one that Hawkins had intended to build ever since requesting plans from Thomas Vint in 1927—could be located there. An allotment of \$1,900 had been made at the beginning of fiscal year 1931 for building this structure. (The money was held in abeyance until the title was formally transferred.) Work was preparing to get under way even as Hommon inspected the site. He recommended that a sewer line be installed connecting the ranger cabin and the Moses Spring comfort station with the proposed new comfort station. From there, it should continue down the canyon to an outflow situated below the lower campground, where the sewage could be allowed to drain off without detriment to human health. Eventually, a more permanent extension could be built to convey the sewage out of Bear Gulch altogether.

Hommon noted that a new supply line had already been installed to convey drinking water from the spring utilized by the upper campground down to the lodge and lower campground, following Dunn's recommendations. This answered the immediate threat of contamination to the water supply at the lodge and lower campground, but it did not address the larger problem of insufficient volume once the new comfort station was built and visitation had increased as expected. Hommon recommended that additional springs further upstream be utilized and storage tanks installed to conserve the meager supply of water they provided, but he knew that these measures would never ultimately resolve the problem. There simply was not enough water in the Bear Gulch watershed to meet the monument's projected needs over the long-term. Like Dunn before him, Hommon knew that future needs could only be met by drawing water from outside Bear Gulch and recommended sinking a deep well on Chalone Creek with the water to be pumped up to the campground area.

Over the following year, nearly all of Hommon's recommendations were realized, excepting only the deep well on Chalone Creek. Work began on the new comfort station (Building # 17) almost immediately after his visit. The building was sited at the mouth of Condor Gulch just opposite the lodge. A single sewer line connecting all of the sanitary facilities in Bear Gulch was also installed, but rather than allow waste to drain freely down Bear Gulch—which Hommon believed was a necessary, if undesirable, expedient—a filter trench was installed somewhere below the lower campground. The exact location is unknown, but it probably lay toward the lower edge of the terrace where the present superintendent's residence (Building #19) now stands. Finally, a new water source was located in Bear Gulch above the Bear Gulch Caves, and plans were proposed to capture this water and convey it through the caves to the developed area below. This was eventually done. (The new spring lay near the head of the present reservoir and is now inundated during much of the year.) One of the principal tasks that had long been proposed but remained unfinished was the application of stone facing on the three new buildings in Bear Gulch. All of these buildings are essentially wood-frame structures to which

24. Gretchen Stromberg, Timothy Babalis, and Daniel Schaible, *Tuolumne Meadows Historic District, Yosemite National Park: Cultural Landscape Inventory* (Oakland, CA: National Park Service, 2007).

a rubble masonry exterior has been applied as an aesthetic, rather than structural, effect. This detail would not be implemented until sometime after 1929 (probably by 1930).²⁵

TRAILS

Early Trail Work Under Hermansen's Custodianship (1923–1925)

In a report dated January 5, 1925, Custodian Herman Hermansen described the trails he had completed up to that time. The most important of these was the Bear Gulch Caves Trail. He started this improvement during the winter of 1923 after receiving the monument's first fiscal allotment for infrastructure development of \$600. These funds were used to pay Hermansen's friends Viggo Petersen and Zotic Marcott \$4 a day to work on trail construction. The three men extended an existing trail that climbed lower Bear Gulch from Petersen's campground on Chalone Creek up to and through the Bear Gulch Caves. They were able to make only minor improvements in the caves themselves, however, and were not able to connect the lower caverns with the upper ones, so the trail remained discontinuous. They also cut an alternate route that crossed to the north side of the canyon just below the entrance to the lower caves, following the alignment of the present Discovery Wall Trail north and then looping back south to follow the alignment of the present Rim Trail to the top of the canyon. How far Hermansen actually took this trail beyond that is not clear, though he later proposed bringing it over the saddle below Scout Peak and down to the west side of the monument. It was while constructing this trail that Hermansen and Zotic Marcott first discovered Moses Spring and dug out the pool at its base.²⁶ According to Hermansen:

While laying out this new route, a wonderful spring was uncovered, heretofore undiscovered, as it was hidden high up on a shelf in the cliffs, and covered by a dense growth of vines and large ferns. It was the presence of these ferns that led to its discovery. It appeared as a small seep, coming out of a seam in the solid rock wall. Upon picking into this seam, a large stream was uncovered. Also there is a natural bowl of solid rock, that catches this water and has a depth of about 3 ft with a length of about 15 ft and 6 ft wide. With the clearing of a large amount of growth in this bowl a fine drinking place will be had.²⁷

This was the first trail system to be constructed inside the monument. Hermansen described it as ranging from one-and-a-half to four feet in width. Hermansen also cut an improved trail up Condor Gulch a short ways, but again, how far is not clear. He intended to bring this trail to the top of the ridge and then back south in a loop that would follow approximately the same alignment as the present High Peaks Trail. Though he was never able to fully develop this ambitious proposal, he did brush it in and would guide visitors along the route.²⁸

Most of the early trails Hermansen constructed have been obliterated by subsequent development, which has generally followed the same alignments, a testimony to the wisdom

25. Hawkins to Director, May 7, 1929; and Kittredge to Director, August 9, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

26. Mrs. Marcott, interviewed by Ro Wauer, August 12, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 3, PNM.

27. Hermansen to Director, January 3, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Box 336, NARA II. Marcott's assistance was later confirmed by his widow, recalled that "on one occasion [Zotic Marcott] and another fellow [Hermansen] found what today is called Moses Spring." [Mrs. Marcott, interviewed by Ro Wauer, August 12, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 3, PNM.]

28. Hermansen to Director, April 17, 1924; and Hermansen to Director, January 5, 1925. PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

of their placement and of Hermansen's intimate knowledge of the local terrain. The only known exception is a short segment of Hermansen's original 1923–24 trail that was recently discovered on the south slope of Bear Gulch between the headquarters area and the Bear Gulch Dam. This short loop leaves the current Bear Gulch Caves Trail a little above its junction with the High Peaks Trail and climbs the steep grade of the north-facing slope to an intermediate terrace, which it then follows west before descending again to Bear Creek. At this point the historic trail rejoins the present alignment and is lost. This historic trail segment contains several impressive examples of masonry stairs, demonstrating both the skill and hard work employed by Hermansen and his friends as they developed the original infrastructure of Pinnacles National Monument.

Apart from this exception, the trails originally established by Hermansen are still followed, more or less, by several of the most popular trails in the present monument. These include the Bear Gulch Caves Trail, the lower half of the Moses Spring Trail, the Rim Trail, and a portion of the Condor Gulch Trail. Much of the present High Peaks Trail also follows an alignment first brushed in by Hermansen. The Bear Gulch Trail, which was constructed in 1972 to connect the Bench Trail on Chalone Creek with the Bear Gulch developed area, loosely follows the route of the earliest trail built by Hermansen. This led from Viggo Petersen's auto campground on Chalone Creek to the top of Bear Gulch and was completed in 1922. At that time, the route lay outside the boundaries of the monument.

Principal Trail Work Under Hawkins' Custodianship (1928–1933)

Between 1925 and 1928, no trail construction and little other work of any kind was done at Pinnacles. This lack of activity is perplexing, given that the NPS budget was growing substantially during the period, and major infrastructure projects—including roads and trails—were being initiated in parks throughout the west. After a favorable response to Director Stephen Mather's testimony before the House Committee on Public Lands, Congress passed the Roads and Trails Act in 1924, appropriating approximately \$7.5 million in park construction funds over the next three years.²⁹ But Pinnacles was largely overlooked during this period of growth, because the Park Service remained unconvinced that Pinnacles met the criteria of a national park unit and was considering transferring the monument to the state park system.³⁰ Much of this uncertainty was owing to the continued monopoly of the Old Pinnacles by Henry Melville and the Copper Mountain Mining Company, as well as Dusty Lewis' discouraging report from 1922, which had never quite been forgotten.

At first, Washington seemed willing to commit no more than was necessary to bring existing facilities up to acceptable standards—like the sanitary improvements that engineer Hommon had recommended in 1926—but not to expand the monument's infrastructure beyond its current extent. Custodian Hawkins wrote to Washington in early 1928, a few months after Thomas Vint's visit, and requested funds to implement the development outline Vint had proposed. He noted that the most urgent need of the Pinnacles at that time was the High Peaks Trail, which he estimated would cost approximately \$5,000 to put in. Still uncertain about the fate of Pinnacles, Washington demurred for the remainder of the summer, but finally agreed

29. McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 108. A small allotment from this fund was made to Pinnacles in 1925 for the extension of the Bear Gulch Road a short distance into the monument, but that appears to have been the only benefit Pinnacles derived from the roads and trails budget until fiscal year 1929. [Stephen Mather to Hermansen, January 17, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.]

30. Frank Kittredge to Director, May 3, 1928; and Horace Albright to Director, December 16, 1928, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.



Figure 17. Moses Spring in 1929. Standing figure appears to be Custodian Hawkins. Arrow indicates source of water. [Dunn to Hommon, August 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]



Figure 18. Stairs on surviving segment of original Hermansen trail in upper Bear Gulch. This trail was only recently discovered during a routine maintenance operation. [PINN trails, 2010, PNM.]

to increase the roads and trails allotment for the 1929 fiscal year. Washington's decision was soon justified when the state announced a few months later that it would have no funds to spare from its limited parks budget to acquire Pinnacles. This meant that, unless the National Park Service managed Pinnacles, nobody would. The question of abandoning the monument never again came up, and Washington's commitment to retain Pinnacles within the national park system would remain solid from this time forward.³¹

31. Custodian Hawkins to Director, April 19, 1928; and Horace Albright to Arthur Demaray, June 29, 1928, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

In preparation for the anticipated trail work, Associate Engineer A.B. Lewellen of the San Francisco Field Headquarters visited Pinnacles during the fall of 1928 to develop a trail construction outline. Following Vint's recommendation that a High Peaks loop should constitute the backbone of the monument's trail system, Lewellen proposed an eight-mile trail that would begin in the Bear Gulch headquarters area and follow the route that Herman Hermansen had brushed up Condor Gulch to the summit at Hawkins' Peak. From here, the trail would descend the west side of the ridge to the Chaparral Picnic Area, then continue south past Oak Tree Spring and up Juniper Canyon to the upper reaches of Bear Gulch Creek, just over a low saddle at the top of Juniper Canyon. Then it would turn east and follow Bear Gulch Creek back to the park headquarters, skirting the Bear Gulch Caves along the south and east sides of the canyon.³²

Construction began almost immediately on the Condor Gulch end of the proposed loop under the supervision of Fred Prewett, a local rancher from nearby Bear Valley. (Prewett continued to work as a trail foreman at Pinnacles for several years and became highly respected for his skills.)³³ In January of 1929, Associate Engineer Charles E. Randels visited Pinnacles to inspect the ongoing work and observed that Prewett's crew was doing a high quality job. He noted that the trail had been designed for horses and was being cut from forty-eight to sixty inches wide on a level prism. Randels told Prewett it need only be forty-two inches wide and suggested dropping the prism six inches on the bank slope to create a guttering effect to channel water down the inside of the trail. He also offered a few suggestions to help speed the flow of work, which Prewett immediately implemented. Randels was concerned that only \$2,000 had been allotted for this job, which was enough to keep the trail crew working six 8-hour days per week for about another month but not enough to finish the job. By the end of the season, work had not even reached the top of the ridge.³⁴

Later that year, Assistant Engineer Allison van V. Dunn visited Pinnacles to prepare a comprehensive report on the condition of the monument's existing facilities and its future needs.³⁵ During his visit, Dunn inspected the ongoing trail work and recommended changing the route originally proposed by Associate Engineer Lewellen. While acknowledging that Lewellen's proposal would cover the largest area of land then encompassed by the monument, Dunn noted that this alignment failed to take advantage of the landscape's most scenic opportunities. He suggested that the trail not descend to the west side from Hawkins' Peak but instead continue south along the top of the ridge as far as Scout Peak and then descend back into Bear Gulch, avoiding Juniper Canyon altogether. This suggestion was adopted and represents the alignment that was ultimately constructed. Dunn also recommended improving the trail through the Bear Gulch Caves. This would require installing concrete steps and a handrail so that visitors could safely hike the entire cave system without resorting to the use of a rope.³⁶

32. A.B. Lewellen, "Reconnaissance Survey and Study for the Location of Roads and Trails in the Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California, December 1928" January 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

33. Fred Prewett's son, Ernie Prewett, worked on the trail crew with his father. Ernie is still alive at the time of writing and is living on the family's original homestead a short distance from the monument in Bear Valley.

34. Associate Engineer Charles E. Randels, "Report on Trip to Pinnacles National Monument" February 4, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

35. Assistant Engineer Allison van V. Dunn, "Needs of the Pinnacles National Monument" July 1, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

36. Chief Ranger Zotic Marcott would occasionally use a rope to hoist visitors up the precipice between the caverns [Marcott to Holmes, NPS Chief Clerk, August 31, 1926, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II]. Dunn

Work continued in fits and starts as money became available. Further complicating matters and delaying progress was the lack of adequate equipment. Up until 1930, Pinnacles had had to borrow an air compressor to run the pneumatic drills needed for cutting and breaking rock. Since the compressor had to be returned, it could not be left on the job site between work periods, and much valuable time was spent moving this heavy equipment back and forth. This problem was finally solved when Pinnacles acquired its own air compressor later that year. The absence of local accommodations for the work crews was another time-consuming problem, since the men had to stay on ranches at least five miles distant and ride back and forth each day between the job site and their evening residence. This situation had also improved by 1930, when the monument acquired Viggo Petersen's homestead in Bear Gulch, and the men were able to stay in the lodge he and Hermansen had built.

With the pace of work gradually improving, the High Peaks Trail up Condor Gulch was finally completed to Hawkins' Peak by the summer of 1930.³⁷ By early 1931, Construction Supervisor John H. Diehl reported that the concrete steps on the Bear Gulch Caves Trail were also largely done and a steel-pole handrail had been installed. He also reported that work had been started on a Cave Loop Trail, which would run along the west side of Bear Gulch by Moses Spring and allow hikers to return from the top of the caves back to the lower end of the Caves Trail without retracing their steps through the caves themselves. (This trail, or at least the upper half of it, is now called the Moses Spring Trail.) The Cave Loop Trail and the remainder of the High Peaks loop had both been staked out when Diehl made his report, but construction had not yet commenced on either. (At this time, the High Peaks Trail had only been completed from Condor Gulch to a point just south of Hawkins Peak along the ridge of the Pinnacles.³⁸)

In September of that year (1931), Director Albright increased Pinnacles' allotment by \$8,000 in order to finally complete the High Peaks Trail. Work now proceeded at both ends with two crews building toward each other. By May of 1932, however, the money had run out and the two ends had still not been connected. Hawkins wrote to Washington and requested more money. To his surprise, he received notice within only a couple of days that Pinnacles' trail allotment had been increased by another \$5,000. Hawkins was ecstatic. The amount was less than the engineers at San Francisco estimated would be needed, but Hawkins was by now so confident in his trails foreman, Fred Prewett, that he believed they would not only be able to finish the job within budget but do so to the highest possible standard.³⁹

Unfortunately, the High Peaks connection proved more difficult than Hawkins had anticipated. One of the chief obstacles between the two unfinished ends of the trail was the Fingers, a single peak with multiple spires and sheer sides that offered no ledge or easy gradient along which a trail could be cut. Even as Hawkins was bragging about his trail crew's ability to move mountains, the engineers at San Francisco were beginning to realize that they might have to do just that. A.J. Burney, acting chief engineer for Frank Kittredge of the San Francisco Field

prepared the initial plan for the cave improvements [Allison van V. Dunn, "Preliminary Report on Stairway to Connect Upper and Lower Caves," January, 1930, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 9, f. 18, PNM].

37. Col. John White, superintendent of Sequoia National Park, visited Pinnacles on August 31 of that year and described riding by horse to the top of the new trail with Custodian Hawkins [White to NPS Director, September 2, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II].

38. Construction Supervisor John H. Diehl to Chief Engineer Frank Kittredge, March 10, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. The trail up Condor Gulch was originally part of the High Peaks Trail and did not acquire its present name until after 1934.

39. Hawkins to Albright, May 7, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

Headquarters, prepared plans for a 120-foot tunnel that he proposed to bore through this stubborn obstacle. His justification for this costly expedient is illuminating:

This proposed tunnel was decided upon by Mr. Kittredge and Mr. Hawkins, and approved by the landscape architects to carry the [High Peaks] trail through a very abrupt peak in the high portion of the area through which this trail will pass . . . The construction of this tunnel will eliminate what would otherwise be a very noticeable scar on the mountainside, as it would be necessary to carry the trail around this abrupt peak by benching in and using the half tunnel method of construction for a considerable distance.⁴⁰

The principle purpose of the tunnel was to preserve the scenic integrity of the landscape by avoiding any measures that would draw undue attention to the trail. This was consistent with the rustic ideal of blending construction into the surrounding environment (or disguising its presence). As Burney indicated, Hawkins was aware of the tunnel proposal and agreed that it was necessary, but he obviously did not appreciate the time and expense it would add to the project. The tunnel and associated concrete bridge that spanned the chasm at one side were completed by the end of the 1932 calendar year. But the added time required to build these structures prevented the full completion of the High Peaks Trail by the end of the work season as Hawkins had desired. Approximately one-quarter mile of steep switchbacks just west of Hawkins Peak and north of the new tunnel remained unfinished, though a rudimentary path had been roughed in, and the trail was passable.⁴¹

At the same time that work began on the High Peaks tunnel early in 1932, an alternate route around the Fingers was also selected, and work had commenced on both projects simultaneously. The main trail, which would pass through the tunnel on the east side of the peak, was designed to accommodate horses (as was the rest of the High Peaks Loop Trail). But the alternate route, which would run along the west side of the Fingers, was designed to accommodate only hikers on foot. (It was originally called the “Fingers Foot Trail” and is now known as the “Steep and Narrow” by the monument’s trail crew.) The engineers decided to construct the trail because of the spectacular scenery it made available and because the route was already being used by adventuresome hikers equipped with ropes. Much of the finished trail consisted of shallow steps carved into solid rock. Metal handrails were installed to make the route safer.⁴²

By the spring of 1933, Pinnacles’ core system of trails was essentially in place, except for the quarter-mile segment west of Hawkins Peak. In a little over four years, three important trails had been constructed—the Cave Loop Trail, the High Peaks Loop Trail, and the Fingers Foot Trail. This completed the system proposed by Thomas Vint in his 1928 development outline. Visitors accessed either loop from a single trailhead just south of the lodge in Bear Gulch near the present picnic area. This represented one end of the High Peaks Trail (the other was in Condor Gulch about a quarter mile north of the lodge). The Cave Loop Trail was a separate spur off the High Peaks Trail that left the latter shortly after it crossed Bear Creek to the west side of the canyon. Hikers would proceed from this junction directly to the entrance of the lower caverns. From here, they could now walk through the entire cave system, climbing concrete steps to negotiate the more difficult parts of the subterranean passage. After emerging

40. A.J. Burney, “Plan of Proposed Trail Tunnel, Pinnacles National Monument, PIN-4933,” May 2, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

41. Hawkins, “Activities of the Pinnacles National Monument for the Year 1932,” December 31, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

42. John H. Diehl, “Final Report on Trail Construction,” May 10, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 5, f. 4, PNM.

from the top of the upper cavern, hikers would return along the east side of Bear Gulch, then cross over the top of their original path through the caves, climbing to the west side of the canyon, and return—passing Moses Spring—to the High Peaks Trail at a second junction a little ways above the point where they began. The entire loop was actually a figure eight, allowing hikers to experience not only the caves but also the dramatic scenery of Bear Gulch from the alternating perspectives of both walls.

Visitors who wanted a much longer hike with even more dramatic scenery would continue up the High Peaks Trail beyond the Cave Loops detour and climb steep switchbacks to the top of the ridge at Junction Saddle just north of Scout Peak. Here they could either turn right to follow the narrow Fingers Foot Trail cut into the rock on the east face of the formation, or turn left to follow the bridle path along the west side of the High Peaks, passing through the long tunnel and bridge that brought them to the back of Hawkins Peak just north of the Fingers. Here the two trails rejoined and, skirting Hawkins Peak to the north, doubled back to descend Condor Gulch and return to the lodge area a short distance from where the trail began. Except for a few local modifications, these alignments remain essentially the same today and are still in use, although in several instances the name of a trail or trail segment has changed, making it difficult to recognize the correlation between the historic and the present trail system. The only significant realignment to occur after 1933 was made on the lower portion of the High Peaks Trail in Bear Gulch when a short tunnel was cut through a pilaster of solid rock protruding from the east side of the canyon. Prior to the construction of this tunnel, the trail had to cross Bear Creek over a small bridge and climb a little ways up the west side of the canyon to the first junction of the Cave Loop Trail. The new tunnel made it possible for the trail to continue along the east side of the canyon and reach the Cave Loop junction in a more direct fashion. This change was made early in 1942 by African American enrollees during the final period of the Civilian Conservation Corps program.⁴³

ACQUISITION OF NEW LANDS

As mentioned above, the Park Service was still uncertain whether Pinnacles should remain in the national park system as late as 1928 and was unwilling to make any substantial commitment of resources prior to that time. Though no longer suggesting that the monument be abandoned as it had in 1922, the Washington office now considered transferring the monument to the state park system, believing that this might be a more appropriate place for Pinnacles, given that most interest in the monument appeared to be local rather than national. But a number of things happened toward the end of that year that turned opinions around and convinced Washington that the Park Service should retain Pinnacles. First came the California State Park Commission's announcement of its spending priorities, which did not include acquisition of Pinnacles. The decisive event for the monument's fate, however, was Director Albright's visit on December 9, 1928.

One week later, Albright wrote back to Acting Director Arthur Demaray describing the strong impression his visit had made on him. Albright was now convinced that Pinnacles was worth preserving as a national monument, but he regretted that the Park Service had not acted sooner and obtained the lands that Herman Hermansen and the Pinnacles Boys had

43. Records of the actual construction have been lost—or were never made—but surviving correspondence refers to a realignment of the trail occurring that spring. Though the tunnel is not mentioned, this was the only substantial realignment to be made on this trail. [Asst. Reg. Dir. B.F. Manbey to Director, August 10, 1942, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 5, f. 7, PNM.]

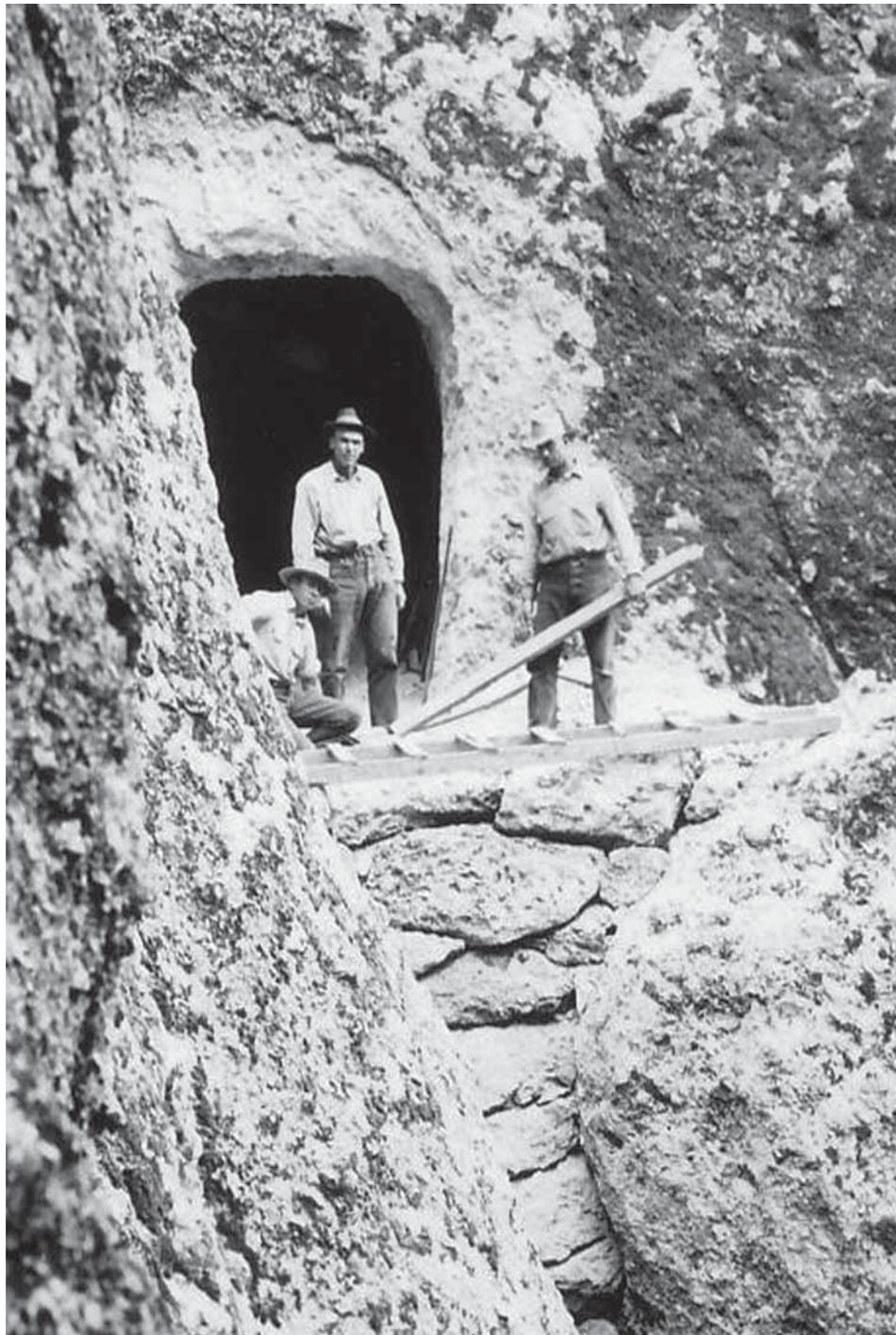


Figure 19. Local men working on High Peaks Trail, ca. 1932, with recently completed tunnel in background. The man standing in the middle of the group is probably crew boss Fred Prewett. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

homesteaded while these were still in the public domain. His first-hand inspection convinced him of the importance of these lands for the future of the monument, a fact that he had not fully appreciated before coming to understand the local geography better. These homesteads comprised much of Bear Gulch, including the broad, level area where the lodge and private campground had been built. But they also included the Chalone Creek Valley from the Ben Bacon Ranch up to Melville's inholding (the Root homestead) in the Old Pinnacles. Together, this represented nearly all of the most desirable land needed for the future development of park infrastructure. The Chalone Creek Valley was an integral part of the existing monument's geography, and Albright observed that, without it, "I do not see how the monument could otherwise have a boundary that could be regarded as a natural one."⁴⁴

In the same correspondence, Albright mentioned a survey made by Chief Engineer Kittredge earlier that month to locate a cross-monument highway. The proposed route lay along the Old Pinnacles Road, continuing through the Balconies Caves and Henry Melville's inholding to the existing entrance road on the west side. This was the same highway that Hawkins and other county leaders had been trying to get built since 1924. Hermansen had strongly opposed the idea, and at that time Acting Director Arno Cammerer had agreed with him.⁴⁵ But the subsequent collapse of Hermansen's reputation within the Washington office had helped change the Park Service's position on the matter of the cross-monument road. Hawkins had always been a strong supporter of the idea, and it appears that Washington was now willing to back him, even though, as Hermansen had correctly pointed out, the proposed road violated fundamental principles of park planning.

One important reason for acquiring the homestead lands was to facilitate construction of the cross-monument highway on the alignment that Kittredge had located. It would have been possible to obtain an easement from the landowners, as the county had already done across the Bacon ranches, but Hawkins was not content with the construction of the road alone. He wanted the project to be accompanied by further improvement of the monument as well. His objective was to create a stronger attraction for visitors in order to bring more people onto the road and into San Benito and Monterey Counties. These improvements could not occur, however, unless the Park Service controlled the lands on which the proposed visitor facilities were situated. Albright supported Hawkins' strategy, and while he was in California met with the San Benito County Board of Supervisors. He promised them that, if they purchased the homestead lands for the monument, the Park Service would undertake the desired improvements and bring the facilities on them up to National Park Service standards.⁴⁶ The county had good reason to be interested in Albright's proposal at this moment, since the appropriations bill for the state survey of the cross-monument highway had just been resubmitted to the legislature, and many people hoped that the enthusiasm that the Pinnacles National Park Association had orchestrated only a few years earlier might be rekindled. Such hope was brief, however, for the bill went nowhere. But the event did help galvanize local support for the Park Service's own growing interest in the monument.⁴⁷

44. Albright to Coffee, December 16, 1928, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

45. See Cammerer's penciled comments on letter from Hermansen. [Hermansen to Mather, January 31, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

46. Albright's promise is recalled by Hawkins in a letter to the Director, dated July 10, 1929. [PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

47. Oberg, *Administrative History*, p. 171. Oberg provides no reference.

The facilities that Director Albright and Custodian Hawkins specifically had in mind when they spoke of making the monument more attractive to visitors were the lodge and campground in Bear Gulch. These had become derelict as a result of the poor management (or economic misfortune) of Hermansen and Petersen, who had originally built the facilities and established the Pinnacles Company to run them. The Pinnacles Company had drifted into receivership about a year earlier, and the campground and lodge had been closed ever since and were now falling into disrepair. H.G. Coffee had reopened the facilities by the fall of 1928 and was trying to make a go of the old business under the new name of Camp Pinnacles. Whether he could have succeeded or not will never be known, for the Park Service had chosen by this time to withdraw its support from the private venture and was now committed to acquiring the land that Coffee leased for the monument. In December of that year, Director Albright wrote to Coffee informing him of the Park Service's intentions. Coffee and his business partner, a Mrs. Hittinger who ran the lodge, filed suit against the Park Service to retain their business, but their effort was in vain. The land on which the campground and lodge were situated belonged, not to Coffee and Mrs. Hittinger, but to T.A. Work and K.D. Mathoit, who had received title to the property when Viggo Petersen and Herman Hermansen had foreclosed on their mortgage the previous year. Since Work and Mathoit were friends of Hawkins, they were sympathetic to the Park Service's interest in developing the lands for the monument and supported the county when it filed suit to evict Camp Pinnacles. This was done in anticipation of the county's plan to condemn the lands and convey them to the National Park Service.

A little over one week after Director Albright's visit, the San Benito County Board of Supervisors sponsored a bill in the state legislature that would allow California counties to convey lands to the federal government for the purpose of creating or expanding national parks. This would legally enable the county to transfer lands that it had condemned to the National Park Service. In fact, the county already possessed the right to do this, as Albright assured Hawkins a few days later, but Hawkins preferred to enact the special legislation in order to avoid giving the impression that the federal government was abusing local interests.⁴⁸ This approach was typical of Hawkins' preference for building a broad coalition of support before acting on any significant matter (and contrasted sharply with Hermansen's tendency to act unilaterally or from within a narrow clique of close friends). At about the same time, the San Benito County Board of Supervisors prepared a resolution expressing their willingness to purchase these lands through condemnation and deed them over to the national monument.⁴⁹ Albright took a copy of this resolution back with him to Washington.⁵⁰

By January of 1929, San Benito County had commenced its condemnation suit against all of the private landholders within the Chalone Creek Valley.⁵¹ This included 1,280 acres belonging to Work and Mathoit, 640 acres belonging to Alonzo Bourke, and 160 acres in the Old Pinnacles belonging to Henry Melville. Not all of the homestead lands adjacent to the monument were condemned at this time. Russell Bourke and Zotic Marcott—both members

48. Hawkins to Albright, January 7, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. Albright's letter to Hawkins is lost but its contents are inferred from Hawkins' response.

49. This resolution is mentioned by Kittredge in a letter to the Director dated January 4, 1929. [PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.] The date of the resolution was December 27, 1928.

50. Kittredge to Director, January 4, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. There is no mention of Albright coming down to Hollister to meet the supervisors. He may have done so, but he may just as likely have received a copy sent to him through the mail.

51. Kittredge to Director, January 24, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

of the original group of Pinnacles Boys—still kept their lands along the north fork of Chalone Creek.

Neither Alonzo Bourke nor Work and Mathoit challenged the condemnations, and they may all have been willing participants.⁵² Bourke agreed to a compensation of \$3,500, while Work and Mathoit were promised \$10,450 for their land. The county had obtained options on all of these properties by May of 1929 but was not able to raise the money to actually purchase them for over a year, possibly on account of the national banking crisis. The deal was not finalized until December of 1930, when the county finally received title to just over 1,920 acres.⁵³ Melville's parcel in the Old Pinnacles, however, was not part of this total, since he refused to cooperate.

Herman Hermansen also objected to the acquisitions, believing that they were being driven by motives detrimental to the welfare of the monument. By now, of course, Hermansen was no longer directly associated with Pinnacles, but he remained deeply interested in its fate. When he learned of the proposed county action, he wrote an impassioned letter to Robert Sterling Yard, president of the private National Parks Association (now the National Parks Conservation Association), in which he accused Hawkins of brokering this land deal in order to facilitate his old dream of a cross-monument highway. Oddly, Hawkins denied the allegation, though Hermansen's interpretation was most likely correct. Moreover, since the Washington office now supported the road, Hawkins had no need to disguise his motives. A short while later, he wrote to the Director describing an unfortunate encounter he had with Hermansen over the issue.⁵⁴ Hermansen at this time was working in Hollister, washing cars for a local business. When Hawkins visited him one day, the two men argued loudly, and Hawkins stormed out. This was the last mention of Hermansen in the Park Service's official records—a rather sad denouement for someone who had contributed so much to both Pinnacles and the Service itself.⁵⁵

In January 1931, shortly after the county had acquired the other homestead lands, Albright wrote to Hawkins reminding him that the land could not be transferred to Pinnacles until a presidential proclamation had enlarged the monument, but Albright did not want to do this until the Melville lands had also been condemned.⁵⁶ He believed—incorrectly—that Melville's 160 acres lay outside the monument like the rest of the new lands, when in fact this parcel was an inholding inside the original 1908 legislative boundaries. Albright's error was understandable given the inherent complexity of Pinnacles' geography but was also an indication of the poor grasp that Washington had on the important issues relating to the monument. It also helps explain how a single trip to Pinnacles could so radically alter Albright's policy toward the monument after he saw first hand how matters actually lay.

52. Work and Mathoit almost certainly were. Alonzo's position is less certain. He was a friend of Hermansen and might understandably have resented the condemnation. Unfortunately, no record survives to preserve his opinion, and we are left to our imaginations.

53. The final compensation amounted to \$16,608.14.

54. Hermansen to Yard, August 22, 1930; Hawkins to Albright, October 21, 1930; and Albright to Yard, October 14, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

55. Hermansen and his wife Alda settled in Hollister, where Hermansen opened a tire business. This may have been where Hawkins found him washing cars the day they argued. Hermansen later retired to his hometown of Petaluma in Northern California, where he and Alda are now buried in the veterans' lawn at Cypress Hill Memorial Park.

56. Albright to Hawkins, January 30, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

Albright was also mistaken in expecting the Melville case to be resolved quickly. Hawkins knew better, and a few weeks after receiving Albright's letter advising him to wait, he visited Chief Engineer Kittredge in San Francisco to discuss the matter. Hawkins was concerned because the appropriations for fiscal year 1931 included \$1,900 for the proposed Condor Gulch comfort station, which was designed to serve the lower campground in Bear Gulch. The appropriation had to be applied within the monument boundaries, but until this land was formally transferred, the Bear Gulch campground was still in private hands. Only four months remained for the money to be obligated before it was lost, and Hawkins could not be sure when he would receive another appropriation for this project. The engineers at the Field Headquarters were also interested in gaining use of the lodge—also on the newly condemned lands—so that the crews who were then working on the High Peaks Trail would have a more convenient place to stay at night. Hawkins and Kittredge therefore agreed that the land conveyance should go forward at once. Accordingly, Kittredge wrote to Director Albright that very day and informed him of the urgency of the situation. A proclamation was immediately drafted, and President Hoover signed it on April 13, 1931. This officially enlarged the monument by 1,926.35 acres.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the condemnation of Melville's parcel in the Old Pinnacles was moving forward, with hearings scheduled for early the next year.

Efforts to obtain the old Root Homestead from Henry Melville had started shortly after the litigation between Melville and Herman Hermansen was resolved in 1925. By January of the following year, Custodian Hawkins announced that he had raised enough money through county sources to purchase Melville's property. This was assuming that Melville would be willing to sell it for its originally appraised value of \$15,000. Melville, however, insisted the parcel was now worth \$1 million, though he had made no improvements or located any minerals on it.⁵⁸ Since he refused to part with the property for anything less, Hawkins realized that the county would have to implement a hostile condemnation, and began making plans to do so at that time, just as preparations were getting underway to condemn the other homestead properties on Chalone Creek. The federal government was also bringing suit against Melville at this time in order to evict him from the eighty acres he still occupied in the Chaparral Area. As described already, Melville denied being in possession of this land, and the suit reverted from trespassing to a claim for damages so that the Park Service could remove the cabins and other improvements that Melville had constructed there. This trial was ready to go to court by February of 1928, but Hawkins advised Washington to hold off until the county condemnations could be finalized. He was worried that local sentiments might turn against the county if attention was drawn to Melville, who would inevitably portray himself as a victim

57. This was Presidential Proclamation #1948. The deed of conveyance was dated March 10, 1931, and the land was officially accepted by the Department of the Interior on March 23th, actually predating the presidential proclamation by nearly a month, but nobody complained. A press release was issued on April 24, 1931, announcing the expansion of the monument. It was unremarkable except for the following sentence: "The newly-added area was donated to the Government by the County of San Benito, California, and is of value from an administrative standpoint and also scientifically and educationally." The administrative value was, in fact, the principal justification for the new acquisition, since the lands included Bear Gulch, where the park would later establish its administrative facilities. They also included the campgrounds, which were desperately in need of proper management. It is surprising that the Park Service now appeared so willing to accept this responsibility when Cammerer had commented only a few years earlier, in response to a request for a license to operate a hotel in Bear Gulch: "Demaray, my personal opinion is that there should be no hotel or camping installations in the monument. There is plenty of room just outside." [Penciled notation on Albright to Director, May 7, 1927, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

58. Hawkins to Mather, January 2, 1926; and Albright to Director., April 25, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

of government strong-arming.⁵⁹ With the county condemnations repeatedly delayed by the growing financial crisis, the federal government was not able to prosecute its own case for damages until early 1931, winning a decision in its favor that July.⁶⁰

With that, only the condemnation of Melville's property in the Old Pinnacles remained to be done. (This was also the only remaining obstacle to the proposed cross-monument highway.) By the latter half of 1931, however, unemployment suddenly became very severe throughout the county as the effects of the Depression began to be felt. This caused considerable concern among county officials, who asked the Park Service to appropriate funds to assist in the county's condemnation case, if only to boost local confidence. (Washington was unable to oblige.) This situation, as well as Henry Melville's declining health caused the trial to be delayed for several years. Only after the immediate unemployment crisis had passed and federal assistance had restored some confidence in the local economy, did the condemnation go forward. By this time, Henry Melville had already died. On May 24, 1935, the appellate court decided in the county's favor and forced the Copper Mountain Mining Company to relinquish title to the Root Homestead for a compensation of \$12,000.⁶¹ The deed was conveyed to San Benito County on August 13th. This effectively ended all connection between the Melville family and Pinnacles.⁶²

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1931

Although Pinnacles' chief concerns during the latter years of the 1920s were the development of adequate utilities, the construction of a core system of trails, and the acquisition of private lands needed for future development, fire was also becoming a priority. In subsequent decades, this would be one of the leading issues in resource management at the monument. One of the reasons for the importance of fire at Pinnacles is its prevalence in the chaparral-dominated ecosystem. While the ecological role and natural frequency of fire in the Gabilan Mountains is still debated, the fact that it has a role, and an important one, is beyond dispute. This was appreciated in the 1920s just as well as it is now, though vastly different conclusions were drawn. During the twenties, fire was generally seen by the National Park Service as a hostile force that had to be suppressed as effectively as possible in order to preserve valued resources.⁶³ This management philosophy existed at Pinnacles as much as anywhere else in the Service but with several important qualifications. First, Pinnacles lacked the resources to implement a policy of complete suppression. And, second, Pinnacles was surrounded by private agricultural lands on which a very different philosophy about fire dominated. The ranchers

59. Hatfield to Secretary of the Interior, February 27, 1929; and NPS Director to Attorney General, March 16, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

60. Hawkins to Director, July 31, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

61. Kittredge to Director, May 24, 1935, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Box [Landscape Architects' Reports], PNM.

62. Hawkins received a temporary fright when he discovered a mining notice with proof of labor posted on the west side the following year. It was signed by Kenneth Melville, one of Henry Melville's numerous children. Fortunately for Hawkins, this was more a gesture of defiance than a serious attempt at resuming Henry Melville's business, and nothing came of it. Kenneth would, however, continue to work his father's mines at Los Burros in the Santa Lucia Mountains, remaining there until his death only a couple of years ago. At Los Burros, which now lies in the Los Padres National Forest, Kenneth would make at least as much trouble for the U.S. Forest Service as his father had made for the National Park Service at Pinnacles. [Hawkins to NPS Branch of Engineering, August 4, 1936, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Box (Landscape Architects' Reports), PNM; and Anita Alan, *Blanco Diablo*.]

63. Bruce M. Kilgore, "Origin and History of Wildland Fire Use in the U.S. National Park System," *The George Wright Forum* 24.3 (2007): 92–122.

around Pinnacles believed that fire was a useful—perhaps even necessary—management tool that helped preserve the environment they valued. Local residents regularly ignited fires and allowed them to burn over both the stubble fields in agricultural bottomlands as well as the chaparral on the uncultivated hillsides. Some current residents even believe that this practice was learned by early ranchers from the Native American laborers they employed. Whatever the origin of these practices, there can be little doubt that both agriculturalists and hunters during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made a habit of burning their lands. With Park Service philosophy strongly opposed to this tradition, the monument had become an ecological island by the end of the 1920s, comprising an area of dense vegetation surrounded by relatively open land, which was maintained in that condition by the frequent application of intentional burning.⁶⁴

This state of affairs was described in snapshot by Park Service Forester Ansel Hall in 1929, after a visit to the monument for the purposes of assessing its fire preparedness.⁶⁵ Hall noted the disparity between the unburned monument lands and the surrounding lands that had been burned:

While most of the area within the monument has been relatively free from fires within recent years, fires immediately adjacent on the outside have disfigured some of the surrounding region and have even made some inroads into the area included within the monument.

It is worth recalling that one of Schuyler Hain's principal motives for establishing the game preserve on the old Pinnacles Forest Reserve was to prevent the fires that hunters frequently set to improve habitat conditions for game animals. Hall's report was directed primarily to the practical measures needed to implement an effective fire suppression policy. He noted that the relative absence of fire at Pinnacles up to the present time was largely due to luck and predicted that soon a major conflagration would burn through the monument if appropriate management policies were not implemented. He recommended creating a fire cache with sufficient tools to supply a twelve-man crew, establishing a protocol for hiring such a crew on short notice, and the construction of fire trails and firebreaks throughout the monument. He also proposed implementing a no-smoking policy during critical fire danger periods. All of these measures were designed to prevent or suppress fire—Hall never considered the idea of using fire as a management tool, despite the example of surrounding ranchers.

In the end, all of these measures proved futile. On August 25, 1931, a major fire was accidentally ignited on the George Melendy Ranch about four miles north of the monument.⁶⁶ Prevailing winds drove the fire south as far as the Topo Valley, burning along a twelve-mile front through dense chaparral. Approximately twenty thousand acres were consumed. The fire burned through the heart of Pinnacles National Monument, though headquarters and the lodge in Bear Gulch escaped damage, because the winds carried the fire over the canyon from one ridge to the next. Chalone Valley and the lower half of Bear Gulch, however, did burn. The Park Service organized a fire crew under the direction of local rancher (and trails supervisor) Fred Prewett, who mounted a direct assault on the conflagration as it entered Chalone Valley. Fred's son, Ernie Prewett, recalls the futility of their efforts, as the intense flames forced the crew to

64. Sue Husari, conversation with author, February 29, 2008; Timothy Babalis, *Fire and Water: An Environmental History of the Upper Chalone Creek Watershed—Draft* (Oakland, CA: National Park Service, Pacific West Regional Office, 2009).

65. Chief Forester Ansel Hall to Custodian W.I. Hawkins, July 12, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

66. "Fire Report Summary," Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 39, f. 12, PNM.

bury themselves in the sands of Chalone Creek. They survived as the fire passed over them and continued on its devastating course south, not to be stopped until it reached the Topo Valley. An NPS fire engine, parked along the monument's entrance road at the foot of Bear Gulch, was destroyed. Its driver, Roy Bengard, was happy to be alive after leaping from the burning vehicle to join his colleagues in the creek bed.

At least three—and probably four—homesteads were also consumed in this fire. Viggo Petersen's cabin, which stood at the bottom of Bear Gulch on the Chalone Creek wash, was destroyed (though by this time it was probably abandoned). Also destroyed were the homesteads of Zotic Marcott and Russell Bourke. Both of these sites lie on the north fork of Chalone Creek above Willow Spring and have escaped disturbance from subsequent development. As a result, the archeological deposits left in the aftermath of the 1931 fire remain in good condition. The southernmost homestead belonged to Zotic Marcott, who settled here sometime around 1921. But because he had been employed as chief ranger for the monument since 1925 and was living in the ranger's residence (Building #2) at the time of the fire, his original homestead was probably uninhabited—and possibly abandoned—by that time. The other homestead burned in the 1931 fire is more interesting. This site belonged to Russell Bourke, who lived here up until a few years before the fire. Unlike Marcott, Bourke developed his homestead, as archeological evidence shows. The site includes the ruins of a Fordson tractor, other farming implements, and evidence of clearing and cultivation.⁶⁷ The footprint of the house itself is considerably larger than the minimal homestead shack, comprising about twenty-three feet by twenty-seven feet, with evidence of a root cellar in the midst. Substantial outbuildings were also constructed nearby. The fourth homestead that may have been destroyed by this fire belonged to Alonzo Bourke, Russell Bourke's younger brother. But Alonzo had built his homestead on Chalone Creek at the site of the Chalone Annex Group Campground. Subsequent development in the area almost certainly obliterated any evidence of his activities here.⁶⁸

Ernie Prewett remembers the efforts his crew made to save these homesteads. Believing they had succeeded, the firefighters drifted wearily into sleep after the first day of the fire. When they woke the following morning, they discovered that the homesteads they thought were safe had all burned to the ground during the night. It took awhile to discover what had happened, but Ernie explained that pinecones from the ubiquitous Grey Pines (*Pinus sabiniana*) had held smoldering embers that the firefighters failed to notice. The cones had rolled down the hillsides and come to rest against the walls of the homestead cabins. During the night, a wind had picked up and fanned the embers, which ignited the cones into flames. By morning, the homesteads were gone.

The aftermath of the 1931 fire revealed to park managers their vulnerability to future conflagrations of similar nature. In response, they attempted to build an effective suppression team. With the establishment of the CCC camp two years later, this objective seemed to have been met—one of the primary tasks of the enrollees was fire prevention and fire suppression. Whether the CCC was effective or just lucky, no major fires broke out during their tenure at Pinnacles. Some fire historians later attributed this “luck” to the fact that fire had already burned through Pinnacles prior to this period of suppression, so that insufficient fuel loading existed to support a major fire. In other words, the apparent success of the suppression policy

67. This may be the same tractor used to grade the original 1924 entrance road.

68. See inventory records CA-SBn-121H and CA-SBn-122H in Haversat et al., *Cultural Resources Inventory* for further description of existing sites.



Figure 20. View looking north across Chalone Creek six months after the 1931 fire. East entrance road is visible at foot of hills. Note the photographer's parked vehicle. Photo was taken on March 22, 1932. [Wieslander Vegetation Type Mapping (VTM) Collection, courtesy of the Marian Koshland Bioscience and Natural Resources Library, University of California, Berkeley, www.lib.berkeley.edu/BIOS/vtm/.]

of the 1930s was made possible only by the lack of successful suppression during the preceding decades.⁶⁹ Following the dissolution of the CCC in 1942, the California Division of Forestry (CDF) utilized the camp as a base for its own fire suppression crews. Every year during the fire season, a six-man crew was stationed at the Chalone Creek camp and would man the lookout on Chalone Peak. This arrangement would continue until 1949, when the CDF built its present station at the north end of Bear Valley.

THE SECOND BEAR GULCH ENTRANCE ROAD (1932)

When Thomas Vint prepared Pinnacles' first Development Outline after his brief visit in January of 1928, he included a recommendation to widen the current entrance road and make it two-way. This was the first time that this proposal was formally brought up.⁷⁰ More than a year later, Assistant Engineer Dunn brought up the subject once more, though with considerably greater detail, in his report "Needs of the Pinnacles National Monument." This report included photographs of the existing alignment with penned annotations suggesting his preferred alternative. Dunn estimated the cost of a new road at \$99,000.⁷¹ Interestingly,

69. Jason Greenlee and Andrew Moldenke, *The History of Wildfires in the Region of the Gabilan Mountains of Central Coastal California* (Paicines, CA: National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1981).

70. Thomas Vint, "Development Outline, Pinnacles National Monument," January 15, 1928, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

71. A. van V. Dunn, "Needs of the Pinnacles National Monument" July 1, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

he made no mention of the pending condemnation suits or the fact that this land was still privately held, perhaps because he assumed that the conveyance of title was already a *fait accompli*. It is clear from the existence of both these documents that an improvement of the Bear Gulch Entrance Road was being discussed among park engineers and planning staff from at least the end of 1928. This was the same year that the Park Service finally accepted that Pinnacles would remain part of the national park system and assumed responsibility for its future development, so it is no surprise that discussion of such a significant but resource-intensive project would come up now but not earlier. But other, more political, considerations also lay behind this discussion.

On December 5th, Custodian Hawkins visited the Field Headquarters in San Francisco and spoke with A.J. Burney, acting chief engineer in Kittredge's absence. Hawkins implored Burney to have the Park Service build a new entrance road immediately, explaining that a substantial show of commitment like this from the NPS, especially one that would provide valuable employment in a perennially poor agricultural county, would help favorably influence the opinion of the jury in the pending condemnation suits. Hawkins had in mind, of course, the litigation against Henry Melville, who held the last and most crucial piece of land needed before Hawkins' cherished cross-monument highway could be built. It is interesting that Hawkins was so careful to avoid antagonizing local opinions. His concern suggests how suspicious people in the county were about any federal intrusion into local affairs. But it also suggests that Melville was not completely isolated or without sympathizers, as the Washington office seemed to believe. Hawkins considered it a real danger that local opinion might swing behind Melville and against the Park Service, and he hoped that the NPS could demonstrate its benign intentions and win local support before undertaking this controversial lawsuit.

Burney wrote immediately to Kittredge describing his meeting with Hawkins and reminded Kittredge of Dunn's report from the previous winter, which had strongly recommended the same project.⁷² About two weeks later, Kittredge wrote to Director Albright conveying Hawkins' request—with his endorsement—that work begin on the new entrance road. Kittredge estimated the cost at \$100,000 and wondered if the money would be made available through the regular Pinnacles appropriation. If not, he asked if it could be funded through Hoover's emergency unemployment relief fund, the first of which had just been announced that year. Kittredge thought that work could begin in a matter of weeks if the funds were released, since Dunn had already surveyed the proposed alignment.⁷³

Nothing more was then said about the entrance road for nearly a year, and the proposal seemed to be languishing for lack of money. The Park Service could not afford such a major allocation in its monuments budget. It had already committed \$13,000 for trailwork and nearly \$2,000 for construction that year (1931), the largest single appropriation Pinnacles had ever received. The proposed road improvement would cost nearly seven times this much, and the best hope anybody had was for a Congressional relief appropriation, but so far this had not materialized. By the end of the year, however, the effects of the Depression were being felt with increased severity in San Benito County. Hawkins was growing impatient as the date of the Melville trial approached and people around him were becoming frustrated with the government's failure to provide any relief for the employment crisis. In November, as rumors began circulating about the possibility of a new unemployment relief bill, Hawkins wrote to Director Albright asking

72. Burney to Kittredge, December 6, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

73. Kittredge to Director, December 17, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.



Figure 21. View looking west up Bear Gulch toward the High Peaks in 1929. Existing road visible in distance to upper right; proposed new alignment marked with black line and arrow. [Included in Dunn to Hommon, August 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.]

if he should petition his congressman to lobby for a share of this aid to be distributed to the National Park Service should such a bill be passed. Albright advised him to wait.

A few days later, County Clerk Elmer Dowdy, also wrote to Albright, stressing the same points Hawkins had just made:

We had hoped that the unemployment situation would not become serious here but our hopes have not been realized and the condition is now one of a grave problem. The Board just a few days ago passed a resolution requesting all of the county officials and all of the regular employees to donate at least one day's wages or salary to a fund to be used for relief. The Board is of the opinion and if an appropriation can be made available at once to be used for the improvement of the monument, it would not only relieve the unemployment condition but would also set well with the taxpayers of the county.⁷⁴

Dowdy also pointed out that the jury trial scheduled against Melville would be a considerable financial burden not only for the county but also for the jurists who would have to travel to Hollister and maintain themselves there for the duration of the proceedings. This trial would likely seem frivolous to the jurors, but any resentment against the Park Service that might result could be offset with a substantial work project that provided employment for the community. On the same note, Col. John White, superintendent of Sequoia National Park, wrote to Albright after seeing Hawkins at a party in San Diego (Hawkins' daughter had married a navy man, and they were attending the celebration at the base on Coronado Island):

74. Elmer Dowdy to Albright, December 22, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

He is very anxious about Pinnacles road construction, feeling that at this time it would favorably influence opinion in the matter of acquiring that 160 acre private holding. Hawkins says that the unemployment problem is even worse in San Benito Co. than elsewhere, tho that seems impossible.⁷⁵

A few weeks later, Hawkins wrote once more to Albright, stressing his concern over the current economic trouble. Scarcely masked behind his words was his growing irritation at the federal government's failure to do anything to ameliorate the crisis.⁷⁶

Early in 1932, Director Albright finally responded to Hawkins' numerous requests, not with money or a work project, but with a letter expressing the Park Service's commitment to undertake further development at the Pinnacles if or when funds became available. Albright regretted that there currently was no such funding in the Park Service budget, but he alluded hopefully to a new unemployment relief act that President Hoover had just presented to Congress. This letter was addressed to the San Benito County Board of Supervisors and was meant to reassure them of the Park Service's commitment to the monument's development. At the time, it was all that the director could do.

In July, Congress passed Hoover's emergency appropriations bill, and everybody was waiting hopefully to see how this money would be distributed. In the meantime, however, Hawkins had been negotiating with Jake Leonard, president of the Hollister Chamber of Commerce, about the possibility of establishing a state highway from Hollister to Soledad through the Pinnacles. The California State Automobile Association (CSAA) already supported this proposal, and an official endorsement from the Automobile Club of Southern California was imminent. Together, these groups had drafted a bill to reallocate a portion of the state budget to make this proposal possible. The bill would be introduced in the next session of the legislature in 1933. In a letter to Director Albright, Hawkins quoted verbatim a speech given by C.C. Cottrell of the CSAA, summarizing the contents of the proposed bill.

According to Cottrell, the bill would amend the Breed Allocation Act of 1927, which had introduced the existing system of primary and secondary roads and established a prioritized protocol for dividing budgetary allocations between them. Seventy-five percent of all new allocations went to primary roads first, and the remainder was used for designated secondary roads. The new bill would modify the Breed Act so that over sixty-six hundred miles of county and city roads could be brought into the state system and funded by state money. To accomplish this, the proposed legislation would temporarily reduce the 75 percent rule for primary road funding to 50 percent and use the difference to fund secondary county roads. The Depression

75. John White to Albright, December 29, 1931, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

76. Hawkins to Albright, January 14, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. Hawkins' growing desperation with the financial crisis was beginning to have a personal dimension. In March, he wrote again to the director requesting a mileage allotment for his travel. Hawkins had always lived at his home residence in Hollister and commuted to the monument—approximately thirty miles each way—in his personal vehicle. In addition to this commute were frequent trips to San Francisco and the East Bay to visit the Park Service's Field Headquarters and associated offices. Up until 1932, this travel had not constituted a financial burden for Hawkins, who was independently wealthy, and he had always paid these expenses out-of-pocket. But the collapse of the stock market and subsequent banking crisis had taken its toll on Hawkins' private resources. In this same letter to Director Albright, Hawkins confessed, "I, like many others, financially have my back to the wall, making the fight of my life." [Hawkins to Albright, May 16, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.] For technical reasons, Albright was not able to provide him with a travel allotment, but he did offset Hawkins' expenses by increasing his salary from a nominal \$12 a year to \$540.

was a strong incentive for this reallocation, since the county projects promised to provide a more widely distributed base of employment in more labor-intensive jobs.⁷⁷ Hawkins hoped to use this act to convert the county road from Hollister to Pinnacles into a state highway and then push the road through to Soledad. Prior to passage of the proposed legislation, the State Department of Public Works would be asked to recommend which roads should be included in the contemplated additions, and Hawkins was at that time busy lobbying to get his road on that list.⁷⁸

Much of Hawkins' optimism over the cross-monument state highway hinged on his belief that money would soon be available to undertake the new Bear Gulch Entrance Road. Hawkins considered these respective projects integral to one another. As he indicated in a letter to Albright, "Our control road is our big handicap, and with money allocated for that we believe we can get on the State highway system this year."⁷⁹ Hawkins believed that having good access to the Bear Gulch campground and trailheads was necessary to make a cross-monument highway through the Old Pinnacles attractive to motor tourists. The Bear Gulch road would be a detour along the main highway, but it would lead to the principal destination for most of the motorists who were expected to use the highway. Director Albright seemed to share this understanding of the matter and had indicated as much in his letter to the San Benito County Board of Supervisors earlier that year when he spoke of the cross-monument highway and the Bear Gulch Entrance Road as both being part of the anticipated future development of the monument.⁸⁰

On October 4, 1932, Director Albright sent a telegram to Chief Engineer Kittredge in San Francisco announcing that \$50,000 had been allotted for the Bear Gulch road from President Hoover's Relief and Reconstruction Act, a precursor of President Franklin Roosevelt's more famous unemployment relief programs (such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, discussed in the next chapter). Kittredge was in Yosemite at the time but rushed back to San Francisco and began immediately preparing a surveyor party under the direction of Assistant Engineer C.O. Roberts. Preliminary work began on October 14th, though one of the most immediate tasks was the preparation for groundbreaking ceremonies, which were scheduled for the following week. On Thursday morning, October 20th, some three hundred representatives of federal, state, county, and local city governments, among others, gathered on a hillside in Bear Gulch about fifteen hundred feet below the lodge. Custodian Hawkins dug the first shovelful of earth, symbolically initiating the project, while Chief Engineer Kittredge prepared a demonstration of the various techniques that would be used on the job, including a detonation of explosive

77. C.C. Cotrell, "Explanation of a Highway and Street Improvement Plan Advocated Jointly by the California State Automobile Association and the Automobile Club of Southern California . . ." September 2, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

78. Hawkins was lobbying to have the road from Hollister to King City included in the state highway system as early as 1924. [Hawkins to Mather, September 20, 1924, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.] This predates the Breed Allocation Act.

79. Hawkins to Albright, September 12, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

80. Although the cross-monument highway was never built, the legacy of this idea is still evident in the enigmatic State Highway 146, which travels westward from Highway 25 only as far as the 1931 boundary of the monument, then resumes on the other side of the Pinnacles from the western boundary of the monument down to Soledad without connecting in between. Hawkins and all those with him who promoted the state highway in 1932, believed that the middle section would eventually be constructed by the Park Service. Their expectation helped get the new Bear Gulch entrance road started.

charges. A movietone (sound) camera recorded the event, and copies of the newsreel were distributed to theaters throughout California.⁸¹

The proposed road was 1.16 miles long and would be twenty-four feet wide along most of its length. A maximum grade of 6 percent was allowed and a minimum curve radius of two hundred feet (except where the road crossed Chalone Creek). These standards made it necessary to deviate from the original alignment for a considerable portion of the way. Generally, the new road lay below the old one. Much of the new road's width had to be cut into the steep hillside, while the remaining width was extended out on a fill embankment composed of the waste removed from the inside slope. The inside slopes were cut at a gradient ranging from 1 to 1 in loose material to 1/4 to 1 (or nearly vertical) in rock, while all of the embankment slopes were graded at a more gentle 1-1/2 to 1 gradient. Galvanized corrugated steel culverts were laid within the embankment fill at approximately five-hundred-foot intervals to drain water underneath the new roadway. These emerged well above the toe of the embankment, a design flaw that would have serious consequences in the near future, causing substantial erosion below the outflow at their tail ends. Terra cotta drain tiles were also placed along the inside of the road at the toe of the cut slope in order to collect and divert water into the culverts.⁸²

The most extensive excavation on the project occurred at the “big cut.” This was an ancient landslide that blocks Bear Gulch, creating a waterfall when the creek is flowing. The sediment trapped by this natural obstruction on its upper side forms the level terrace where the groundbreaking ceremony was held. The original road had climbed up and over this slide at an unacceptably steep angle, but the new road would cut directly through it in order to maintain its standard 6 percent grade. Many of the large boulders from the slide were broken up and retained for masonry work—the guardrails and culvert headwalls, for instance, and the dry-laid revetment along the toe of the embankment slopes.

The labor required to move the estimated 47,700 cubic yards of excavated rock and soil was prodigious. Only manual techniques were allowed in order to create work for as many men as possible (though a steam shovel was later brought in to complete the job when time became short). During the first four months, approximately two hundred men were employed. They were divided equally between two shifts of three 8-hour days each. The first shift ran from Monday to Wednesday; the second, from Thursday to Saturday. The standard wage was \$3.12 per day, with as much as \$5.60 per day for skilled craftsmen and sub-foremen. Where the ground was loose, waste was removed by pick and shovel. Otherwise, it was broken up with dynamite and then shoveled out. A temporary railway was assembled along the road alignment so that ore cars could be used to transport the waste from the excavation to the fill site. Much of this waste was used to fill the embankment slopes along the road grade, but the majority of it was transported to the foot of Bear Gulch and used to construct a raised viaduct across Chalone Creek. A narrow aperture was left in the middle of the viaduct for the creek to pass through and a temporary wooden trestle built to span it. A permanent masonry bridge was planned for a later date but was not included under the current job appropriation.

Many of the men employed were either local ranchers or boarded with ranchers and commuted daily from nearby Bear Valley. Others lived on the job site, and accommodations had to be

81. Ralph Phelps to E.H. Sanders, October 21, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. For a partial list of VIPs invited, see press release from October 16 and Kittredge to Director, October 18, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. Note that Kittredge sent a copy of this newsreel to NPS offices in Washington, but there is no record of it at the National Archives.

82. This and following based primarily on Roberts and Cowell, “Final Report on Construction of Entrance Road.”



Figure 22. The men principally responsible for the new entrance road, posing on groundbreaking day, October 20, 1932. From left to right: NPS Chief Engineer Kittredge, Col. Goff Thompson, and Custodian W.I. Hawkins. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

provided for them.⁸³ A labor camp was constructed in Bear Gulch just below the lodge. Ten permanent wooden cabins were built—five measuring sixteen by eighteen feet, and five measuring twelve by fourteen feet—all comprising a single, unfinished room with multiple bunks. These were expected to become tourist cabins once the present task was completed, and most are still extant, though substantially altered. (They are currently being used as administrative offices by park staff.) In addition, five tent platforms, each measuring sixteen by twenty feet, were also constructed to accommodate tents borrowed from Yosemite National Park. The cabins were arranged in two straight rows along Bear Gulch Creek with a dirt lane running down the middle. A communal bathhouse was also constructed in the same vicinity. The lodge was slightly expanded, with additional storage and a larger kitchen added. This was used as the project mess hall, a nominal fee being deducted from the men's wages for their meals.

Just below this impromptu village, a work area was established on the broad terrace above the Bear Gulch falls (where the groundbreaking ceremonies had been held). An equipment shed with blacksmith shop, a powder house, and a refuse pit were all eventually constructed here. On Chalone Creek, below the mouth of Bear Gulch, a primitive camp was also set up. Only water and sanitary facilities were provided here, while the men brought their own tents. The cost was considerably less than staying at the Bear Gulch accommodations and appealed to the more frugal spirits.⁸⁴

By March, the majority of the heaviest labor was completed, and the work force was gradually diminished to approximately forty men per shift. Much of this final stage of the project

83. Kittredge to Director, October 21, 1932, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

84. C.O. Roberts and A.E. Cowell, "Final Report on Construction of Entrance Road," April 15, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 46, PNM.



Figure 23. Formal ceremonies on groundbreaking day for the new entrance road, October 20, 1932. The pavillion was located on the lower end of the natural terrace just below the present superintendent's residence (Building #19). [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

consisted of cleaning up and landscaping or naturalizing the scars left by construction. The tops of the cut slopes were rounded to create a more natural transition to the existing topography, and the original road cut was filled in and carefully obliterated. Efforts were made to revegetate all of the denuded areas. Loam was placed on the embankment slopes and seeded with local toyon (*Heteromeles arbutifolia*) and buckeye (*Aesculus californica*).⁸⁵ Custodian Hawkins later reported that these efforts were largely successful, with many seedlings emerging by the following season. Efforts to revegetate the cut slopes, however, would not do as well, and it was not until 1942 that a successful strategy for naturalization was discovered in the simple expedient of irrigation to stimulate the existing natural seed bank.⁸⁶

By April of 1932, all work was done. The entire road had been cut and graded, and the job site largely cleaned up. The road had not been paved, although a short, one-hundred-foot segment had been surfaced with a variety of treatments as a demonstration. The guardrail still needed to be constructed, as did the bridge over Chalone Creek. But these items had never been included in the existing appropriation and would be dealt with later. For the time being, the road was finished and open for use. It was a considerable improvement over the old one-way control road. The project had met, if not exceeded, expectations, with all essential construction completed to a high standard on time and within budget and no reported injuries

85. Roberts and Cowell, "Final Report on the Construction of Entrance Road," p. 19.

86. Custodian's Narrative Reports, January, 1944, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 22. See further discussion in Chapter 5.



Figure 24. Laborers village in Bear Gulch, 1933. Many of the hardwalled buildings to left are still extant and being used for administrative purposes by Park staff. Most of these were faced up to the windowsills with stone by the Civilian Conservation Corps a few years later. The tent cabins to the right were removed shortly after the road project was completed. [Included in E.A. Kittredge, "Final Report on Construction of Entrance Road," April 15, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, PNM.]



Figure 25. View from above looking east down Bear Gulch in early 1933. Original 1925 road is still extant to left. New road in progress below it. The buildings to the right are the blacksmith's shop and powder room. They were removed shortly after the project was completed. [Included in E.A. Kittredge, "Final Report on Construction of Entrance Road," April 15, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, PNM.]



Figure 26. Local laborers working on the new Bear Gulch entrance road in 1932. Ore cars were borrowed from the nearby New Idria mercury mines to convey waste rock off the cut slope. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

more serious than a fractured wrist, although a few individuals still remember the deleterious effects of the water delivered daily by a tanker truck.⁸⁷

NATIVE AMERICAN ARTIFACTS COLLECTION

During the early 1930s, the Park Service began negotiating with two local ranchers to acquire collections of Native American artifacts. The ranchers had collected these artifacts over the previous half-century from the surrounding area and throughout the west. At least one of the collections was extremely large. An ethnologist from the Smithsonian Institute, John Peabody Harrington, had been working in the region for several years, and it may have been his interest that alerted the ranchers to the value of what they had and inspired them to step forward and offer to donate their collections to the Park Service. According to several sources, collecting Indian artifacts was a local hobby and not taken very seriously before now. In the early years of American settlement around Bear Valley, it was common to turn up artifacts of all kinds—especially projectile points and portable mortars—while cultivating the valley bottomlands. Most local residents had at least a few Indian artifacts lying around their ranches.

John Harrington had been in the central coastal region of California since 1921, studying Ohlonean ethnography and had begun compiling information on the Mutsun, an Ohlonean people of northern San Benito County, since early 1922. (Prior to European contact, the closely related Chalon occupied southern San Benito County, including the region around Pinnacles, but their language and customs were very similar to those of the Mutsun.) As

87. Jack O'Donnell, interviewed by author, March 23, 2007.



Figure 27. Construction of Bear Gulch entrance road in 1932. Waste rock from cut slopes being deposited in Chalone Creek to establish abutments for future bridge. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

Hawkins noted, “Mr. Harrington of the Smithsonian Institute . . . has a complete record of the Pinnacles Indian language, customs, legends. Their dance, songs have also been caught on phonographs.”⁸⁸ Specifically, Harrington had been working with Mutsun elder Ascencion Solorsano, who was then living in Gilroy but had also lived at various times on traditional lands within or near the boundaries of the present monument. With Solorsano’s assistance, Harrington assembled a Mutsun “Dictionary” as well as a monograph on the survival of traditional language and customs among the missionized Indians of San Juan Bautista (who were primarily Mutsun).⁸⁹ Schuyler Hain also helped Harrington in this project, serving as a local “nonlinguistic informant.” Harrington came back to California again in 1929 and visited Solorsano once more before she died early the following year.⁹⁰ It was on this visit, that he was invited to inspect a large collection of artifacts on the Butts Ranch, just east of Bear Valley near Pine Rock. Mrs. Butts had recently offered to donate her collection to the monument, and Custodian Hawkins wanted Harrington, as a specialist, to assess its value.

Harrington also visited the ranch of Dan Madeiros on the west side near Soledad to assess a similar collection that Madeiros was also offering to donate. Harrington later visited Director

88. Hawkins to Horace Albright, February 28, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

89. This monograph, called the “San Juan Report,” and the Mutsun “Dictionary” are part of the John P. Harrington Papers in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. They are published in microfilm. See Elaine L. Mills, ed., *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907–1957; Volume Two, A Guide to the Field Notes: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Northern and Central California* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 2007).

90. Hawkins to Director, January 31, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

Albright directly in Washington, D.C. and vouched for the high quality of both collections, recommending that the Park Service do everything it could to acquire them. By this time, Albright had already reached this conclusion and instructed Hawkins to pursue negotiations with the ranchers as aggressively as possible. (In September of 1930, Sequoia Superintendent John White attended a picnic at the Butts Ranch and saw the artifact collection himself. He was just as impressed as Harrington had been and informed the director of his opinion. The photograph below was probably taken by White at the Butts Ranch that year.)

Mrs. Butts seemed only too willing to donate her collection to the Park Service and started formal negotiations immediately. Dan Madeiros was also a willing donor but decided to use the Park Service's interest to help realize other objectives that he had for the monument. In July of 1930, he wrote to Director Albright saying that he would donate his collection of Indian artifacts contingent on receiving two commitments from the Park Service. The first was that the Park Service agree to build the cross-monument highway through the Balconies; and the second was that it agree to build a museum to house his collection (and any other collection Pinnacles might receive).⁹¹ Since at this time, the Park Service already planned to implement both these proposals, Madeiros' conditions did not pose any obstacles, and Albright readily agreed to continue negotiations on these terms.

By December of 1932, Hawkins reported to Washington that negotiations were currently underway with Dan Madeiros and Mrs. Butts, and that both collections would soon be acquired. But rather mysteriously, this was the last time anything was ever said about the Indian artifact collections. The Park Service never built its museum, and the collection it does maintain clearly lacks the promised donations. The stone mortars pictured in the 1930 photograph from the Butts Ranch are reportedly still on the property but have been used to construct a small masonry outbuilding. What became of the Madeiros collection is not yet known.⁹²

MELVILLE AND HIS CONSEQUENCES

In 1933, Pinnacles would enter a dramatically new period in the history of its development. By the end of that year, the Civilian Conservation Corps, a federal unemployment assistance program enacted by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, would take up residence at the monument and make available an unprecedented workforce. As many as two hundred young men would pool their resources to help implement many of Pinnacles' most desired and needed projects. The first period of the monument's development ended with the arrival of the CCC. Also ended was the long monopoly over the west side by the Copper Mountain Mining Company and its cantankerous president, Henry Melville, who died on December 10, 1933. The consequences of Melville's actions would persist, however, and still influence the design and management of the monument to this day. Though it may not have been Melville's original intention, his actions prevented the construction of the cross-monument highway through the Old Pinnacles during the 1920s when enthusiasm for this proposal was at its height. By the time his property in the Balconies was finally condemned in 1935, the San

91. D.A. Madeira [sic] to Albright, July 23, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II. Given the importance of the cross-monument highway at that time, and the numerous alternative proposals being discussed, it is worth noting that Madeiros believed the Park Service would construct a tunnel *through* the Balconies formation rather than widening the existing chasm to accommodate automobiles (unless he misunderstood the latter proposal to mean the tunnel he described).

92. Lisa Smith, pers. comm., 2009.

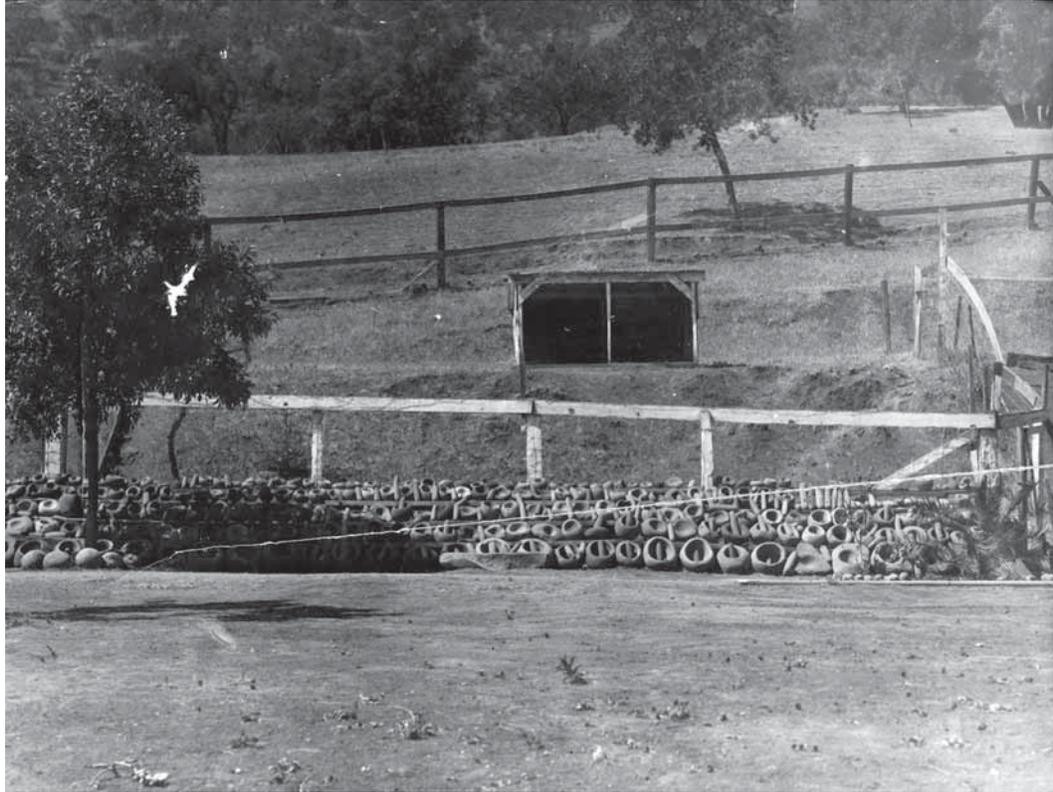


Figure 28. Portable mortars in the Butts' family collection. Photo taken on the Butts Ranch, ca. 1930. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

Benito County Board of Supervisors had already begun to question the idea, fearing that the road would draw tourism away from the east side and benefit Monterey County instead. This concern explains why San Benito County held on to the condemned parcel until 1958, rather than conveying it to the Park Service immediately as the county had once intended.

Another consequence of Melville's activities was the Park Service's decision not to develop the west side until after he was gone.⁹³ This kept the Park Service from initiating any projects until well into the 1930s, by which time most of the development in Bear Gulch on the east side had already been constructed, and this area was established as the focal point of the monument. By the time Park planners were finally able to consider the west side, the energy of the CCC period was beginning to wind down, and the outbreak of World War II would soon bring all development programs to an abrupt halt. Not until the postwar Mission 66 initiative did attention return to the west side, and temporary facilities were finally built there in 1966.

93. Mather to Hawkins, February 9, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.



Figure 29. Photograph of Henry Melville, date unknown (probably sometime after 1920). [Courtesy of Leland Melville.]

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1933–1941

The 1930s were a period of dramatic change and growth for the National Park Service. One of the earliest events of this decade to affect the agency was the Reorganization of 1933. Implemented on June 10th of that year by Executive Order 6166, this act transferred all of the national monuments—as well as many of the nation’s cemeteries, memorials and public buildings—to the National Park Service. This more than doubled the number of units within the national park system from 67 to 137. Even more significantly, it nearly quadrupled the number of historical units from twenty to seventy-seven, broadening the agency’s focus from its prior emphasis on natural scenic areas to include substantial cultural resources as well. Before the Reorganization, Pinnacles was one of only a handful of monuments administered by the National Park Service. It was now joined by a variety of other types of monuments that were transferred from the Department of War and the Forest Service. While this had no immediate effect on Pinnacles, the growth of the Park Service as a whole and the expansion of its mission with these additions would have consequences that were eventually felt throughout the entire system.¹

More immediately significant for Pinnacles was the dramatic and rapid expansion of the National Park Service with President Roosevelt’s New Deal appropriations. The annual budget for the agency increased from about \$10.8 million in fiscal year 1933 to just under \$27 million in 1939. While this money had to be distributed among many more units after the Reorganization, it was augmented by some \$218 million in emergency conservation projects over the same period.² The combined effect of these federal appropriations was felt by virtually every park in the nation, no matter how small, and Pinnacles was no exception. In order to manage this growth, many structural changes were also implemented that would affect the relationship between parks and monuments like Pinnacles and the agency as a whole, changing the way resources and information were distributed. The Field Headquarters in San Francisco, which had existed since 1928 and provided professional support for many of the western parks, was greatly expanded in 1933 in response to the growth that had begun that year. Its staff and their responsibilities were now formally organized into a Branch of Engineering and a Branch of Plans and Design.³ In 1937, San Francisco became the headquarters for Region Four when the entire Park Service was regionally organized following the Army’s model. The need for this had been recognized as early as 1934 as a means of dealing with the greatly expanded and more diverse system that the Park Service now managed. Individual parks and monuments now turned first to their regional office for support and guidance rather than to Washington.⁴ Although Pinnacles had always relied heavily on the support of the Field Headquarters or

1. Harlan Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, n.d.), pp. 43–75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

3. Vernon L. Hammons, *A Brief Organizational History of the Office of Design and Construction, National Park Service, 1917–1962* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1963).

4. Unrau and Williss, *Expansion*, pp. 247–265.

technical staff at large nearby parks like Yosemite or Sequoia, after 1937 the role played by Washington in the daily affairs of the monument was greatly diminished while the regional directorate's role increased.

Even while these structural changes were going on throughout the agency, Pinnacles was experiencing the most substantial and extensive physical development in its history, unmatched to the present day. Its core High Peaks trail system, begun by park staff in 1928 following Herman Hermansen's original 1924 design, was improved and finally completed; most of the monument's permanent buildings and structures were built (or started); and all of the principal access roads on the east side were developed to the present high standard. This work was made possible by the President's New Deal relief programs, such as the Public Works Administration (PWA) and especially the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which maintained a camp at Pinnacles from the fall of 1933 to the spring of 1942. During their nine-year tenure at Pinnacles, the CCC made a lasting contribution to the history of monument, establishing much of the physical infrastructure and development patterns that are still apparent today.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO THE GREAT DEPRESSION

President Herbert Hoover's Relief and Reconstruction Act, which had financed the Bear Gulch Entrance Road, was a harbinger of much greater things to come for Pinnacles. Although Hoover was defeated in the November elections, this early example became an important precedent for federal subsidization of public works as a means to address the crisis of unemployment. It would be followed—and greatly expanded—by his successor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By the time Roosevelt took office in 1933, unemployment had risen in excess of 25 percent. In the rural west, it was even higher. These statistics, and the psychological desperation that lay behind them, all but forced the new president to instigate dramatic measures if only to reassure an anxious nation that he would not tolerate the status quo. To fulfill this expectation, Roosevelt immediately called Congress into a hundred-day special session. During this period, much of the now-famous New Deal was hammered out, with bills often passed by a supportive Congress only hours after their submittal. The federal government's role was fundamentally redefined as it became significantly involved in domestic welfare assistance. This was largely unprecedented in the nation's history, but the collapse of the private sector had left Americans feeling skeptical of laissez-faire economics and willing to accept a far greater degree of government involvement in their lives than they had ever considered tolerable before. Many of the federal assistance programs that Roosevelt introduced had a direct and substantial impact on Pinnacles National Monument, resulting in a decade of nearly continuous physical improvement. Between the end of 1932 and the outbreak of war in 1942, much of the monument's present infrastructure was built.⁵

President Hoover had been convinced that the Depression was an international problem and could not be resolved through domestic policies. Only toward the end of his presidency did he accept the need for the federal government to intervene directly in domestic affairs with subsidies to banks, public works and unemployment assistance. His Relief and Reconstruction Act, which had helped build the Bear Gulch Entrance Road, was one example of this belated change in philosophy.⁶ By contrast, Roosevelt largely ignored the international dimension of

5. A good overview of the Depression era and federal response to the financial crisis is given in David Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

the Depression and concentrated on domestic policy. One of the first problems Roosevelt addressed as president was the banking crisis, which had followed the collapse of the stock market in 1929. To restore confidence and prevent further mishap, he quickly enacted the Emergency Banking Act, which expanded the federal government's ability to regulate the private financial system. But unemployment and the impoverishment of the rural agricultural districts were also pressing challenges confronting the new administration, and Roosevelt began discussing possible remedies with his staff on the very day that the banking act was signed into law. These subjects would fully occupy the president and Congress for much of the rest of the year (if not the remainder of the President's first term in office). Both agricultural price adjustment and unemployment were subjects of intense concern in San Benito and Monterey Counties, but only the latter would have a direct impact on the monument.⁷ To address unemployment, Roosevelt's staff settled on three principal proposals. The first was to make money directly available to the states for welfare relief. This measure was intended to meet the immediate crisis and provide support for the unemployed until they could support themselves once more. The second proposal was to create employment for skilled laborers by subsidizing local public works. And the third was to put youth to work in a nationally organized conservation program.⁸

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

On March 21st, Roosevelt presented Congress with a bill that incorporated all but the public works component of his unemployment strategy. The Federal Unemployment Relief Act created the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), or the Civilian Conservation Corps as it was more commonly known. The former disbursed federal unemployment relief to the states, while the latter created a jobs program for underemployed youth. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) quickly became one of the most popular of Roosevelt's New Deal plans.⁹ The program recruited young men between the ages of 18 and 25 and organized them in camps to work on a variety of conservation-oriented projects throughout the country. It was not a new idea. Many variations had already been proposed during the first few years of the Depression, and several state programs had even been implemented. Most of these had enjoyed only marginal success, mainly due to the limited financial capacity of state governments. Roosevelt himself had experimented with a

7. The agricultural crisis had actually begun as early as 1921 when a collapsing market for agricultural goods followed a brief period of overproduction stimulated by World War I. But Roosevelt's team of advisors believed that agriculture would remain in permanent crisis as a result of fundamental inconsistencies between agrarian and industrial economic systems, and they set about devising a way to insulate the former from the latter through a system of regulated price adjustments. These measures were introduced with the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which was sent to Congress on March 16th. As a further stimulus to the rural sector, Roosevelt also took the country off the gold standard, allowing inflation to increase the value of agricultural commodities relative to the value of agricultural debt. [See, Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, pp. 17–18, 200–213; Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957), pp. 105–116; and *The Coming of the New Deal* (1958), pp. 27–84. See also Cletus Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870–1941* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), pp. 15–39.]

8. John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933–1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985), p. 7.

9. Although the program was always popularly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps, it was officially called the Emergency Conservation Work until it was reauthorized in 1937. After reauthorization, the official name was changed to Civilian Conservation Corps. To avoid confusion, this history will use the latter name throughout the entire period of the program.

civilian conservation program in 1931 while governor of New York. Called the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, New York's plan had recruited the unemployed to work on forest restoration projects. The mostly positive reaction to this experiment and the lessons learned from it contributed strongly to Roosevelt's desire to implement a more comprehensive national version two years later when he became president.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was more than simply a make-work program. It was also designed to provide a moral education for its participants by inculcating habits of hard work, self-discipline and social cooperation. Roosevelt believed that these values needed to be reinforced or relearned if the country was to make a truly effective response to the Depression. He made this clear in his first inaugural address, observing that the current economic system was not only fiscally but morally bankrupt. He believed that the crisis demanded a radical new social vision. "The measure of the restoration," Roosevelt declared, "lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit." The Civilian Conservation Corps was to be a tangible step toward realizing these social values. Roosevelt did not refer to the plan by name just yet, but it is clear from the proposal he sketched in this address that he already had something like the CCC in mind:

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.¹⁰

Many of the essential elements of the Civilian Conservation Corps were apparent in this brief statement: the direct recruitment of enrollees by the government, the ordering of the program according to a military model, and the selection of jobs based on the conservation of natural resources.

In creating the CCC, Roosevelt sought to combine the conservation benefits of supervised forestry with the social benefits of providing labor relief for the unemployed. But his primary goal, as some historians have noted, was to expose urban youth to the morally invigorating lessons of hard work in natural or primitive conditions. This would have the dual benefit of completing locally needed jobs while, at the same time, preparing a new generation of young men for citizenship in a nation that Roosevelt hoped would be more mature than the irresponsible society that had produced the present crisis.¹¹

When Executive Order 6101 was issued on April 5, 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps was officially inaugurated. The program was jointly administered by the Departments of War, Labor, Interior, and Agriculture with each department assigned a different responsibility. The Department of Labor would recruit enrollees, while the Army would provide them with rudimentary training and transportation to the camps. (This role was eventually expanded to include supervision of the camps themselves.) The National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service would each host camps on their units and would develop and supervise work assignments. The CCC was directed by Robert Fechner until his death in 1939. James McEntee replaced Fechner and saw the program through to its conclusion in 1942.

10. In *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States: From George Washington, 1789, to George Bush, 1989* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989).

11. Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 126.

The initial enrollment goal was two hundred and fifty thousand men, which was achieved within a few months of the program's start. With the exception of World War I veterans, all of the enrollees were single boys between the ages of 18 and 24. Each boy enrolled for a period of six months at a time but could re-enroll for a maximum tour of duty lasting two years, provided he did not remain in the program past his 24th birthday.¹² The enrollees received room, board, and \$30 a month (of which they had to remit \$25 to their families). Enrollees lived in camps of approximately two hundred boys each for six months at a time—the duration of one enrollment period. These camps were organized and constructed after the military model, with the boys living in barracks-style dormitories and eating in a common mess hall. Over 150 major types of work were done by the CCC, but all of the work could be classified under the following categories: forest protection and conservation, soil conservation, recreational developments, aid to grazing and to wildlife, flood control, reclamation drainage, and assistance in natural disasters. In addition, fire suppression became one of the leading activities carried out by the CCC. This included ongoing prevention through fuel load reduction, construction of fire trails and firebreaks and the construction and manning of observation towers.¹³ But the CCC are probably best remembered today for the trails and various small buildings and structures they built. Much of this work was artfully done in a rustic style that remains a distinctive hallmark of the CCC. Since the purpose of the program was to provide employment, manual labor was given priority over mechanized techniques in order to put as many hands to work as possible. Manual labor was also considered more appropriate for the tasks in which the CCC was generally engaged, because it had less impact on natural and scenic resources. In addition to their regular fieldwork, the enrollees were also offered educational opportunities. Most camps were supplied with an educational advisor, who coordinated evening classes in a variety of subjects. By 1937, enrollees were required to receive ten hours of educational or vocational training every week.

Since the Park Service provided technical supervision for CCC projects, its own staff of supervisory personnel had to grow in proportion to the size of the CCC itself. Congress allowed the NPS to hire technical positions—also known as forestry personnel—using CCC funds. By 1935, staff had grown Service-wide by seventy-five hundred as a result, and many of these positions eventually became permanent.

The initial act establishing the CCC was an emergency measure and was only effective for six months, but the president was permitted to reauthorize the program in six-month increments for a total of two years. The program proved successful enough to justify its continuing reauthorization and even to allow expansion in the enrollment size, eventually up to six hundred thousand young men. In 1935, Congress renewed the program along existing terms for another two years. By that time, Roosevelt had begun to believe that the CCC should become a permanent institution. In keeping with this idea, he implemented a gradual reduction in enrollment from six hundred thousand back to the original three hundred thousand, a number he thought would be more sustainable, especially now that the initial crisis of the Depression was beginning to moderate. When the reauthorization bill came before Congress again in 1937, Roosevelt asked the legislators to make the CCC a permanent civil

12. Enrollees could, however, apply for a staff position at the end of their eligible enrollment period, if they possessed the necessary job skills. Two enrollees who served at Pinnacles did this—Robert Oliver and Aulton Hoover. Both went on to have careers in the National Park Service. Aulton Hoover would become the senior ranger at Pinnacles in the late 1940s after serving overseas in the European theater.

13. Wright Lynn and Herbert Holmgren, "A Better Understanding of the CCC," typed manuscript, January 19, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658 Box 4, f. 10, PNM.

service. Responding to business lobbies, who feared that the federally subsidized program would keep wages high by absorbing surplus labor, Congress refused, though it did reauthorize the program on a temporary basis, and continued to do so until the American entry into World War II. Two weeks after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, the Joint Appropriations Committee of Congress recommended that the CCC program be terminated, and Roosevelt reluctantly agreed. This order went into effect on July 1, 1942.

By the time the CCC was dissolved, a total of two million enrollees had participated in the program. This represented 5 percent of the male population in the United States. During the eight years of its existence, 895 camps had been established throughout the country, 198 of these in national parks and 697 in state parks. The Civilian Conservation Corps proved to be one of the most popular social programs implemented by the Roosevelt administration. After the war there was renewed interest in establishing the CCC as a permanent agency, but with the postwar economy booming, little came of these efforts. In the late 1970s, however, the idea enjoyed a limited revival with the establishment of the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) and the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), which were modeled directly upon Roosevelt's earlier program. Fittingly, Pinnacles was among the parks chosen to host a YACC program. Though the YACC did not last more than a few years, county and state-based programs were later established on a similar model around the country, and many of these are still in existence.¹⁴

THE CCC AT PINNACLES

Construction began on the CCC camp at Pinnacles—generally known as “Camp Pinnacles”—on October 7, 1933, during the second enrollment period of the CCC program.¹⁵ Camp Pinnacles was laid out as a quadrangle in typical military fashion at the site of the present NPS maintenance yard and residential area on Chalone Creek. This natural bench was once part of Alonzo Bourke's homestead but had been acquired by the Park Service two years earlier. The original camp comprised seven major structures—an administration building, a mess hall, four barracks, and a washroom. It also included pit toilets for the enrollees. Electricity for lights was provided by two gasoline-powered generators, and water was supplied from a shallow well located a little below the camp.¹⁶ Camp Pinnacles was completed by November 3rd and fully occupied on November 6 by a complement of just over two hundred enrollees.

The CCC occupied Camp Pinnacles for all or part of thirteen seasons from the second to the eighteenth enrollment periods of the national program. These enrollments and their dates are listed in the following table:

14. Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*.

15. The camp was officially designated NM-4 and later redesignated NP-25 after 1938. But it was commonly referred to as Camp Pinnacles, and that convention will be used here.

16. The well was a wood-lined box four feet square and dug to a depth of just under thirty feet into the gravel flood plain. It filled with groundwater percolating from beneath the bed of Chalone Creek. This water was pumped uphill approximately ninety feet to two six-thousand-gallon wooden tanks housed in a long, gable-roofed shed. It was then supplied by gravity to the camp. The location of the well proved to be a mistake, as it later became contaminated by effluent leeching downslope from the pit latrines. [A.W. Stockman, special investigator, to J.J. McEntee, Acting Director, Civilian Conservation Corps, December 9, 1939, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22 (Inspection Reports), NARA II.]

1	Second Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1933, to Mar. 31, 1934
2	Third Enrollment Period	Apr. 1 to Sept. 30, 1934
3	Fourth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1934, to Mar. 31, 1935
4	Fifth Enrollment Period	Apr. 1 to Sept. 30, 1935
5	Sixth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1935, to Mar. 31, 1936
6	Seventh Enrollment Period	Apr. 1 to Sept. 30, 1936
7	Eighth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1936, to Mar. 31, 1937
8	Tenth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1937, to Mar. 31, 1938
9	Twelfth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1938, to Mar. 31, 1939
10	Fourteenth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1939, to Mar. 31, 1940
11	Sixteenth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1940, to Mar. 31, 1941
12	Eighteenth Enrollment Period	Oct. 1, 1941, to Mar. 3, 1942

Camp Pinnacles was occupied more-or-less continuously from the fall of 1933 through the spring of 1937. By the end of 1936, however, the program directors had decided that summers at the monument were too hot for working, and thereafter Camp Pinnacles was left vacant during the summer enrollment periods. The substantial reduction in the size of the program after its re-authorization in 1937 may have also contributed to this decision. Beginning that year, Pinnacles' CCC crew alternated seasonally with General Grant National Park—now part of Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park—in the southern Sierra Nevada mountains, where snow made work impossible during the winter months.¹⁷

With the arrival of the CCC at Pinnacles, the responsibilities of the monument's staff changed substantially (as did their numbers). W.I. Hawkins remained custodian and was still in charge of all regular staff and the normal functioning of the monument, but he now became camp superintendent for the CCC program as well. Since very little else was happening at Pinnacles except the CCC program once it started, the camp superintendency became Hawkins' principal job during these years, and he moved his office into the administrative building on the camp compound in order to better fulfill his new role. C.A. Failing, who had been hired as assistant custodian a few years prior to the arrival of the CCC, continued to help Hawkins with his administrative duties, but now as assistant camp superintendent. Pinnacles also hired from five to as many as ten additional employees to manage the numerous CCC work projects. By 1935, these supervisory personnel—or technical advisors—included two resident engineers, a landscape architect, three project foremen, two mechanics, a carpenter, and a clerk, in addition to Custodian Hawkins and his assistant. The only monument personnel who was not at least partially assigned to the CCC program, was the chief ranger.

The engineers and landscape architects assigned to the CCC program at Pinnacles were responsible for designing projects and overseeing their implementation in the field. Because of the large number of ongoing projects, it was necessary to have these professional staff resident at the monument rather than in the regional field office where they had previously been stationed. Project foremen, who were responsible for supervising work crews, fluctuated in number from season to season depending on the size of the CCC enrollment, but there were usually at least three at Pinnacles. Each foreman was in charge of a single work detail, numbering between

17. This decision frustrated Custodian Hawkins, who had come to depend on having CCC labor year round, particularly during the summer fire season, when he needed to have a fire-ready crew near at hand in the event of an emergency. [Custodian's Narrative Reports, October, 1937, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 16, PNM.]



Figure 30. View looking southwest over Camp Pinnacles in 1935. [1954th CCC Co., 1935, (donated private album), Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

forty and fifty enrollees. Many of these men were hired locally. For example, Fred Prewett, a young rancher from nearby Bear Valley, served throughout much of the CCC program and became highly respected for his skill in managing a trail crew. (Prewett had already been working as trail foreman at the monument for several years before the CCC arrived.) Because of the large amount of stonework involved in many of the jobs undertaken at Pinnacles, at least one of the foremen was usually a professional stonemason. The camp also regularly employed a blacksmith and assistant, who were kept busy keeping the tools sharp and in good repair.¹⁸

While the work program was managed by the NPS supervisory personnel, the camp itself was managed by the Army. The Army staff consisted of a camp commander, a supply sergeant, mess sergeant, and a cook. By the second year of the program, the commander's support staff were replaced with civilian employees, but their duties remained the same. The Army was also responsible for providing a doctor, who would visit each camp a few times every week. An educational advisor was also assigned to the camp, but Pinnacles did not receive one until 1935.

A few months after the arrival of the first enrollees at Pinnacles, a special investigator for the CCC made a routine inspection of the camp. This was done as a matter of course at all of the CCC camps at least once every enrollment period. His report gives some idea of what life here was like. The inspector noted that Camp Pinnacles was “an exceedingly well kept camp, not only from a sanitary point but morals etc.” He reported that the general feeling and spirit of the enrollees was “excellent” and that relations with the local community were very friendly. The camp included a library with books, magazines and newspapers, and plans were being made to provide evening classes in basic subjects like history and algebra. Weekly religious services were provided in the camp, while transportation was made available for those who

18. J. Haslett Bell and Francis Lange, “Report to the Chief Architect . . . Covering all Emergency Work Inclusive of E.C.W., Public Works and C.W.A., November 1, 1933 to April 16, 1934,” May 15, 1934, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

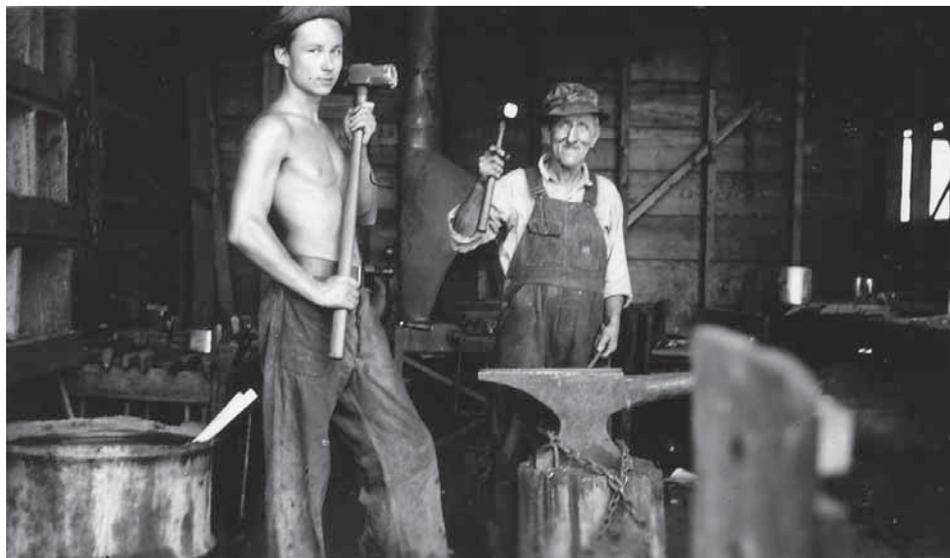


Figure 31. Blacksmith and CCC assistant. Skilled local men often assisted the young CCC enrollees and acted as their mentors. [1954th CCC Co., 1935, (donated private album), Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

wanted to attend a church in Hollister. The enrollees generally worked eight-hour days and had ample time for study or recreation after hours and on the weekend, though Saturdays were spent doing cleaning and maintenance around camp. The investigator wrote that “Base Ball and Volley Ball [are the] principal out door games, while radio, music instruments of men provide other entertainments. Very friendly feeling exists between local citizens and company and many dances attended.”¹⁹

The investigator reported that the meals were “excellent” and that supplies were “satisfactory and adequate.” Judging from the sample menus he included for one week in January, the latter was an understatement. A typical day might begin with fresh fruit, French toast with butter and hot syrup, fried bacon, dried cereal with fresh milk, and coffee with sugar. For lunch, the enrollees were served roast beef with boiled potatoes and boiled onions, doughnuts with butter and jam, and lemonade with sugar. The day ended with a dinner of vegetable soup, chili con carne, Spanish rice, and a string beans salad with bread and butter on the side, followed with tapioca pudding for desert and hot cocoa with sugar.²⁰

Under Army supervision, the daily routine for the enrollees closely resembled that of any soldier. A typical day began with reveille at 6:30, when the boys turned out of their bunks for roll call and then filed off to the mess hall for breakfast. At 7:45, they reported for work and were transported to their respective job sites. Work continued until late afternoon, with a break for lunch, and by about 4:00 the boys were back in camp. Dinner was at 5:00. Evening activities—vocational classes, organized recreation, or just relaxation, depending on each boy’s preference—began at 6:00. By 9:00, all of the enrollees were in bed and lights were out by

19. Special Investigator’s Report, January 25, 1934, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II.

20. This was the menu for January 22, 1934. The details varied slightly from day to day, but every meal always included meat, a starch, and canned vegetables, though fresh fruit or vegetables were served when available. Sweets were served at every meal, and dairy products were often listed as fresh, probably obtained from the local ranches. [Ibid.]



Figure 32. Lining up for chow at Camp Pinnacles. [1954th CCC Co., 1935, (donated private album), Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

9:30. Every stage of this very regimented day commenced or ended with a bugle call. The enrollees followed this routine Monday through Friday. Saturdays were usually spent in the camp either cleaning or repairing equipment. Sundays were free—unless there was a fire—and trucks were often made available to take the enrollees to the swimming pool at Bolado Park or to Hollister for religious services, a movie or a dance.²¹

THE 1933–34 WINTER SEASON: THE SECOND ENROLLMENT PERIOD

Soon after their arrival at Camp Pinnacles in early November, the CCC enrollees were divided into details and lined out on a variety of jobs. One detail began cutting and removing dead brush and snags from the area burned in the 1931 fire. Another began working on trails. Although the majority of the monument's trail system had already been installed during the previous few years by Park Service staff, some of the most difficult sections remained unfinished, while others had been hastily built and needed widening or revetment. A fifteen-hundred-foot segment of the High Peaks Trail between the head of Juniper Canyon and Scout Peak had yet to be connected when funding had run out the previous spring. The CCC began working on this job first. One air compressor had been left on site by the last work crew, but the enrollees hauled a second compressor up Condor Gulch so that two crews could work from both ends of the unfinished segment and meet in the middle. Work was completed and the trail open by December.²²

21. William E. Parker and Rudy McGinnis, "A Typical Day at Camp Pinnacles" typescript of radio broadcast, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658 Box 4, f. 10.

22. Sources for this period include: "Final Report, Emergency Conservation Work . . . Second Enrollment Period October 7, 1933 to May 10, 1934," CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II; Thomas E. Carpenter, Landscape Architect, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," October 30, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM; J. Haslett Bell, Asst. Landscape Architect, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," December 18, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.



Figure 33. CWA laborers working on road cut at Chalone Wye (intersection at the bottom of Bear Gulch), 1934. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

The CCC also began laying out a new utility area at the bottom of Condor Gulch during the winter of 1933. A landscape architect from the Branch of Plans and Design had discussed the possibility of developing this site with Custodian Hawkins in October, and plans had already been prepared for an equipment shed. On November 15th, twenty CCC enrollees began grading a new road up Condor Gulch under the supervision of foreman Fred Prewett. At the time, a rudimentary single-lane road already existed, probably constructed by Herman Hermansen and Viggo Petersen. It extended about a quarter mile up the canyon to the original High Peaks Trailhead. The CCC regraded this road, adjusting its alignment in places, and surfaced it with gravel. At the far end, where the canyon broadened slightly into a level plateau, they graded a circular building court for the proposed utility area. The trailhead was moved to its present site opposite the Condor Gulch Comfort Station, and a new trail segment was constructed paralleling the utility area road along the northeast hillside. These improvements were mostly finished by the end of the calendar year.

While these projects were underway, park staff were preparing plans for future work. As yet, no Master Plan had been developed for Pinnacles, an omission that the advisory staff at the Branch of Plans and Design strongly recommended addressing as soon as possible. With the CCC already at hand, something immediate needed to be done in order to put them to work, so park advisory staff sketched out a preliminary development outline in the field. This was sufficient to put together a work plan for the coming spring. Attention was given principally to the area around the lodge, including the newly proposed utility area. Work was also proposed for the Moses Spring Picnic Area, which had only recently replaced Herman Hermansen's upper campground following the park's acquisition of the old Viggo Petersen homestead in 1931.²³

23. J. Haslett Bell, Asst. Landscape Architect, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . November 5 to December 15, 1933," December 18, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

THE PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA)

Not long after the CCC program was implemented with the Federal Unemployment Recovery Act in March, Roosevelt introduced a public works program that fulfilled the third and final goal of his administration's strategy for dealing with the national crisis. On June 16th, the final day of Roosevelt's special Congressional session, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was submitted to Congress and immediately passed. This legislation created both the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA). The former was designed to regulate prices and wages throughout private industry. The latter was essentially a lending agency, charged with disbursing \$3.3 billion in federal funds to local governments for jobs on which eligible but unemployed laborers could be put to work. Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was responsible for managing it. In principle, the NRA and the PWA were supposed to work in tandem—like two lungs—to re-invigorate the ailing economy. On the one hand, the NRA would correct structural imbalances in the system by means of regulation, thus creating an environment where wages could be distributed equitably in order to benefit the entire spectrum of the working population. The PWA, on the other hand, would create the actual jobs and provide the wages that the NRA was supposed to regulate.²⁴

In practice, Harold Ickes proved far too conservative with the disbursement of funds for the PWA to provide the desired stimulus on the national economy. Nonetheless, the program had a profound impact on local economies and on popular sentiments wherever it was applied. In San Benito County, the PWA was first introduced in order to complete the Bear Gulch Entrance Road. Work had proceeded on this project with funds allocated through President Hoover's Relief and Reconstruction Act until about April of 1933, when that money ran out. Enough of the new road had been completed to be usable, but it was far from finished. Much of it was only one lane wide, and approximately eight thousand cubic yards of earth still had to be moved to bring the road up to a standard width for its entire length. In addition to this basic construction, the road bed still had to be paved, and a masonry guardrail and masonry headwalls on the drainage culverts all had to be constructed. Considerable cleanup needed to be done as well, including the obliteration of the original one-lane road, which still cut across the hillside above the new road. Most importantly, a permanent bridge had to be built across Chalone Creek at the foot of Bear Gulch. At the time, there was only a temporary wooden trestle here.

Fifty men hired through the PWA began working on this project early in November 1933. As before, most of the work was done by hand with picks and shovels, since the program sought to maximize labor in order to spread the benefits of employment among as many men as possible. The most sophisticated equipment utilized on the job were pneumatic rock drills. These were powered by gasoline air compressors and were used to drill the boreholes to place explosive charges in the rock. The excavated material was moved in ore cars along temporary tracks laid down the side of the road. All of this equipment was borrowed from local sources.²⁵

The PWA program would remain active at Pinnacles for the remainder of the decade. The Park Service quickly learned that it could combine the CCC and PWA programs to take

24. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, pp. 178–179.

25. During the initial phase of road construction, the tracks and ore carts were borrowed from the nearby New Idria Mines. The compressors and pneumatic drills were borrowed from Yosemite NP, where they were standard equipment for constructing trails through granite mountains. The same techniques and equipment were utilized on most of the Pinnacles' trail system as well.

advantage of the benefits of each and circumvent their respective limitations. The CCC was essentially a work force and provided subsidized labor but little funding—projects were capped at \$1,500 per structure.²⁶ The PWA, on the other hand, was a funding source. Money was made available in the form of a federal grant and was used to hire local labor at standard rates. There were theoretically no limits on the amount of a PWA allocation (though once the allocation was made, the project had to be kept within this limit). But a PWA allocation could be stretched much further if CCC labor was used for at least part of the work. The CCC could rarely be used for all of a PWA job, since the enrollees usually lacked the necessary skills, but they could be combined with skilled PWA laborers. Many of the larger or more complex construction projects at Pinnacles were done in this fashion. For example, the equipment shed in the utility area was a PWA-funded project, and the core building was constructed by locally hired skilled laborers. But the CCC assisted by clearing and grading the pad and by constructing the masonry facade under the supervision of a skilled stone mason. The only significant exception to this pattern of collaboration was the Bear Gulch Dam, which was constructed almost entirely with CCC labor, though the design and supervision of the project were carried out by Park Service personnel.

THE CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA)

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which was created at the same time as the CCC with Roosevelt's Federal Unemployment Relief Act, was harshly criticized. Even Harry Hopkins, the man whom Roosevelt appointed as his federal relief administrator and assigned the responsibility of disbursing FERA's \$500 million budget, was skeptical of the program. The problem began in philosophy and ended in practice. The idea of simply giving money to indigent Americans, no matter how desperately needed, was repugnant in principal to most Americans at that time. The practice of screening for eligibility at the local intake centers, where the money was actually disbursed, was considered humiliating, and many people avoided these intake centers even when they could have benefitted from the assistance provided. Hopkins realized that a more sensitive alternative needed to be implemented quickly in order to get the country through the approaching winter, and he conceived of the Civil Works Administration (CWA) as a temporary measure to address these concerns. Rather than disbursing monetary aid directly to the unemployed, the CWA allocated funds for specific projects on which they could be put to work. The CWA remained in essence a federal welfare program, but its method of assistance was not so humiliating, because the poor were aided through employment rather than a handout and were thus given the opportunity to earn their assistance in a socially respectable manner. Need remained a principal criterion in the screening of applicants for the jobs, but this was a more familiar and acceptable process than the welfare screening at the FERA intake centers and nowhere near as painful. Much valuable work was also accomplished through the CWA, which added further to the popularity and success of the program.²⁷

The Civil Works Administration was launched on November 9, 1933. Although most of the New Deal programs were conceived as temporary measures to address what was thought to be an emergency, rather than a permanent, situation, the CWA was ephemeral even by these standards. Hopkins introduced the program as a means to get the country through that winter and did not intend to continue it much further, nor did he. Money came from the budget

26. Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 39.

27. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, pp. 171–176.

of the Public Works Administration and was disbursed by the Veterans Administration. By January of 1934, the CWA was responsible for employing over four million men and women in a variety of light construction and maintenance projects. But despite its apparent success—or perhaps because of it—the program was terminated at the end of March, when the president and his staff believed that the immediate crisis of the winter had been successfully averted.²⁸

The sole project carried out by the CWA at Pinnacles was the improvement of the old truck road from the Chalone Wye, where the new Bear Gulch Entrance Road crossed Chalone Creek, north to the CCC camp. The new road was designed to be eighteen feet wide with three-foot shoulders on either side, giving it a total width of twenty-four feet, which brought it up to existing state highway standards. The project administrators still assumed that a cross-monument state highway would eventually be built along this alignment, and the proposed CWA road was to be a segment of it. Work began on December 11, 1933, with about 120 local laborers. (The work force was eventually increased to 150.) Most of the labor was done by hand, as on the PWA and CCC projects, though the county eventually loaned a steam shovel to expedite progress. Skilled masons were brought in to construct culvert headwalls and revetments. Work on the project continued into the following spring, but the CWA program was terminated in March of 1934. By then, the Chalone Creek truck road was complete up to Camp Pinnacles but no further. The original unimproved road still continued past the camp up to the Old Pinnacles Campground on the eastern side of the Balconies.²⁹

SPRING OF 1934: THE SECOND ENROLLMENT PERIOD (CONTINUED)

The first group of CCC enrollees remained at Pinnacles through the end of March 1934 for the duration of the second enrollment period. During the spring of this year, they continued doing landscape maintenance and trail construction. Enrollees constructed a 2.2-mile trail from a new trailhead along Chalone Creek just opposite the CCC camp to the Condor Gulch Trail. (This was then redesignated the High Peaks Trail, while the original High Peaks Trail, which began opposite the old lodge in Bear Gulch, was renamed the Condor Gulch Trail.) A further extension of the High Peaks Trail, which would bring the westernmost end to the top of the Bear Gulch Caves Trail, was also proposed at this time, but work would not begin until the following enrollment period.³⁰

The majority of the CCC work undertaken during the spring of 1934 occurred in or around Bear Gulch. Development plans that were hastily drawn up the previous fall were implemented, and the enrollees began working on landscaping around the lodge and in the picnic area near the Bear Gulch Caves trailhead. Several terraces from the old campground were obliterated in order to create a more natural environment, and minor utilities including a drinking fountain and barbeque pits were constructed here. The enrollees also improved the parking area around the lodge. This work required the construction of a two-hundred-foot-long dry masonry

28. *Ibid.*

29. J. Haslett Bell, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . November 5 to December 15, 1933," December 18, 1933; J. Haslett Bell to W.G. Carnes, December 5, 1933; J. Haslett Bell to W.G. Carnes, January 11, 1934; J. Haslett Bell to W.G. Carnes, February 20, 1934; J. Haslett Bell to W.G. Carnes, February 28, 1934; and J. Haslett Bell to T.C. Vint, April 5, 1934, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

30. Sources for this period include: J. Haslett Bell, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . Covering all Emergency Work inclusive of E.C.W., Public Works and C.W.A., November 1, 1933 to April 16, 1934," May 11, 1934; Thomas E. Carpenter, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," April 24, 1934; and Thomas E. Carpenter, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," May 22, 1934, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

retaining wall along Bear Gulch Creek on the west side of the lodge. Gravel and dirt topping material was hauled in to surface the enlarged area. The landscaping around the existing Condor Gulch Comfort Station was also improved, with stone steps installed leading up to the structure from the newly graded parking area.

The CCC also assisted with two PWA projects during the spring of 1934. One was the construction of the Equipment Shed (Building #201) in the Condor Gulch Utility Area.³¹ This was a large, gable-roofed structure measuring twenty-six by thirty-seven feet overall. The underlying structure was built of wood, but the designs called for stone to be applied over the entire exterior in order to create the appearance of rustic masonry construction. PWA carpenters completed the framing of the building at the end of February. The CCC enrollees then applied the stone facing under the supervision of a skilled stonemason.³² The facing was constructed of wet-laid stone rubble, battered out slightly in typical rustic style. It was completed by the end of April. The other PWA project was a new garage for the ranger's residence—a simple wood-frame, end-gable structure with large side-hinged doors measuring twelve by eighteen feet. The CCC enrollees helped excavate and prepare the building pad, while PWA carpenters did the actual construction. The garage was also finished by the end of April.

At the conclusion of the CCC's first season at Pinnacles, Assistant Landscape Architect J. Haslett Bell visited the monument to report on the year's progress and discuss ideas for the following year with resident Landscape Foreman Francis Lange. Bell's report was, in fact, a summary of the Master Plan that was then being developed by his office at the Branch of Plans and Design in San Francisco. This was Pinnacles' first comprehensive Master Plan and would be ready later that year (1934). Bell's report, and the plan on which it was based, proposed further improvement of Bear Gulch, which would constitute the principal development area and administrative center of the monument. Bell proposed adding several new buildings here, including a combined museum and administrative building, a gas and oil house, and a horse barn. The latter two structures would be situated in the Condor Gulch Utility Area. Bell observed that the old Pinnacles Company lodge was in poor condition and suggested that an entirely new building be constructed to replace it, and he noted that existing utilities would have to be expanded to accommodate this growth. Among the possibilities he recommended for improving the water supply in Bear Gulch was construction of a dam above the Bear Gulch Caves.³³

31. This structure was destroyed by fire in 1955.

32. This was CCC project foreman H.J. McAdams.

33. This had originally been proposed by Custodian Hawkins for principally aesthetic reasons, as described by Thomas Carpenter, the landscape architect from the Field Headquarters in San Francisco: "I accompanied Messrs. Hawkins, Kittredge and Roberts on a trip thru the cave [Bear Gulch Caves] to examine a site that Mr. Hawkins proposes for water storage by damming the stream above the cave. Mr. Hawkins sees three purposes for this storage: one for extra water storage for use in the buildings; second, to hold back the water in times of high water,—when Mr. Hawkins says trips thru the cave are held up for about two weeks; third, to extend the period of time during which the stream thru the cave would serve for display. From an esthetic consideration, the waterfalls in the cave are very enjoyable, but for economic reasons I think we would not be justified in recommending storage for this purpose. The engineers plan to study the water storage possibilities and needs." [Thomas E. Carpenter, "Report to the Chief Landscape Architect . . .," February 4, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.] The engineering staff did finally accept the proposal, but not for the reasons Hawkins initially proposed, as Assistant Landscape Architect Bell later commented: "The construction of this proposed dam seems too great an undertaking for purely esthetic purposes, but if it will stabilize and equalize the source of water supply in this area and thus obviate the necessity of pumping water up from the C.C.C. camp site at some later date, it will be an economical and worthwhile project." [J.

Bell also recommended extending the existing trail system with construction of a bridle path to Chalone Peak, where a fire lookout was already being planned. Work on these jobs could be made simpler, he noted, if the CCC established a spike camp in the High Peaks or somewhere near Chalone Peak. The wearisome experience of trudging up and down the ridge during the fall of 1933 when the High Peaks Trail was being completed had no doubt recommended this idea to project foremen. Bell also considered building a trail from the High Peaks down Juniper Canyon but proposed no other development on the west side until litigation with the Copper Mountain Mining Company had been fully resolved and the Park Service had gained access to the Old Pinnacles. Once this happened, Bell and his colleagues expected that the road which had been started earlier that season under the CWA would be extended through the Old Pinnacles Gorge, making the west side more easily accessible to development.

THE 1934 SUMMER SEASON: THE THIRD ENROLLMENT PERIOD

On August 8th, at the height of Pinnacles' hot season, the second complement of CCC enrollees arrived. In the brief two months that this crew was here, comparatively little got accomplished. It is difficult to determine whether this was due to the short duration of the assignment, to the heat of the season, or, as Custodian Hawkins insisted, to the lack of an established workplan. The last explanation seems the least likely, since Bell's report from April makes it clear that the Park Service had already prepared a detailed agenda for Pinnacles and would have a Master Plan completed later that year. Hawkins always claimed the heat at Pinnacles was not that bad—he never had to work outside in it—but this was probably the principal reason that the summer enrollment periods proved less effective and would eventually be discontinued.³⁴

Most of the work done during this enrollment was landscape maintenance. Over a thousand acres of the monument were thinned and cleared of dead vegetation to reduce fuel loading and improve appearances. The majority of this work was done in the area burned by the 1931 fire. The enrollees also cleaned up the remaining traces of the CWA and PWA crews who had recently finished working on the entrance road. A CWA labor camp on Chalone Creek was removed and the original road through the Bacon Ranch obliterated. (The new road follows a slightly different alignment.) Some of the tent cabins used by the PWA laborers were salvaged and used by the CCC boys in creative ways. One of the tent cabin platforms, for instance, was converted to a ring for boxing and wrestling. The PWA blacksmith shop and equipment shed were also removed and the area around them restored. These structures had stood on the flat where Building #19 was later constructed. The only other improvement carried out by the CCC during this period was to restring the primitive telephone line on poles.³⁵

Haslett Bell, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . Covering all Emergency Work inclusive of E.C.W., Public Works and C.W.A., November 1, 1933 to April 16, 1934, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

34. Sources for this period include: "Emergency Conservation Work . . . Final Narrative Report, Third Enrollment Period Ending September 30, 1934," September 30, 1934, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II; R.L. Mills, Landscape Foreman, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," October 3, 1934; R.L. Mills, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," September 7, 1934; R.L. Mills, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," August 3, 1934; and Thomas E. Carpenter, Landscape Architect, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," July 22–23, 1934, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

35. A twelve-mile line had been installed in 1923 to connect Building #2, where Ranger Marcott was then living, with the nearest ranch in Bear Valley. The line was strung most of the way on trees or dead snags. In 1933, the CCC added a second line to connect their camp on Chalone Creek into this system.

One of the few structures actually built during this assignment was a swimming hole for the recreational use of the CCC boys themselves. This pool was located on Chalone Creek about four hundred feet north of the Chalone Creek Bridge—then under construction—and consisted of an excavation about six feet deep, one hundred and fifty feet long, and thirty feet wide. It never proved very successful, because the sandy soil could not be made to hold water very long. The pool eventually washed out during the winter floods and was not rebuilt.

THE 1934–35 WINTER SEASON: THE FOURTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

This season saw the initiation of several large projects. First was construction of the entrance pylons, which marked the eastern boundary of the monument at that time. (Looking east, this is where Ben Bacon's ranch began.) The distinctive light green rock which was used for these structures was taken from a quarry on Chalone Creek a short distance above the CCC camp. In later years, this rock came to be closely associated with the monument and would be desired for signature projects, like Building #1 in Bear Gulch.³⁶ But at that time, the Park Service engineers considered it substandard, and some thought its greenish color was garish. (They believed—erroneously—that the color would eventually fade after being exposed to the elements.) The engineers used this green rock at first only for less important structures as an alternative to the more desirable granite, which occurs rarely in this part of the Gabilan Mountains. The granite was reserved for more important structures that required its greater structural integrity. It was used, for instance, on the abutments of the Chalone Creek Bridge, which had been started earlier that year.³⁷

Granite was also being reserved for the Gas and Oil House in the Condor Gulch Utility Area (Building #200). This building was started at the beginning of this work period and was all but completed by spring. It was the first solid masonry building to be erected at Pinnacles. Consistent with other rustic masonry architecture in the Park Service, the Gas and Oil House was constructed of unformed native stone laid around a concrete core, while the roof was built over wooden trusses suspended on the bearing masonry. The building was relatively small, measuring only fifteen by seventeen feet with a six- by six-foot addition on one side for storing fire tools. It replaced a much more primitive wooden structure, built by the Pinnacles Company near the lodge, which was subsequently demolished. A final structure still planned

36. The rock is a type of lapilli-tuff and is probably associated with a volcanic vent. [Philip Andrews, "The Geology of the Pinnacles National Monument" University of California Publications, *Bulletin of the Department of Geological Sciences* 24.1 (1936): pp. 20ff.]

37. Sources for this period include: "Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument: Quarterly Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to December 31, 1934," n.d.; and "Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument: Final Narrative Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935," n.d., CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II; Francis Lange, Asst. Landscape Architect, "Final Report to the Chief Architect . . . October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935," May 13, 1935; A.L. Ellis, E.C.W. Landscape Foreman, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," April 1, 1935; Francis Lange, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: March 10–12, 1935," March 22, 1935; R.L. Mills, E.C.W. Landscape Foreman, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," March 4, 1935; Francis Lange, "Report to the Deputy Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: February 10–11, 1935," n.d.; Francis Lange, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: January 6, 7, 1935," January 31, 1935; R.L. Mills, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," February 4, 1935; R.L. Mills, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," January 4, 1935; Francis Lange, "Report to the Chief, Western Division . . . Field Trip of November 17–20, 1934; Francis Lange, "Report to the Deputy Chief Architect . . . Field Trip of December 11 and 12, 1934," December 27, 1934; Francis Lange, "Report to the Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: November 6–7, 1934," November 20, 1934; and R.L. Mills, "Report to the Chief Architect . . .," November 2, 1934, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

for the utility area but not yet built was a permanent barn and corral to accommodate livestock used for backcountry construction. For the time being, temporary structures had been erected.

Two of the largest projects initiated during this period were the Bear Gulch Dam and the Chalone Peak Fire Lookout. The dam had been proposed the previous year—J. Haslett Bell had mentioned it in his final report for that season.³⁸ Its principal purpose was to store water for use in the Bear Gulch Development Area. Work began in the spring of 1935, probably as early as January, with the final concrete poured by the end of February. By the first week of March, heavy rains had already filled the reservoir and water was flowing over the spillway.³⁹ As initially constructed, the Bear Gulch Dam was an unadorned reinforced concrete barrier twenty-four feet high. Even before construction had begun, however, engineers from the Branch of Plans and Design were already reconsidering the proposed height. At twenty-four feet, the parapet of the dam was significantly lower than the natural abutments on either side of the chasm, where work was already underway to connect the Bear Gulch Caves Trail with the new Chalone Peak Trail. This trail could skirt the upper end of the reservoir and continue from there up Chalone Peak, but a more desirable solution, in the opinion of the engineers reviewing the project, was to bring the trail across the top of the dam itself.⁴⁰ At its present height, this would necessitate a bridge, but if the height of the dam were increased another ten feet or so, the trail could utilize the parapet of the dam itself and provide a more aesthetically pleasing experience for hikers. This proposal was not immediately implemented, but anticipating that it would ultimately be done, the trail was routed to the dam and a temporary bridge constructed over it.

The other large building project started by the CCC during this period was the Fire Lookout (Building #402) on North Chalone Peak. This was built according to a standard Forest Service design. The two-story wood-framed building measured fourteen feet square, and had windows on all four sides of the upper floor and a continuous exterior balcony. The lower story was faced in unshaped native stone. Landscaping was avoided in order to maintain the natural character of the site. The location of the Fire Lookout had been determined by February, and a dozer road was graded up the south side of the mountain to convey materials to the construction site. Following Bell's recommendation, a spike camp was established on Chalone Peak for the CCC detail that was to work on the project. The building was finished in July during the following enrollment period.

The CCC also did several small-scale construction projects this season. Chief among these were three drinking fountains in the Bear Gulch area. One of these was particularly noteworthy, as it consisted of a single large boulder with a hole drilled through it for the water supply line and a basin carved in the top where a bubbler was inserted. This fountain was located near the lodge, while the others, built according to a more conventional design, were constructed in the picnic area. (These are no longer extant.)

While the balance of work done by the CCC during this enrollment period involved construction of buildings and structures, some significant trail work was also undertaken. Two important new trails were started. The first of these was the Chalone Peak Trail, a bridle path that ran from the Bear Gulch Dam to the summit of North Chalone Peak. It was about 40 percent finished by the end of the season. The other important project started this season was the Rim Trail, which connects the Chalone Peak Trail at the west abutment of the dam to the

38. J. Haslett Bell, "Report . . .," May 11, op. cit.

39. Francis Lange, March 10–12, 1935, op.cit.

40. Francis Lange, February 10–12, 1935, p. 1, op. cit.; and Lange, March 10–12, 1935, p. 1, op. cit.

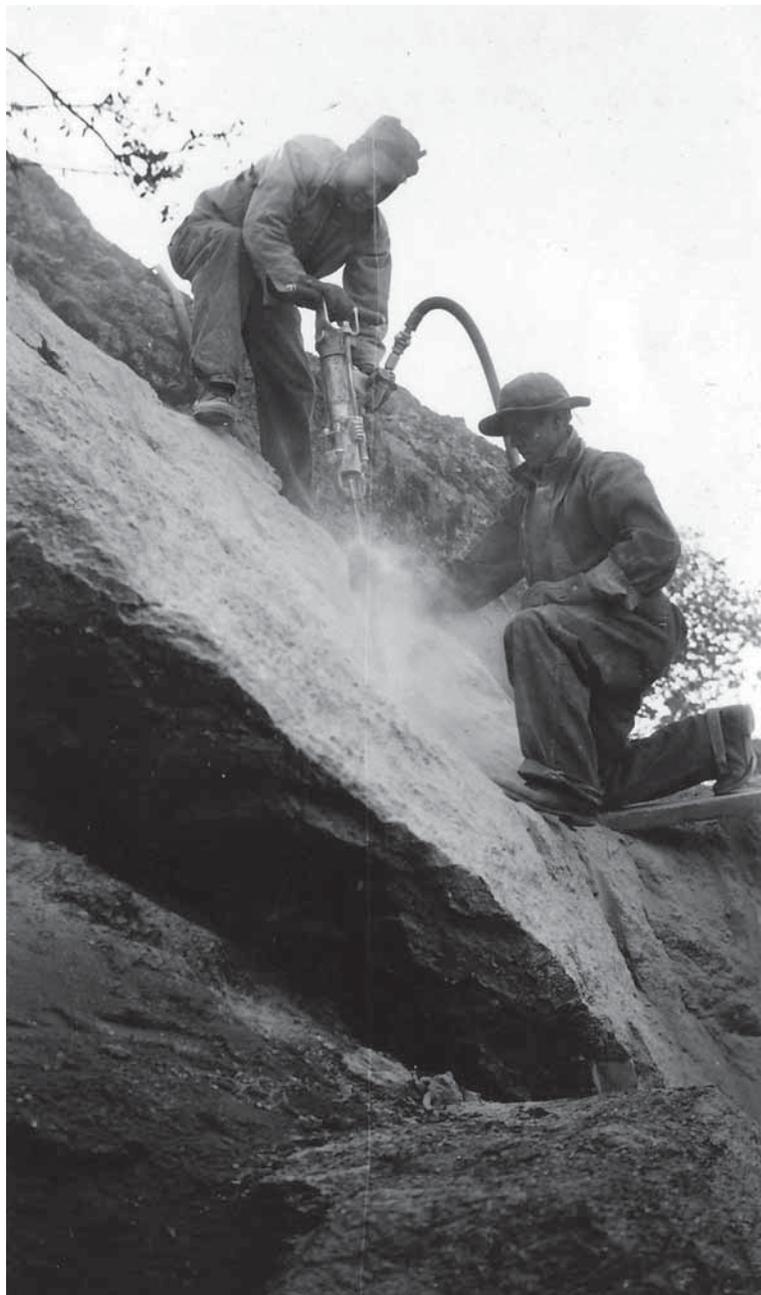


Figure 34. CCC enrollees operating pneumatic drill to break rock on the High Peaks trail. [Narrative Reports, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II.]

foot of the High Peaks Trail above Moses Spring. This trail was about 50 percent completed by the end of the season. Both trails were completed by the end of the following season.

THE 1935 SUMMER SEASON: THE FIFTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

As with most summer seasons, this work period was relatively short, and no large projects were initiated. The most important accomplishment was the completion of the Chalone Peak Fire Lookout, which had been started the previous winter. This was finished by the end of July,



Figure 35. CCC enrollees positioning large boulders at switchback on High Peaks trail. [Narrative Reports, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II.]



Figure 36. CCC enrollees taking a break on the Chalone Peak Trail. [Narrative Reports, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II.]

just in time to be of service during the latter part of the fire season. Most of the remaining work undertaken by the CCC this season was also related to fire prevention. The enrollees cut firebreaks and cleared dead and dying wood throughout the monument to reduce fuel loads. Vegetation management of this sort, both for fire prevention and aesthetic purposes, was a fundamental CCC responsibility and was carried out regularly during most enrollment periods.⁴¹

41. Sources for this period include: “Final Narrative Report, Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument: Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1, 1935 to September 30, 1935,” October 11, 1935, CCC Coll., RG

THE 1935–36 WINTER SEASON: THE SIXTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

Shortly after arriving for this season, the enrollees began working on the last major element of the Condor Gulch Utility Area, the Horse Barn (Building #202). Like its companions, this was a rustic masonry structure built of native granite. As with the Gas and Oil House (Building #200), the stone was applied to a core of poured concrete for greater strength and durability. Except for a few details, the building was finished by March. Also in November, work began on raising the height of the Bear Gulch Dam by fourteen feet, a decision that had been made the previous year even before the initial construction was complete. The enrollees poured 120 cubic yards of concrete, creating a finished dam forty-five feet high and eighty feet wide along its parapet. When the reservoir had filled by February 1, 1937, it held approximately forty acre-feet of water, nearly treble its original size.⁴² It was also decided at this time that the exposed concrete surface of the dam should be faced with native stone quarried from adjacent outcroppings in order to harmonize the structure with its surrounding environment in rustic fashion.⁴³

In December, work resumed once more on the Chalone Creek Bridge after a delay of more than a year. With the enrollees assisting skilled stonemasons, the granite abutments were finished by the end of the season, and preparations began for construction of the deck by the start of following enrollment period.⁴⁴ Also in December, construction began on Building #1 in Bear Gulch. This was originally a duplex residence designed to provide temporary accommodations for visiting staff. (It was called the “Dwelling for Official Visitors.”) This would be the first—and only—building constructed of the green tuff that had been used on the entrance pylons in 1934. By this time, it seems that opinion had changed regarding the aesthetic value of this stone, for now it was chosen specifically for its distinctive appearance. The stone’s structural integrity remained suspect, however, and it was only applied as a decorative veneer over a wood frame structure, as with all of the early buildings at Pinnacles. (The only load-bearing masonry buildings in the monument are Buildings #200 and #202 in Condor Gulch.) Work on Building #1 would continue through the following year, and it would not be ready for use until early 1937. Plans also began to be made this season for landscaping the area around the lodge and generally improving the appearance of the entire Bear Gulch development. Except for the addition of new development—principally in Condor Gulch—little had changed here since the construction of the road-laborers camp in 1932.

THE 1936 SUMMER SEASON: THE SEVENTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

This would be the last time the CCC occupied Pinnacles during a summer enrollment period, much to the consternation of Custodian Hawkins, who depended on the enrollees to provide

35, Box 22, NARA II; Francis Lange, “Report to the Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: April 46, 1935,” April 30, 1935, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.

42. Custodian’s Narr. Reports, March, 1936 and February, 1937, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, ff. 14 & 16.

43. Sources for this period include: Francis Lange, “Report to the Chief Architect . . . Covering Field Trip, November 21 and 22, 1935,” n.d., Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes. Sources for this period also include: Francis Lange, Asst. Landscape Architect, “Report to Deputy Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: January 17 and 18, 1936,” January 31, 1936; Francis Lange, “Report to the Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: March 3–4, 1936,” March 18, 1936; Francis Lange, “Final Report to the Chief Architect . . . Sixth Enrollment Period,” May 1, 1936; and Francis Lange, “Report to the Chief Architect . . . Field Trip: March 3–4, 1936,” March 11, 1936, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM; and Custodian’s Narrative Reports, 1936, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 14, PNM.

44. Lange, “Final Report . . .,” May 1, 1936, p. 9, op. cit.



Figure 37. Chalone Peak Fire Lookout, nearing completion in 1935. This building was destroyed by fire in 1951 and replaced by another structure the following year. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

support during the fire season. As it is, the CCC spent most of this season away from Pinnacles fighting fires in other parts of California, and little work was actually done at the monument. Progress continued on Building #1, and some of the proposed landscaping around Bear Gulch was started. Work was also started on a new sewer line in Bear Gulch. But the most important achievement during this period was the final completion of the Chalone Creek Bridge in July. This event coincided with important improvements being made to the state roads leading to the monument through San Benito County.⁴⁵

Up to that time, the principal route through southern San Benito County circumvented Bear Valley and the monument entrance, turning east at the foot of the Bear Valley Grade and following the San Benito River through the town of San Benito—no longer present—then returning to its present alignment on the San Benito Lateral near Dry Lake. Access to the monument was along a secondary county road that ran through the ranch lands of Bear Valley. (This was the road established by Schuyler Hain's father in 1889 and improved by local laborers in 1914.) During the summer of 1936, the state realigned its main highway to run up the Bear Valley Grade and follow the old county road, passing much closer, now, to

45. Sources for this period include: R.L. McKown, Resident Landscape Architect, "Monthly Narrative Report . . . Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument, Period August 26 to September 25, 1936," September 30, 1936, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM; and Custodian's Narr. Reports, 1936, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 14, PNM.



Figure 38. CCC enrollees in process of constructing rustic vault toilet at Scout Peak on the High Peaks trail. [Narrative Reports, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II.]

the monument entrance. With this realignment, the old county road was brought up to state highway standards. (Construction was completed by October of that year.) At the same time, the state also improved Highway 146 through the Ben Bacon Ranch to the eastern border of Pinnacles, where it connected with the recently improved park road. With the Chalone Creek Bridge finished, it was now possible for motor tourists to drive from Hollister to Bear Gulch on high-standard roads the entire way.

THE 1936–37 WINTER SEASON: THE EIGHTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

In the fall of 1936, the small spike camp on Chalone Peak was re-established in anticipation of several new projects that were planned for this enrollment period. The camp had first been established in 1934 when the Fire Lookout and Chalone Peak Trail were under construction. About two-dozen enrollees worked from here on three separate projects during this season. First was the construction of a three-thousand-gallon cistern built into the foundation of the Fire Lookout (Building #402) to provide its occupants with water. Rainwater was collected from the roof gutters and directed into the cistern through pipes. The second project was construction of a pit toilet (Building #403) adjacent to the Lookout. This was a simple wood frame structure done in a rustic style with slightly battered, rubble stone veneer. The third project undertaken from the spike camp was the extension of the Chalone Peak Trail another 1.6 miles to South Chalone Peak. This project was only partially completed, with the trail brushed the entire distance but graded only half way. Work was never resumed after this season, and the trail remains unfinished.⁴⁶

46. Sources for this period include: R.L. McKown, Resident Landscape Architect, “Monthly Narrative Report . . . Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument, Period September 26 to October 25, 1936,” October 29, 1936; R.L. McKown, “Monthly Narrative Report . . . Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument, Period October 26 to November 25, 1936,” November 28, 1936; R.L. McKown, “Seasonal Report, October 1, 1936 to November 31, 1936,” n.d.; R.L. McKown, “Monthly Narrative Report . . . Emergency

The most significant accomplishment of this enrollment period was the completion of several ongoing projects in the Bear Gulch area. The “Dwelling for Official Visitors” (Building #1) was finally ready for use by the beginning of 1937. The completed structure had two separate living quarters, each with its own fireplace and private bathroom placed in the space between the rooms. Both quarters opened out onto a recessed front porch. Also completed this period were the improvements to the Bear Gulch cabins and adjacent landscaping. This had been proposed in the spring, and work had begun that summer. All ten cabins were moved slightly off line and reoriented to fit in better with the natural topography of the site. This broke up the rigid symmetry of the original layout and created a more picturesque appearance. The broad, straight lane that had once run the length of the row of cabins was replaced with a meandering path, and native vegetation was planted to help restore disturbed areas and to disguise the visual impact of the remaining development. Each cabin was placed on a masonry foundation and native stone veneer was applied to the exterior walls up to the window sills. The five larger cabins had toilets and showers installed inside, while the five smaller cabins had small exterior additions to accommodate the same facilities. A new sewer system and water supply was also completed, and a twenty-four-inch culvert was installed to carry water from Condor Gulch into Bear Gulch Creek underneath the developed area. (The treatment of this work is noteworthy because of the rustic headwalls, which are still extant.) With this work done, the only major proposal from the 1934 Master Plan that had yet to be implemented in Bear Gulch was the construction of a new lodge to replace the original Pinnacles Company structure. Plans had not yet been drawn up, but the project was expected to occur within the next few years.

Following their departure at the end of March, the CCC was not expected back until fall, now that the summer work season at Pinnacles had been cancelled. This would leave the monument understaffed during the summer months for the first time since 1932, impacting operations in a number of ways. Hired guides would once more be needed to lead visitors through the caves, a task that the CCC enrollees had regularly undertaken. But more worrisome to Custodian Hawkins was the loss of firefighting capability during the worst months of the fire season. To compensate, an arrangement was made with the California Division of Forestry (CDF) to place six state firefighters at the vacant CCC camp for several months every year.⁴⁷ This arrangement would continue until 1949, when the CDF built its own station at the north end of Bear Valley.

THE 1937–38 WINTER SEASON: THE TENTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

The only new structure initiated during this season by the CCC was an addition to the Ranger Residence (Building #2). The original building, constructed by Park Service staff in 1929, had only one bedroom in addition to a kitchen, dinette, and living room. The improvements

Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument, Period November 26 to December 25, 1936,” December 28, 1936; R.L. McKown, “Monthly Narrative Report . . . Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument, Period December 26, 1936 to January 25, 1937,” January 28, 1937; R.L. McKown, “Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument,” April 25, 1937; and R.L. McKown, “Field Trip May 12–13, 1937,” n.d., Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM; and Custodian’s Narr. Reports, 1936–37, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, ff. 14 & 16, PNM.

47. These “standby crews” of seasonal firefighters were a relatively new innovation for the CDF, having been introduced only in 1931. Since they possessed few facilities of their own at this early date, use of the CCC camp was a welcome opportunity. [Mark V. Thornton, “History of the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection,” http://www.fire.ca.gov/about_cdf-history.php, accessed April 21, 2007.]



Figure 39. Construction of original Chalone Creek Bridge in spring of 1936. The stone abutments have been completed and the forms are being put in place to lay the deck. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

nearly doubled the size of the building with the addition of two more bedrooms and a new bathroom.⁴⁸ All work was completed by spring of the following year. The enrollees also began quarrying large boulders of native stone from outcroppings near the Bear Gulch Reservoir. These were to be used to face the exposed concrete surface of the dam. Although work continued on this project for the next few years, the job would never be entirely finished by the CCC. (The final stones were not applied until 1976 by Park Service staff.⁴⁹)

One of the largest jobs undertaken this period was the continuation of the Old Pinnacles Road above the CCC camp. An old dirt road already existed here, dating from long before the acquisition of the land by the Park Service. It had originally been used by local ranchers to reach the small picnic area on the east side of the Balconies. In 1921, with the arrival of the Pinnacles Boys, it became the access road for the homesteads of Herman Hermansen and Alonzo Bourke. (Although most of Hermansen's land lay on the west side, his cabin stood along the creek just east of the Balconies, while Alonzo Bourke's cabin stood just below the confluence of the north fork of Chalone Creek.) These men kept the road maintained for their own use but never substantially improved its quality.

In 1934, just a few years after acquiring the land from the homesteaders, the Park Service approved plans to upgrade the old road to state highway standards. This proposal was made on the assumption that the road would eventually be extended all the way through the Old Pinnacles Gorge and connect with the Soledad Road on the west side, completing the cross-monument highway that had been proposed since 1925. Up to this time, an improved road

48. History and Archeology Records H3015: Architects' Files, Box 5, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA.

49. Sources for this period include: R.L. McKown, "April 25 to May 25, 1938," n.d.; R.D. Waterhouse, Regional Engineer, and Ernest A. Davidson, Regional Landscape Architect, to Regional Director, January 24, 1938, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM; and Custodian's Narr. Reports, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, ff. 16–17, PNM.



Figure 40. Old Pinnacles Road being constructed above the CCC camp. Exposed rock in background is the quarry, where material for many other projects throughout the monument was taken. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

had only been brought as far as the CCC camp—by the CWA laborers in 1933—but not above it. The CCC enrollees now resumed work on this road and carried these improvements to the confluence of the north fork of Chalone Creek by the end of the season.⁵⁰ Progress was slow because of the complexity of the task. The roadbed had to be elevated on a raised berm where it followed the broad channel of Chalone Creek just north of the camp, and in at least two places cuts had to be blasted through solid rock to improve the alignment of the original road.

In January, as the road improvement work neared the Balconies, Custodian Hawkins suddenly announced that he had changed his mind about the cross-monument highway. According to a memo for the Regional Director, this unexpected decision came after long consideration of the detrimental effects that would be caused by construction of the road through the Old Pinnacles Gorge. Hawkins also claimed that the road would not be used by enough people to justify its impact. Neither of these arguments seems entirely sufficient to explain his abrupt about-face, especially since Hawkins had countered similar criticisms many times in the past. His real reason seems to have been growing resistance to the idea within the San Benito County Chamber of Commerce, some of whose members feared that the road would draw tourism away from San Benito County and undermine local business. Without the chamber's support, the county would not be able to convey the property it now possessed in the Old Pinnacles to the Park Service, and work would have to cease once it reached the Balconies. Hawkins' announcement appears to have been a calculated ploy to put these fears to rest and to convince the county to go ahead with its land transfer to the Park Service, after which

50. This creek was at that time known as Marcott's Creek, because it passed through Zotic Marcott's homestead. For the same reason, Willow Spring was called Marcott's Spring.

the Park Service could complete the road without opposition.⁵¹ Park Service engineers at the Branch of Plans and Design concurred with Hawkins' decision, perhaps in order to support his charade, but they must have also realized that the proposed highway could not be completed in the immediate future even if Hawkins' plan worked, since it would take at least a year to transfer ownership of the land, if not much longer. In the meantime, it made sense to halt construction. The engineers recommended that the work already underway be finished, but that the road past this point be improved only to the standard of a secondary dirt road to provide continued access to the Old Pinnacles Campground (which would be retained and slightly improved by the Park Service). This apparent change in policy brought a temporary end to the cross-monument road proposal and an immediate cessation of work on the project. But the idea was far from dead and would be taken up again.

Although the CCC was not scheduled to work any longer at Pinnacles during the summer season, the present enrollment remained through the end of May, two months into the following enrollment period. During this brief extension, one additional job of considerable importance was accomplished. Electric lights and an eight-hundred-watt gasoline generating plant were installed in the Bear Gulch Caves. Prior to this innovation, one of the CCC's regular responsibilities had been to assist park staff in maintaining kerosene lanterns distributed throughout the caves. The new electrical system made it possible to keep the caves lighted with fewer staff, a decided advantage now that the CCC was no longer working at Pinnacles through the summer season. The generator plant was located in a separate chamber outside the main passage, so that visitors would not be disturbed by its noise.

THE 1938–39 WINTER SEASON: THE TWELFTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

The principle work done during this period was improvement of the water supply in Bear Gulch. Two systems were developed. The first provided non-potable water that was drawn from the surface of Bear Gulch Creek a little ways below the caves. A concrete check dam was constructed here, creating a small reservoir capable of holding fifty thousand gallons of water. This dam was concealed by placing large native boulders around it. Four thousand feet of four-inch pipe carried the impounded creek water down to the developed area. Since the water was not considered safe from contamination, it was only used to supply the comfort station toilets and fire hydrants. The second system provided water for drinking and was already in place but needed to be improved. This system collected water from Split Rock Spring, not far from Moses Spring, and stored it in two small tanks located above the Bear Gulch Caves Trail. During the present season, the CCC increased the capacity of this system by replacing the old tanks with a twenty-thousand-gallon concrete reservoir partially dug into the ground and covered with a concrete lid. Two-inch pipe brought the spring water to the tank and then from the tank down to the developed area, where it was distributed to the cabins and drinking fountains.⁵²

Other sources of clean water were also being considered at this time in order to ensure a sufficient supply to accommodate future development. One of the most desirable of these alternatives was Willow Spring (then known as Marcott's Spring). This artesian bubbles out

51. Hawkins' unwavering support for the road would become obvious a few years later when the county remained intransigent during negotiations with the Park Service over transferring the Old Pinnacles land.

52. Sources for this period include: R.L. McKown, Resident Landscape Architect, "Pinnacles National Monument, December 26, 1938 to January 25, 1939," n.d., Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM; and Custodian's Narr. Reports, 1938, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 17 [1939 missing], PNM.

of a small side canyon along the north fork of Chalone Creek about a mile and a half up from the CCC camp. At that time, Willow Spring still lay on private land owned by Zotic Marcott, the monument's first ranger. Marcott was no longer living here; according to an acquaintance, he had obtained work with a government surveying party after being separated from the Park Service in 1932.⁵³ The Park Service began negotiating to purchase Marcott's land earlier this year in order to gain access to the springs, and in October of 1938, Marcott finally sold his 640 acres for \$6,000.⁵⁴ The parcel was not formally made part of the monument, however, until December 5, 1941, when it was included in a Presidential Proclamation that enlarged Pinnacles by approximately forty-three hundred acres.

Ironically, the CCC camp's water supply became contaminated shortly after the Marcott land was acquired, illustrating the importance of developing a more reliable source. When a number of the enrollees were stricken with dysentery toward the end of this season, the original shallow well from 1933 was abandoned and rationing introduced while a new well was dug. In the meantime, Custodian Hawkins tried to get the Army to lay a temporary water line from Willow Spring to the camp, but nothing had been accomplished by the time the enrollees left in April.

THE 1939–40 WINTER SEASON: THE FOURTEENTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

When Camp Pinnacles was reactivated the following October, the staff discovered that the new well did not produce enough water to supply the camp's needs. Lacking any alternative, the original contaminated well was reopened and its water heavily chlorinated. This situation, combined with poor management by the camp commander, severely depressed the morale of the incoming enrollees. One enrollee wrote an angry letter to the director of the CCC program in Washington, prompting a special investigator to come out to Pinnacles in December to look into the matter. Through his intervention, the Army was finally persuaded to provide materials to construct a delivery system from Willow Spring, as Hawkins had desired. The duration of the season was spent constructing the system, which was not finished until April.⁵⁵ Little other work was accomplished by the CCC this season as a result of these problems and epidemic illness among the enrollees.

THE 1940–41 WINTER SEASON: THE SIXTEENTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

The size of CCC enrollment nationwide had been falling consistently since the program's reauthorization in 1937. After war broke out in Europe in 1939, budget appropriations for non-military programs were drastically cut. (The National Park Service budget was reduced by half.⁵⁶) Military enlistment also increased, drawing young men away from the CCC and making it increasingly difficult to find enough enrollees to fill all of the camps. By 1941, many

53. Lois Bourke, *Bourke Engine Documentary*.

54. "Land: Marcott Property," 1938, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box.22, f.19. Years later, Marcott's widow was still bitter about this transaction, claiming that Hawkins and Chief Engineer Kittredge had "forced my husband out." [Ro Wauer, transcript of interview with Mrs. Marcott, August 12, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box.19, f.3, PNM.]

55. The water from Willow Spring was directed through tile pipes into a covered concrete catch basin. From there, it was conveyed one-and-a-half miles to the camp storage tanks through a two-inch diameter steel pipe. When finished, it delivered water to the camp at a rate of fifty gallons per minute. [Custodian's Narr. Reports, April, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 18, PNM.]

56. Unrau and Williss, *Expansion*, p. 75.

camps were being closed and the enrollees consolidated.⁵⁷ Camp Pinnacles would remain open but would never again have as many occupants as it did prior to 1937, when the number frequently exceeded two hundred. By the end of the decade, the number was typically closer to a hundred. This gradual diminishment of personnel and resources explains why fewer projects were being completed at Pinnacles during these final years. During the present season, most of the enrollees' time was spent working on jobs that were already in progress. These included the improvement of the Chalone Creek Road up to the Old Pinnacles Campground, facing of the Bear Gulch Dam, and small improvements to the existing road from the lodge to the picnic area in Bear Gulch. (This included the construction of masonry headwalls and a box culvert.) The lodge was also refurbished at this time. The most significant new construction occurred outside the monument at the foot of the east entrance road (Highway 146), where the original eight-foot-wide cattleguard was replaced with a thirty-foot cattleguard. This road was state property at that time, but the Park Service received permission to make the improvement in order to allow larger tour buses to negotiate the turn into the monument. Small decorative pylons of green lapilli tuff from Chalone Creek were erected on either side of the new cattleguard, echoing the larger structures at the monument's actual boundary a few miles further up the road.⁵⁸

THE 1941–42 WINTER SEASON: THE EIGHTEENTH ENROLLMENT PERIOD

This was the first season in which African American enrollees were assigned to Pinnacles. Blacks had participated from the very beginning in the CCC program, the enabling legislation for which stipulated that recruitment be nondiscriminatory. There was a great deal of resistance to this policy, however, both within and outside of the CCC. Fearing trouble, program director Robert Fechner would not allow black recruitment to exceed 10 percent of the total enrollment, and initially all black enrollees were segregated to their own camps where they were supervised by white officers. Later, local custom was followed, and many northern camps were integrated while southern camps remained segregated. Only one camp—Gettysburg National Military Park—ever received black supervisors and foremen. Since many communities objected to blacks being stationed near their towns, most of the camps to which black enrollees were assigned lay in remote areas to avoid conflict. Pinnacles represents a good example of this policy, given the isolation of the camp, though there is no record of any hostility or resentment toward the black enrollees among residents of the area.⁵⁹

During this season, the new enrollees mostly worked on jobs still in progress—facing the Bear Gulch Dam, for instance, and minor improvements on the road to the Bear Gulch Picnic Area. The only new project undertaken was construction of the Superintendent's Residence (Building #19). By the end of the season, the basement had been excavated, the foundation poured, and some of the framing erected, but further work was delayed by the war, and the building would remain unfinished until 1949. (The rustic stone veneer that the original plans called for has never been applied.) Probably the most notable new feature contributed by the CCC during this enrollment period was the tunnel on the lower High Peaks Trail in Bear Gulch. This was made in order to accommodate a realignment of the trail to the east side of the canyon. Prior to construction of this tunnel, which cut through a pilaster of solid rock

57. Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*, pp. 29–32.

58. The only extant source for this period are the Custodian's Narr. Reports, 1940–41, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, ff. 18–19, PNM.

59. Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*, pp. 93–97. The only extant source for this period are the Custodian's Narr. Reports, 1941–42, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, ff. 19–20, PNM.

blocking passage along the east side of canyon, the trail crossed the Bear Gulch Creek over a small bridge and climbed a little ways up the west side of the canyon to the first junction of the Cave Loop Trail. The new tunnel made it possible for the trail to continue along the east side of the canyon and reach the Cave Loop junction in a more direct fashion.

Custodian Hawkins was extremely pleased with the black enrollees and wrote enthusiastically about their good morale and hard work. Anticipating low re-enrollment with the recent outbreak of war, he proposed actively recruiting more black enrollees from East Bay cities like Oakland, where a large African-American community already resided. Unfortunately, nothing ever came of these plans. When the last enrollees left the monument on April 25th and Camp Pinnacles closed for the summer, it would never reopen. The CCC program was terminated two months later at the end of June.

THE LEGACY OF THE CCC

President Roosevelt's unemployment relief programs had a profound impact on Pinnacles. The majority of the monument's infrastructure as well as the basic pattern of its development were established through the combined efforts of the Public Work Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, with the short-lived Civil Works Administration making a small but important contribution as well. Seven substantial buildings and a variety of smaller structures were built during this period. These included the Equipment Shed (Building #201), Gas and Oil House (Building #200), and the Horse Barn (Building #202) in the Condor Gulch Utility Area; the Dwelling for Official Visitors (Building #1) in Bear Gulch; two rustic masonry pit toilets in the backcountry—one on the High Peaks Trail (Building #400) and the other on the summit of Chalone Peak (Building #403); and the Fire Lookout (Building #402), also on Chalone Peak. An eighth building—the Superintendent's Residence (Building #19) was started but only partially finished by the end of the CCC program. Small structures included picnic benches, fire pits and drinking fountains, and miscellaneous storage sheds. The Ranger Residence (Building #2) was also improved with a large addition to the rear and a new frame garage and woodshed constructed. And finally, the ten cabins in Bear Gulch, built for the road crew in 1932, were realigned and significantly improved with the addition of interior walls and ceilings, rustic stone veneer on the exterior, and bath and toilet fixtures.

Several utility projects were also undertaken. Probably the most important of these was the expansion and improvement of the water supply system in Bear Gulch. This included construction of the Bear Gulch Dam—the largest construction project undertaken by the CCC—as well as a small dam below the caves. Nearly three-and-a-half miles of steel pipe were laid, and a twenty-thousand-gallon concrete storage tank constructed near the Bear Gulch Caves Trail. The CCC also assisted with the installation of a new six-inch sewer line in Bear Gulch. Other utility projects during this period included installation of electric lights in the Bear Gulch Caves and expansion of the telephone system. Approximately seven-and-a-half miles of telephone line were strung, connecting all of the developed areas in the monument, including the fire lookout on Chalone Peak.

The extensive system of roads and trails throughout the monument was dramatically improved. Road work included the completion and surfacing of the entrance road from the eastern boundary of the monument as far as the old lodge in Bear Gulch. This work was done primarily by PWA-funded local laborers. The Chalone Creek Bridge was also built as a PWA project with the assistance of the CCC. The CCC extended these improvements to the Bear Gulch Entrance Road past the lodge to the Bear Gulch Picnic Area. They also improved the road to the Condor Gulch Utility Area. The Chalone Creek Road was improved under the CWA up to the CCC camp, while the CCC continued these improvements all the way up to

the Balconies Caves. Trail work was done exclusively by CCC enrollees, with three miles of two-foot-wide hiking trails constructed or improved and twelve miles of four-foot wide bridle paths constructed or improved. The CCC cut approximately nine-and-a-half miles of fifty-foot wide firebreak through backcountry brush and strung eight-and-a-half miles of boundary fence. Five miles of this fence consisted of steel posts laid in concrete with four strands of wire. Much of this is still intact though overgrown and no longer maintained.

The social impact of these relief programs was equally profound though much harder to measure. The PWA and the CWA employed many impoverished local laborers and helped restore some hope during the lowest ebb of the Depression. They inadvertently helped reinforce the relationship between the monument and the outside community by involving local workers in the construction of much of the monument's infrastructure. The CCC also contributed to local employment but in a less direct manner. The CCC required skilled mechanics and foremen to supervise its enrollees and manage their projects. Many of the men whom the National Park Service hired to fill these positions were local residents. Bear Valley rancher Fred Prewett, for example, served as a trail foreman and fire boss for many years.

The additional jobs helped the local economy, but so did the influx of enrollees. The two hundred or so young men who inhabited Camp Pinnacles were only paid about \$30 each month, and most of that was remitted to their families. But the rest was often spent on weekend trips to town. More importantly were the supplies and provisions needed to support the camp and its projects. Much of the food the boys ate, especially fresh vegetables and dairy products, was obtained locally, as were parts and services for machinery used on CCC jobs. All of this had a positive effect on the economy of the surrounding communities. Just as significant as the economics, however, was the impression created by the program and the young men who participated in it. The enrollees frequently interacted with residents outside the monument, attending local social events and in turn hosting open houses at the CCC camp. Custodian Hawkins quoted enthusiastically from an editorial in the local newspaper that described the positive opinion people had developed for the program:

We wonder how many have noted the improved demeanor of the C.C.C. boys, the lack of youths trudging along the highways, hungry, discouraged, hitch-hiking their way somewhere from somewhere and that somewhere offering no better opportunities than that somewhere from whence they came. Has it been noticed that these fine young men come into town, attend to their chores, go to the dances, the theatre, roam the streets, patronize the restaurants and candy shops without being conspicuous for hoodlumism, but showing decided attributes of politeness and courtesy? Contrast that with the first year of the C.C.C. Take a look at the splendid, purposeful work they are accomplishing; fire suppression; landscaping the Pinnacles Monument, building trails and rest rooms; fire-lookout-stations, dams, and many other valuable services. But above all material things, is the fine spirit developed. These youngsters are finding inspiration in the beauties of Nature and in having their part in making things convenient for their fellowmen. The influence of the CCC Camp will last through their entire lives.⁶⁰

Vaguely hinted at is the trepidation that was felt when the program was first introduced. Many people throughout the nation were at first reluctant to host such large camps of destitute young men, fearing the enrollees would run riot through their communities.⁶¹ But events proved their fears to be unfounded.

60. "Final Narrative Report, Emergency Conservation Work, Pinnacles National Monument: Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1, 1935 to September 30, 1935," October 11, 1935, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II.

61. Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*, pp. 89–93.

Although the CCC is better remembered now for the trails and rustic buildings it constructed, the most significant accomplishment of the CCC program, as the editorialist from the *Hollister Free Lance* concluded, was its influence on the character and education of the enrollees themselves. This was an express part of the CCC's design from the beginning. In an interview from 1940, one of Pinnacles' educational advisers described the vocational opportunities available to the young men, explaining that local schools offered correspondence courses and the camp itself provided teachers who offered a variety of classes during the evening. But the most important training came through the job itself. The discipline and cooperation learned through the daily routine of work was expected to help prepare all the enrollees for careers after they left the CCC. This had been one of President Roosevelt's chief intentions when he established the program. Approximately 20 percent of the enrollees were also given more advanced training to prepare them for a specific profession.⁶²

One enrollee, Aulton Hoover, described how he had benefitted from this training in a talk he gave for station KQW in San Jose, California, in 1940. Hoover had grown up on a corn and cotton farm in Arkansas. He had enrolled with the CCC in 1934 out of financial desperation, because the Depression had caused the market value of his family's crop to plummet, and his family was becoming destitute. Hoover remained in Arkansas for the next two years with his CCC company, which was principally engaged in fire suppression activities. During this time, Hoover took advantage of the vocational training offered by his camp's educational department and began to learn clerical skills. This enabled him to get a job with the camp's technical service, helping to prepare reports and carry out routine bookkeeping. Hoover continued in this role after his company was transferred to California in 1936, where they alternated seasonally between Pinnacles and General Grant National Park in the southern Sierra. Hoover remained in the CCC for another year, until he reached the maximum age allowable for an enrollee and was forced to muster out. The training Hoover had received, however, and the connections he had made during more than three years as a CCC enrollee made him eligible for a service-grade job. In October of 1938, Aulton Hoover was hired by the National Park Service as a project assistant and returned to Pinnacles to work as a member of the staff. After serving overseas in World War II, Hoover would return to become chief ranger of the monument.⁶³

Aulton Hoover's story was not typical, however. He represented, at best, only 20 percent of the enrollees. A significant number of the CCC never even made it through a single six-month enrollment period—the average desertion rate for this district was three enrollees per month by the end of the 1930s.⁶⁴ But all of the boys who stuck it out and remained for the duration of their enrollment benefitted from learning practical habits of self-discipline, hard work, and cooperation. One CCC alumnus, reflecting on his experience many years later, observed that a large proportion of the military's NCO corps—the corporals and field sergeants—who held the line during the nation's first year of fighting in World War II had been prepared for service through their training in the CCC.⁶⁵

62. "Educational and Training Activities in the Civilian Conservation Corps," radio transcript, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 4, f. 13, PNM.

63. Aulton Hoover, "My CCC History and Advantages I Have Had from CCC Training," radio transcript, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 4, f. 19, PNM.

64. C.J. Barry Jr., CCC District Adjutant, to Company Commander, Camp Pinnacles, December 5, 1939, CCC Coll., RG 35, Box 22, NARA II. Nationwide, the average desertion rate for the CCC was eight percent during the first year of the program, rising to 20 percent by 1939. [Paige, *Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 88.]

65. Curtis Miller, oral history, San Benito County Historical Society, Hollister, CA.

CHAPTER FIVE

WAR AND MISSION 66, 1942–1966

Following the intense activity at Pinnacles during the Great Depression, the relative quiet of the war years represented a profound change. Custodian Hawkins kept the monument operating with only a handful of staff (some of whom were women, a first in the history of the monument). The only bold or ambitious gesture that was made during this otherwise uneventful period was the renewed effort to introduce a cross-monument road, which Hawkins tried to force upon the now-unwilling officials of San Benito County. Although the road itself was never built, Hawkins' unexpected proposal, coming long after most people thought the idea was dead, had lasting and largely negative consequences for the relationship between the National Park Service and the local county government.

With the end of war-time austerity in 1945, visitation to Pinnacles increased rapidly, as it did at all national parks and monuments. In spite of this evident popularity, however, the Park Service's budget remained relatively flat over the next decade, leaving the agency unable to provide sufficient staff and facilities to meet the growing demand, or even to maintain infrastructure that was rapidly deteriorating from the added stress. Responding to these challenges, NPS Director Conrad Wirth proposed Mission 66, a massive spending program that President Dwight Eisenhower signed into law in 1956. Mission 66 would fund staff increases and substantial new construction throughout the entire park system. It would also introduce significant changes in the way parks were managed, with greater emphasis on improving the visitor experience through better and more effective interpretation, often by utilizing innovative technologies. At first it appeared that Pinnacles would experience a new period of development to rival the contributions of the PWA and the CCC during the Depression years, but early expectations for Mission 66 went largely unfulfilled as the nation soon became distracted by the escalating Cold War, and Director Wirth's ambitious program was never fully funded. Its most important legacy at Pinnacles may have been the establishment of a full-time naturalist position, inaugurating the monument's earliest interpretive program and even presaging the later development of a resource management division. A significant indirect consequence of Mission 66, however, was the long-awaited development of the west side, with a connecting trail constructed through the Balconies and rudimentary campground facilities in the Chaparral Area.

WORLD WAR II (1942–1945)

Once the United States formally entered World War II at the end of 1941, the frenetic activity that had dominated life at Pinnacles for nearly a decade quickly came to an end. With the closure of the CCC camp in April of 1942, the work force at the monument was reduced to the existing NPS staff. This now consisted of Custodian Hawkins, a clerk, the chief ranger, a seasonal ranger, and at least one maintenance man or caretaker.¹ Additional laborers were

1. Caretaker was a part-time employee who functioned as an assistant to the maintenanceman—the position no longer exists in the Park Service.



Figure 41. Clara (Ann) Lausten, on-duty at Pinnacles during WWII. Ann Lausten was the first woman to be employed by the NPS at Pinnacles. [Photo courtesy of the Lausten family.]

hired on a temporary basis whenever needed or available. Chief Ranger Aulton Hoover left to fight with the Army in Europe. (He later resumed his duties as chief ranger in 1946.) John M. Offel served as chief ranger during Hoover's absence. Local women filled many of the traditionally male positions in the Park Service during the war. At Pinnacles, for example, Clara Ann Lausten was hired as administrative clerk, and Drucilla Isaacson became the first seasonal ranger. She remained until just after the conclusion of the war, resigning in September of 1945.

With wartime gas rationing, visitation fell dramatically. In 1941, there had been 27,131 recorded visitors. By the following year, this had fallen to 10,311 and would continue to fall to a low of 3,845 in 1944. Many of the visitors who came to the monument during the war were servicemen from newly established military bases in the surrounding area. By the second year of the war, there were three Army bases in Monterey County and one Naval airbase in San Benito County not far from Hollister.²

The decline in visitation reduced stress on the monument's resources and made it possible for its diminished staff to more-or-less maintain the status quo, but little new development could be accomplished, and many ongoing projects had to be postponed or abandoned altogether. Work stopped, for instance, on the Superintendent's Residence (Building #19), and the

2. The Naval airbase was under construction by April of 1943.

building would not be completed until 1950. Another major project planned during the CCC era never even got started. This was the new lodge that was to replace the original structure built by Hermansen and Petersen in 1925. The proposal appeared in Master Planning sheets up through 1942, but sufficient resources would not be available to implement the project until after the war. By that time, the Park Service had changed its philosophy about having concessions inside the monument and wanted to avoid this sort of development. This new attitude resulted in the abandonment of the proposal by the early 1950s. Up to the time of that decision, however, monument staff continued to maintain the existing lodge in order to keep it serviceable. In May of 1944, for example, the kitchen was fully remodeled.

Although the war could not dampen Hawkins' enthusiasm, it did limit his ability to implement his most ambitious ideas for Pinnacles. During these years, he confined himself principally to three projects over and above the day-to-day management of the monument: landscape improvement, land acquisition, and the cross-monument road.

Landscape Improvement (Reforestation)

Under the supervision of Regional Landscape Architect Ernest A. Davidson, Hawkins and his staff undertook an ambitious revegetation project in 1943 aimed at mitigating scars left by the previous decade of construction. Davidson reported that Hawkins had already collected seeds from the gray pine (*Pinus sabiniana*) and had grown some two thousand seedlings up to that date in order to replace the woodlands lost in the 1931 east side fire. Hawkins had also planted several hundred “candles of the lord” (*Yucca whipplei*), but Davidson believed these were not native to the area and discouraged further planting of this species.³ He and Hawkins also discussed the possibility of planting grey pines on the west side in order to provide shade. There was little development here and no staff presence, though a small picnic area existed at the time. The only water available for visitor use and irrigation of the proposed shade trees came from Oak Tree Spring at the mouth of Juniper Canyon, but the meager flow measured at scarcely one gallon every two minutes. It proved to be insufficient to keep the trees alive through the summer months, when the spring sometimes dried up altogether, and the west side revegetation project was eventually abandoned. Hawkins reported in June of 1945 that the few trees that had been planted there were all dying.⁴

The most visible construction scar remaining in the monument was along the Bear Gulch Entrance Road, and this site became the principal emphasis of the two men's restoration efforts for the duration of the forties. On the uphill (cut) side of the road, some native plants were already present though sparsely distributed. Rather than introduce new plants to fill in the gaps and create a denser cover, Davidson and Hawkins decided that they could simply encourage the existing vegetation and allow it to spread. To accomplish this, they devised a simple but ingenious system of irrigation, bringing water in two-inch pipes from the CCC camp down to the Chalone Creek Bridge. From there an additional eighteen hundred feet of one-inch pipe conveyed the water uphill along the top of the cut slope of the road to the top of the grade. (There was enough pressure on the camp system to raise the water this far.) Fifteen hose bibs were cut into the one-inch line at regular intervals, and water was allowed to drip slowly down

3. Ernest A. Davidson, regional landscape architect, “Field Notes for Regional Director,” November 15, 1943. Comments made following trip to the Pinnacles November 11–14. Although three or four of these yucca had been present in the monument before Hawkins began his project, Davidson suspected that these had been introduced. Although *Yucca whipplei* is not believed to be native to the monument, it does grow naturally along the San Benito River only thirty miles to the east.

4. Custodian's Narrative Reports, June 1945, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 23, PNM.



Figure 42. Erosion into Chalone Creek from Bear Gulch Entrance Road a few years after its completion. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

the face of the excavation, allowing the exposed rock and soil to remain damp.⁵ This system was in place and operating by the end of 1942, and within a couple of years Hawkins was reporting good results.⁶

On the downhill (fill) side of the road excavation, native woody plants like toyon and buckeye had already been planted shortly after the initial period of construction. (In the summer of 1934, a native plant nursery had been set up on Chalone Creek by CCC landscape architect Francis Lange and outplanting had begun shortly afterward.) By now these plants had grown to substantial size, but Hawkins and Davidson began supplementing this vegetation with grey pines. These fast-growing trees eventually helped break up the harsh linear appearance of the road, especially when seen from a distance.

Although revegetation helped stabilize the slope and softened the aesthetic impact of the construction scars, erosion would remain a serious problem with the Bear Gulch Entrance Road for many years, especially on the fill slope, where improperly placed drainage culverts left deep incisions in the side of the hill and washed heavy loads of sediment into Chalone Creek below.

Land Acquisition (Pinnacles Ranch)

Early in 1941, the large Ben Bacon Ranch on the east side of the monument came up for sale. Ben had died a few years earlier in 1939, and now in January of this year his widow, Orea Bacon, also passed away, leaving more than twenty heirs.⁷ The Bank of America, which

5. "The Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument," 1942, Map Collection (uncatalogued), Pinnacles National Monument, Paicines, CA.

6. Custodian's Narrative Reports, January, 1944, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 22, PNM.

7. Martha Bacon Miller et al., *The Bacon Family, 1771–2005*, compiled by Debbie Melendy Norman, pdf manuscript, 2005.

held a mortgage on the ranch, planned to dispose of the property through public auction. Hearing of this, Custodian Hawkins notified the regional director and reminded him that about six hundred acres of Ben Bacon's ranch—essentially all of the property that lay along Chalone Creek south of the confluence of Sandy Creek—had already been identified in the Master Plan as desirable for addition to the monument.⁸ The Park Service wanted this land because of its appropriateness for recreational development, either as a campground or picnic area or even a small resort. The Chalone Bench was probably the most natural candidate for such development and had been used as a seasonal picnic area by local residents for decades. Hawkins believed that the parcel could be acquired for between \$3,000 and \$5,000, which even at that time was quite a bargain.⁹ Such an opportunity would not be available again.¹⁰

Immediately after receiving Hawkins' letter, the Regional Director forwarded his recommendation to Washington. He agreed with Hawkins' assessment of the value of the potential addition but also noted the importance of the old Root Homestead in the Balconies, which was still owned by San Benito County. The Regional Director insisted that both parcels be acquired in the same transaction, even though he acknowledged that negotiations with the county were not going well at this time, and the county was refusing to give up the parcel to the Park Service as it had originally promised. While the Park Service waited for a resolution to this impasse, the entire Bacon Ranch—not just the six hundred acres on Chalone Creek—was sold to Ray Marcus, a wealthy man from out-of-town who wanted to build a retirement home on the property.¹¹ (Marcus never built his home but instead used the land for cattle grazing.) As Ray Marcus had no interest in negotiating with the National Park Service, Pinnacles lost its opportunity to expand in this direction and would not have another chance for more than fifty years.¹²

The Cross-Monument Road

The third project with which Hawkins concerned himself during the war years was the cross-monument road. This remained a cherished ambition, something he had been trying to put through from the beginning of his involvement with the Pinnacles in 1924. By 1940, the only alignment still considered practicable followed the Old Pinnacles Road through the Balconies. Construction therefore depended on the Park Service either acquiring the Root Homestead from the county or cooperating with the county on the project. Through an ironic turn of events, however, San Benito County was no longer willing to build the road, even though it had once been the principal author and leading advocate for the project. San Benito County business leaders had gradually turned against the idea when they began to suspect that its implementation would actually benefit Monterey County more than themselves. There was some justification in this fear, since Monterey, through which the major transportation arterials connecting San Francisco and Los Angeles passed, had grown much faster than San Benito during the preceding few decades. With more people traveling through the Salinas Valley than ever before, any development that promised to improve access to the west side threatened also to divert tourism from the east, at least that is what local businessmen had come to believe. This concern was being voiced by the president of the San Benito Chamber of Commerce,

8. "The Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument," 1940, Map Coll., PNM.

9. This translated to between five and eight dollars an acre. Given that the land possessed abundant water and tillable soil, these were extraordinary rates, and Hawkins may have been mistaken or overly optimistic in estimating them.

10. Hawkins to Reg. Dir., February 21, 1941, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

11. Marcus bought the entire property for \$20,000, still a bargain at less than ten dollars an acre.

12. Regional Director to Director, February 26, 1941, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

Jacob Leonard, and was the chief reason why the county also refused to transfer ownership of the land to the Park Service. The situation was further complicated by an unrelated business rivalry between Hawkins and Leonard, as a result of which Leonard was inclined to oppose Hawkins' interests out of sheer pique. His influence among county businessmen and political leaders was considerable, and relations between the county and the monument would remain problematic until this entire generation began to retire in the 1950s.¹³

By October 1940, after months of trying unsuccessfully to acquire the Root Homestead, the Park Service decided to settle for an easement that would allow it to construct necessary trails and associated amenities across the parcel. County leaders tentatively agreed, but proposed a contract that contained a stipulation explicitly forbidding the construction of any roads—"This easement is not intended for and does not grant a right of way across said real property for road purposes."¹⁴ As a matter of principle, the Park Service preferred to have no restrictions, but NPS Director Cammerer was willing to accept the no-road stipulation if the county insisted. At that time, the Pinnacles Master Plan did not include a cross-monument road through the Balconies, so the county's prohibition did not immediately affect any of the Park Service's formal development plans. But the Master Plan did recommend developing the west side, and therefore an adequate trail—at the very least—would be needed to connect it with existing development on the east.¹⁵ The only route then extant through the Balconies was unimproved, and the Park Service could do nothing to upgrade this trail without the county's permission. Cammerer was concerned that the broad language of the county-proposed easement might be construed as limiting the government's ability to construct any trails, paths, utility roads and other improvements on the land in addition to prohibiting a cross-monument road, so he proposed an alternative that retained the county's prohibition against the road but made it clear that all other development would be allowed. Cammerer then forwarded this version to the regional office and to Pinnacles with the recommendation that Hawkins first try to get the county supervisors to agree to an easement with no restrictions, but if that failed, he should insist on using Cammerer's own, more precisely worded document rather than the county's original contract.¹⁶

Taking his instructions, Hawkins went before the San Benito County Board of Supervisors on January 11, 1941, but it appears that he largely ignored the director's recommendation to negotiate diplomatically and to consider options for compromise. Instead, Hawkins presented the one alternative mentioned by Cammerer that supported his own desire for a cross-monument road and argued that this was the Park Service's official—and only—position. Jacob Leonard was present at that meeting and described his surprised reaction to Hawkins' ultimatum in a letter to the director:

Appearing before the Board of Supervisors last Saturday, January 11th, Custodian Hawkins declared that the program of development on the East side of the present Pinnacles would be terminated in June 1941 unless a deed to the 160 acres was immediately forthcoming and that no further development could or would be undertaken on the East Side until this property was so deeded. He also stated that unless the 160 acres was deeded at once, it was

13. Both Hawkins and Leonard were competing for control of a business concession at Bolado Park, a county park just north of Pinnacles. This was noted by the Regional Director.

14. Memorandum for the Acting Regional Director, November 22, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5. The easement was formally granted on October 7, 1940.

15. "The Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument," 1933–1942, Map Coll., PNM.

16. Memorandum for the Acting Regional Director, November 22, 1940; and Assoc. Reg. Dir. to Hawkins, December 10, 1940, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

the intention of the National Park Service to begin construction of a new roadway from the artificial lake at the head of the caves to the present road from Soledad with the idea in mind of “opening up” the Pinnacles from the Monterey County side. This ultimatum by Custodian Hawkins, on behalf of the National Park Service, came as a complete surprise to many of us and we are indeed at a loss to account for this sudden change in attitude after years of what we believed to be, most harmonious relations.¹⁷

Of course, Leonard was biased against Hawkins, so the tenor of his account should be taken with caution, but there seems little reason to doubt its substance. Leonard went on to write that San Benito County hoped the east side development would be completed as proposed under the existing Master Plan. This included a new lodge, a Visitor Center, and additional staff facilities.¹⁸

Leonard also described ongoing highway development in San Benito County, which county leaders had linked closely with the development of the monument. He reminded the director that the county board of supervisors had successfully gotten the road from Hollister designated a state highway in 1933 and had improved the road all the way to Bear Valley just north of Pinnacles. The supervisors now hoped to extend these improvements south to King City, but they were relying on the Park Service’s own plans to develop Bear Gulch in order to justify their arguments to the state legislature for better transportation on the east side.¹⁹

Hawkins knew the local political scene well and was aware that the Park Service, by proposing to improve development on the west side, had inadvertently exacerbated the chief anxiety worrying San Benito County leaders at that time—their fear of losing business to Monterey County. His counter-proposal to the board of supervisors on January 11 was therefore deeply alarming to them (and calculated to be so). If the Park Service halted all further east side development—as Hawkins threatened—and built a new entrance road from Soledad to the Bear Gulch Reservoir, San Benito County would quickly lose a large share of its tourism business. This prospect was far worse than a cross-monument road, which might potentially benefit both counties even if it eliminated San Benito’s monopoly over Pinnacles. The cross-monument road might also appeal favorably to the State Highway Commission (as it had when Harvey Toy was chairman back in 1924) and would not undermine efforts to improve the state highway through San Benito County, whereas Hawkins’ new proposal would almost certainly threaten these efforts.

Hawkins’ original objective in threatening the county supervisors with this alternative west side road was to manipulate them into donating the Balconies parcel free of restrictions so that the cross-monument road could be built through it. But once Hawkins presented this new proposal, he appears to have warmed to the idea quickly. In a memorandum sent to Washington that summer, he described the proposal with enough detail to suggest that he and his staff considered it a serious possibility.²⁰ In the end, Hawkins may have been content with either a cross-monument road or the alternative west side road through Bear Gulch—this is impossible to say from the surviving evidence—but he clearly wanted some road development.

17. Jacob Leonard to Newton Drury, January 15, 1941, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

18. The term “Visitor Center” was not introduced until the Mission 66 period almost twenty years later. The proposed facility was actually called an “Information Station,” though it would function much like a Visitor Center. No design was ever drawn up for the new lodge, though the proposal remained part of the Pinnacles Master Plan through the end of the war years. “The Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument,” 1940, Map Coll., PNM.

19. Jacob Leonard to Newton Drury, January 15, 1941, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

20. Hawkins to Director, July 2, 1941, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

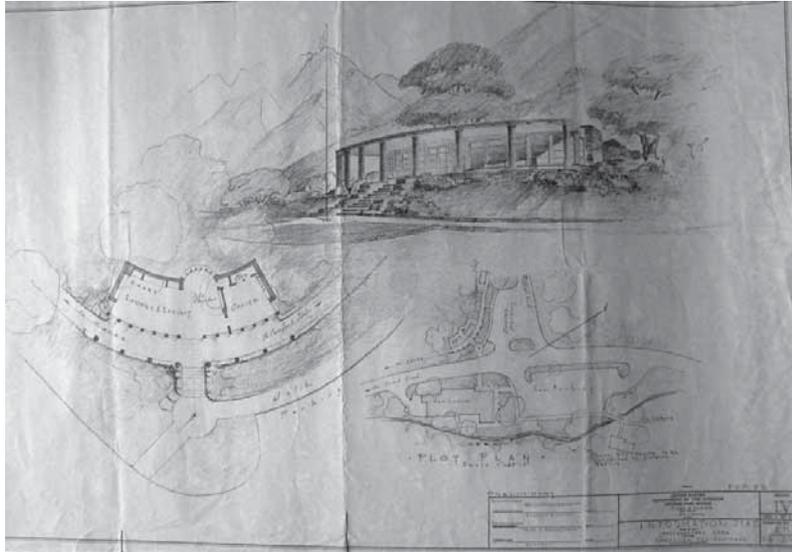


Figure 43. Drawing of proposed “Information Station” from 1940 Master Plan. Plot plan also shows proposed new lodge opposite this building. Neither was ever built. [Map Coll., Pinnacles National Monument.]

Both proposals would have improved access to Pinnacles and probably increased visitation, and both would have also helped connect east and west sides of the monument, facilitating management. But instead of bringing about one or the other of these alternatives, Hawkins’ aggressive attitude produced the opposite effect, damaging relations between the Park Service and county leaders and effectively stalling all further progress toward the development of the monument for at least several years. Rather than goading the county into action, Hawkins’ ultimatum caused Jacob Leonard and the board of supervisors to dig in their heels and insist that no cross-monument road would ever be permitted through the Balconies and that the Root Homestead would never be conveyed to the Park Service unless the Park Service agreed to their conditions.²¹ This terse response temporarily ended all negotiations.

Further frustrating Hawkins was Washington’s refusal to support his alternative west side road. He might have expected the county’s response to the proposed land transfer, knowing that Jacob Leonard would never cooperate with him, but the Park Service’s lack of interest was a surprise and a bitter disappointment. Relatively little construction would have been needed to implement this idea, since the route connecting the Bear Gulch Reservoir with the Soledad Road followed an easy grade across a low saddle in the ridge, and part of this route had already been graded for the access road to the Chalone Peak Fire Lookout by the CCC. The road would have allowed future development of the west side to balance existing development on the east, but more importantly it would have made it possible to connect east and west side operations, especially if the proposal included a truck road through Frog Canyon, as Hawkins wanted. Hawkins had become increasingly aware of the need to build some such connection between the east and west sides in order to manage the monument effectively, especially as visitation from Monterey County continued to increase. In a memorandum to the director, Hawkins pointed out that Pinnacles was, in effect, two monuments, since the ridge that defined it also divided it, making it impossible to manage the monument as a single unit.²² Unless west side

21. March 10, 1942, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 1, f. 4, PNM.

22. Hawkins to the Director, February 4, 1941, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5.

development was abandoned, some sort of road would be needed to connect it to the east, where most of the park's administrative resources were located.

The directorate may have appreciated these concerns, but at that time there simply was no budget for further road building. Even the comparatively easy route from the west side to the Bear Gulch Reservoir was out of the question during the war, and that may partly explain the directorate's silence on the matter. (The fact that this proposal represented a significant departure from Pinnacles' Master Plan may also have been a factor.) The solution Hawkins most desired—the cross-monument road through the Old Pinnacles—was both fiscally and politically impossible, and it now seemed increasingly unlikely that this situation would ever change. The most practical alternative that remained for connecting east and west sides of the monument was the construction of an improved trail through the Balconies, but the Hawkins–Leonard rivalry had placed even this option temporarily out of reach. In 1944, the tense relationship between county and Park Service eased somewhat with the retirement of Jacob Leonard, and Hawkins tried to resume negotiations over an easement through the county parcel. Although the supervisors were more open to discussion now, they agreed only to the issuance of a right-of-use permit, which allowed access to the land but not development of it. Further progress would have to wait until a new generation of county leaders and park administrators had replaced the present incumbents.

THE END OF HAWKINS' LONG REIGN AT PINNACLES

On June 30, 1945, W.I. Hawkins retired from the Park Service after serving twenty years as custodian of Pinnacles. His announcement came less than two months before the surrender of Japan that August. Hawkins had seen the monument through its most intense period of development from the late 1920s through the CCC period of the 1930s. He had then kept the monument operating with practically no resources for the duration of World War II. With the war nearing its conclusion and the prospect of better times soon to come, this must have seemed an opportune moment for him to finally throw in the towel. He was then 78 years old. Hawkins retired to his family home up in Hollister, where he died seven years later on February 3, 1952.

Hawkins' successor, Custodian Frank R. Givens, entered on duty July 4, 1945. Despite the optimism attending the war's end, matters at Pinnacles did not improve very much at first, and Givens began his duty faced with an apparently serious crisis in staffing. His chief ranger, John Offel, had transferred to Lava Beds, leaving only two seasonal rangers—Drucilla Isaacson and a single fire control aide. After Isaacson resigned in September, Givens was left with only his clerk, the maintenance staff, and a budget that remained essentially stagnant. By March of the following year, Aulton Hoover had mustered out of the Army and resumed his duties as chief ranger, somewhat relieving the crisis, but visitation also grew that year by more than 300 percent from war-time levels. This acute disparity between services and demand would characterize life at Pinnacles—and throughout most of the national parks—for the next two decades, making it a constant challenge just to maintain existing resources and nearly impossible to add to them. Very little new development occurred during this period, although a few minor changes and improvements were made.

THE END OF THE LODGE

One of the most significant changes to occur at Pinnacles in the postwar years was the closing of the lodge. During the war, Hazel James had stubbornly kept the facility open, despite



Figure 44. Interior view of Bear Gulch lodge during an unidentified dinner event, probably in the 1930s. Note the NPS uniforms with original badge (the arrowhead design was not introduced until 1952). [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

drastically reduced visitation. Servicemen from nearby bases helped keep her business afloat, but profits must have been meager. By the end of the war, the Jameses were worn out and ready to sell, despite their increasing business. In the spring of 1946, while the Jameses looked for a suitable replacement, the Park Service made numerous improvements to the facility. The interior was refurbished and several run-down shacks behind it were demolished. These had been used by lodge staff for housing and storage and may have dated back to the 1920s.²³ One cabin, at least, was retained and still used by the concessionaire as a residence. It was known affectionately as “Green Gables.”²⁴ By November, the Jameses had turned the concession over to Lillian Anderson and her husband, who took over just in time for the Thanksgiving holiday. The weekend brought an enormous crowd of revelers, who were entertained by a string quartet and a vocalist every evening.²⁵

This event seemed to represent a propitious start for the Andersons, but eventually they too were not able to keep up with the onerous demands of the business. Two years later, Lillian’s husband joined the Army, and she was left to run the lodge on her own. The new

23. The kitchen had already been remodeled in May 1944. [Custodian’s Narrative Reports, March, 1946, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 24, PNM.]

24. Bessie Webb, transcript of oral interview by Reta Oberg, April 27, 1977, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 18, f. 16. According to Bessie Webb, the Andersons, like the James before them, lived in quarters within the lodge itself while Green Gables was used by the operator’s assistant. Hazel James’ children also lived in Green Gables.

25. Custodian’s Narrative Reports, March, 1946, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 24, PNM.

superintendent, William Gibbs, and Chief Ranger Aulton Hoover personally helped out to keep the operation running through the end of the 1948 season, but it was clear that Lillian could not continue.²⁶ She relinquished her concession that December, and on January 1, 1949, the lodge closed. Nobody knew it at the time, but its doors would never again open for business.²⁷

Following the Andersons' departure, the Park Service continued for several years to search for an appropriate candidate to replace them. In the meantime, the building was maintained and kept serviceable. Although many people expressed interest in running the lodge, all of them withdrew their application after inspecting the facilities. By this time, the lodge had become too antiquated to suit modern tastes—it still did not have electricity, for example. The Park Service intended to replace the old building with a larger and more up-to-date structure, but for the time being no money was available for such a major project.²⁸ In May of 1954, the Park Service finally gave up, and local rancher Art Smith was hired to demolish the old building. Green Gables, however, was saved when Smith and his friend Lou Webb loaded the small cabin onto a trailer and moved it down to the old John Hain Ranch in Bear Valley where Lou and his wife Bessie were then living.²⁹ With the old lodge finally gone, the proposal for a modern replacement was also stricken from the Master Plan.³⁰ This decision was only partly due to the Park Service's failure to find an operator for the concession; it also reflected the growing opinion that Pinnacles should be managed as a day use only park and not have amenities that catered to overnight visitors.

POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT

No new construction occurred during this period, although work continued on some existing projects. The most significant of these was the Superintendent's Residence (Building #19), which was finally completed in June of 1950. Superintendent Gibbs and his family became the first to live here. The building had been started during one of the last CCC enrollments in 1941, but the CCC had only managed to pour the foundation and raise the frame. The rest of the work was carried on in fits and starts over the following years by park staff as time and money allowed.³¹ Parts of the CCC camp were also refurbished after the war—and other parts demolished—once it became clear that the CCC program would not be renewed any time soon, as many people had hoped. The old infirmary (Building #302) was rehabilitated as residential quarters to house two seasonal rangers. One of these was the fire control aide, a new position that was created in 1945.

In 1946, park headquarters was finally wired for electricity. The power was provided by two surplus diesel generators that Superintendent Gibbs obtained from Muir Woods National Monument, but Coast Counties Electric Company had already begun making surveys to

26. The custodianship was upgraded to a superintendency in 1947.

27. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, December 1948, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 26, PNM.

28. A new lodge had been part of the Master Plan since 1934. ["The Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument," 1933–1942, Map Coll., PNM.]

29. Bessie Webb, transcript of oral interview by Reta Oberg, April 27, 1977, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 18, f. 16, PNM. The cabin was still standing in 1977 when Bessie gave this interview and may be extant even now. John Hain was the father of Schuyler and Arthur Hain.

30. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, May 1954, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM.

31. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, January 1948, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 26; and *ibid.*, June 1950, Box 4, f. 2, PNM.

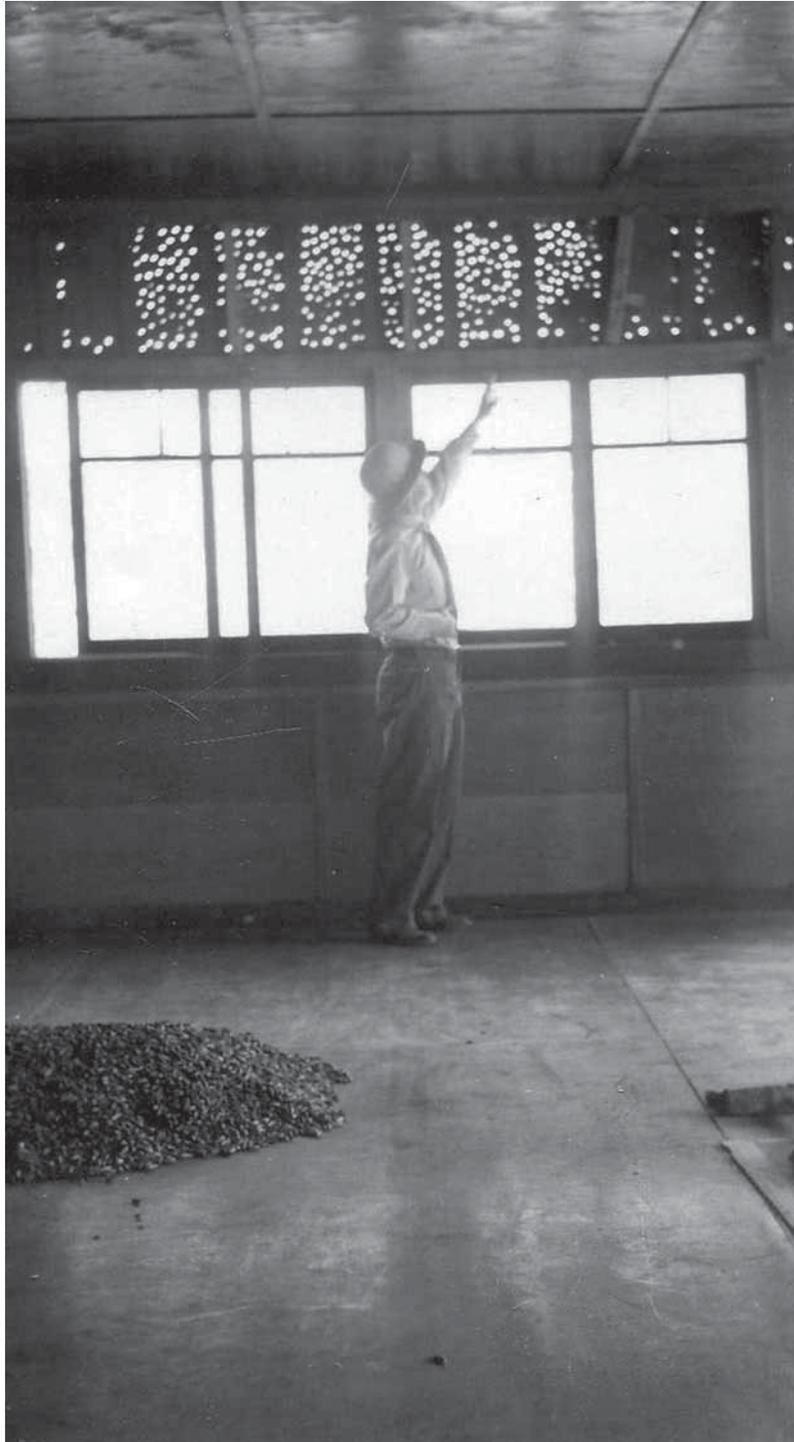


Figure 45. Among the numerous challenges to maintaining the lodge was that posed by woodpeckers, which used the walls of the building as a granary for storing acorns. The pile on the floor at left was taken from the wall cavity after the interior paneling was removed. This photo taken in 1950, one year after the lodge had ceased operations. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

bring power lines into the region.³² By 1948, the company had brought electrical power to the nearby ranches in Bear Valley and began stringing lines up Bear Gulch toward the end of the year. (The eighteen laborers working on this project were the last individuals to stay at the lodge before it closed.) For some reason, however, this work was delayed for almost ten years and electrical power was not activated until October 29, 1957. Writing in his annual report, Superintendent Everett Bright commented, “thus the ‘horse and buggy’ days for another area passed into history.”³³ The following year, the Bear Gulch cabins were rehabilitated for use as staff residences and offices. Up to this time, they had continued to be used as tourist cabins. Some of the buildings were also moved or combined. For instance, Building #11 was joined with Building #6, and Building #12 with Building #7, to create two full-sized family residential units.³⁴ In 1960, power was also extended to the maintenance facilities at the old CCC camp and to the new pumphouse on Chalone Creek (where a well for the Bear Gulch water supply had been drilled the previous year).

By 1946, a succession of drought years had dried up most of the springs in the monument, causing concern among park staff that the monument’s water supply was in jeopardy. Proposals were discussed for developing alternative sources. As it happened, the principal source from which the monument headquarters took its drinking water at that time—Split Rock Spring, just below the Bear Gulch Caves—remained unaffected throughout the entire drought, which did not break until December of 1948.³⁵ Nevertheless, Engineer Hommon came down from the San Francisco Regional Office in September of 1947 to investigate the possibility of piping water from Willow Spring, which also remained unaffected. He determined that this was a feasible proposal and prepared plans, which were submitted the following month.³⁶ With the flow continuing unabated from Split Rock Spring, however, nothing was ever done to implement this plan. One problem that did affect the monument as a probable result of the drought was an algal bloom in the Bear Gulch Reservoir. This was first noticed in November of 1947 and produced an offensive odor that lingered inside the caves. One hundred pounds of powdered copper sulphate were applied to the reservoir the following month to kill the algae, a treatment that apparently worked, as no further mention was made of the problem.³⁷

In March of 1953, a temporary checking station or entrance kiosk was installed along Highway 146 at the eastern border of the monument. This small building had to be constructed at Yosemite and driven down to Pinnacles, a fact that underlines how lean Pinnacles’ resources were during these years.³⁸ The only other developments of note that occurred during this period were all related to the destruction of infrastructure. In July 1951, a small quarter-acre fire burned at the top of Chalone Peak and completely destroyed the original CCC Fire Lookout (Building #402). The present structure was built as a replacement the following year

32. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, January and September 1946, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 26, PNM.

33. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM.

34. Sketch plan of proposed modifications, 1957, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 5, f. 22, PNM. In 1974, Building #9 was moved to the maintenance area on Chalone Creek and used as an office. It is still extant in that location as of this writing.

35. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, December 1946, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 24, PNM. This suggested that the water here derived from a deep, non-seasonal aquifer.

36. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, September 1947, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 25, PNM.

37. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, November 1947, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 27, PNM. The causal relationship between the drought and the algal bloom was never proven but appears likely.

38. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, March 1953, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 4, f. 5, PNM.



Figure 46. Photo of Equipment Shed (Building #201) at Condor Gulch Utility Area taken shortly after completion in 1934. It was destroyed by fire in 1955. [Landscape Architects' Reports, PINN Coll. 3658, Misc. Boxes, PNM.]

by laborers from the California Division of Forestry.³⁹ And on March 2, 1955, the Equipment Shed (Building #201) in Condor Gulch was also destroyed by fire. A 1937-model fire truck that was kept inside was destroyed with it. This fire raised suspicions as soon as investigators discovered that several items had also been stolen from the building. A man who had once worked as the monument's fire control aide later confessed to the thefts, and staff believed that he had ignited the fire in order to cover his tracks.⁴⁰ The crime was especially tragic given the historic and aesthetic significance of the Equipment Shed, which had been built by PWA and CCC laborers in 1934 and was a good example of rustic architecture at the monument. The building was never replaced, and only the concrete foundation pad remains to mark its location.

DEVELOPMENTS IN FIRE MANAGEMENT

Although no major wild fires occurred during this postwar decade, several important developments relating to fire management did. Chief responsibility for fire suppression in the monument had passed from the Park Service to the California Division of Forestry (CDF) in 1938, with the CCC no longer occupying Pinnacles during the summer fire season. From that year until 1949, when the state built its own station on the Melendy Ranch at the north end of Bear Valley, a six-man CDF crew occupied the CCC camp for a few months every year. One member of this crew regularly manned the Fire Lookout on Chalone Peak. In 1945, the NPS began hiring a seasonal fire control aide to assist the CDF crew and act as liaison between the two agencies. The aide generally lived in quarters on the CCC camp to be close to the fire crews. (The old infirmary [Building #302] was rehabilitated for his use.)

39. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, July 1951 and June 1952, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 4, ff. 3–4, PNM.

40. Monthly Narrative Reports (Fire), March 1955, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 39, f.12, PNM. The man's name was Ronald Coleman, but the records do not indicate what ultimately happened to him.

This arrangement continued through 1958, when the position was discontinued, probably for lack of funds rather than lack of need.⁴¹ By this time, the CDF was actively involved in a program of fuel load reduction through controlled burns and mechanical brush clearing using bulldozers and chains. The first such action had occurred in 1951, when over two thousand acres were control-burned just north of the monument.⁴² An even larger burn, comprising more than seven thousand acres, was ignited on the Melendy Ranch the following year.⁴³ These events inaugurated the Rangeland Improvement Association, an organization of local ranchers working in cooperation with the CDF and the County Farm Advisor. The Rangeland Improvement Association would continue clearing and burning on a regular basis on private ranches around the monument until its activities were superseded by the more scientific approach of the Chaparral Management Program, which was introduced by the U.S. Forest Service in the 1970s. During all this time, the National Park Service could do little to reduce fuels on its lands, as it was prevented from burning by a Service-wide policy of complete fire suppression until 1968.⁴⁴ (Many ecologists today believe that dense stands of mature vegetation are a natural component of chaparral ecosystems, where relatively infrequent but intense, stand-replacing fires occur at intervals ranging from forty to a hundred years, and occasionally longer.⁴⁵)

CHANGING PRIORITIES (1954–1955)

In 1954, Director Conrad Wirth reorganized the Park Service administrative structure to better reflect the priorities he had brought into the directorate with his appointment three years earlier. Among numerous other changes, Wirth gave much greater authority to construction engineers and landscape architects, who now worked out of a newly established Division of Design and Construction with semi-autonomous western and eastern offices—the Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC) and the Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC). Wirth also increased the status of interpretation by making this its own division parallel with the Division of Design and Construction in the administrative hierarchy. This would effectively diminish the role of professional research and resources management by subordinating these disciplines to branches within the Division of Interpretation. The new hierarchy was designed to help realize two of the principal objectives of Wirth’s administration—capital improvements and effective visitor services. These organizational changes represented a

41. Annual Forestry Report, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 39, f. 12, PNM.

42. Superintendent’s Narrative Report, 1951, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 4, f.3, PNM; and California, *Range Improvement: Annual Report for 1951* (Sacramento: California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Forestry, 1952).

43. State of California, *Range Improvement: Annual Report for 1952*; and Clara Lou Melendy, interview with author, March 21, 2007.

44. Bruce M. Kilgore, “Origin and History of Wildland Fire Use in the U.S. National Park System,” *The George Wright Forum* 24.3 (2007): 92–122; Dean Clark, pers. comm., March 30, 2008.

45. F.W. Davis and D.A. Burrow, “Spatial Simulation of Fire Regime in Mediterranean-Climate Landscapes,” in *The Role of Fire in Mediterranean-Type Ecosystems*, eds. J.M. Moreno and W.C. Oechel (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1994); and Jon E. Keeley and C.J. Fotheringham, “Historic Fire Regime in Southern California Shrublands,” *Conservation Biology* 15.6 (2001): 1536–1548.

first step toward the introduction two years later of Wirth's Mission 66 program, which would provide the necessary funding to implement his objectives.⁴⁶

Pinnacles soon began to feel the effects of Wirth's energetic administration and its new priorities. Earl Jackson, who replaced Superintendent William Gibbs in July of 1953, was largely responsible for bringing the new mood into the monument, though Russell Mahan would be responsible for implementing the most important policies of the Wirth administration. In his Annual Report for fiscal year 1954, Jackson identified "improvement of public services" as his highest priority.⁴⁷ Though this had always been a priority for the Park Service, up until the present administration public services had generally been understood as infrastructure development to provide for the purely physical needs of the visitor. What Jackson meant had as much to do with meeting the visitor's intellectual and emotional needs as it did his material ones. Consequently, he focused on increasing opportunities for meaningful interaction between staff and visitors and providing more information about the monument's resources.

Jackson addressed the first of these priorities in several ways. The most direct was through greater emphasis on the orientation talk, which was prepared ahead of time and given primarily to organized groups. The orientation talk was also recognized as a means to address the growing problem of vandalism, as it was thought that an inspiring introduction to the monument's resources might demonstrate their value and encourage visitors to show greater respect for them. Unfortunately, the talks had little effect on the growing number of youth groups who were coming to the monument—especially the Boy Scouts—and vandalism became an increasingly serious problem over the next decade.

Jackson also began formalizing the tradition of the campfire talk. This had been a part of the campground experience in Bear Gulch for years, but, under Jackson, the event became a regular occurrence happening most Saturday nights. Campers would gather in a makeshift circle in the open area near the lodge while a ranger presented talks on the history or geology of the Pinnacles area. A more substantial campfire circle was constructed in Bear Gulch in April of 1956. (It no longer exists and was probably demolished for the present parking lot.) Jackson also instructed his staff to assemble a comprehensive file of important and interesting facts about the monument. This information was mostly culled from the monument's central files. Brief summaries were written on index cards and organized alphabetically by subject. The file was designed to be used as a reference for park rangers to help them prepare interpretive talks or to answer questions from visitors. The file was also dynamic, with new information always being added.

During Earl Jackson's first year as superintendent, Building #1 in Bear Gulch ceased to be used as a residence and began functioning as a visitor contact station and museum in order to support the growing emphasis on interpretation. The following year (1955), it was substantially rehabilitated to better serve its new purpose. The building had originally been designed as a "dwelling for important visitors" and comprised two bedrooms with bathrooms sharing a common entry vestibule. In 1955, however, the bathrooms were removed, and the space they

46. Russ Olsen, *Administrative History: Organizational Structures of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1985* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985), pp. 76–77; Ethan Carr et al., "The Mission 66 Era of National Park Development, 1945–1972," (Draft), National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2006, pp. 38–42; and Barry MacKintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1986).

47. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, May 1954, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM.

had once occupied was opened up into a hall that now connected both sides of the building. A semi-wall was installed in the western-most room and an office established behind it. Visitors could expect to find a ranger on duty here who provided them with assistance. The rest of the building, including the hallway, was converted to a museum, and interpretive displays were designed for the walls. The plaster relief map, which had been constructed during the 1930s, was refurbished by the Western Museum Laboratory and installed in the museum as well.⁴⁸

These passive displays complemented the more active interpretation provided by the orientation talks and campfire presentations. But the museum displays also served a practical function by making it possible to reach greater numbers of visitors without increasing staff. A similar strategy was employed with the self-guiding interpretive trail. Twenty-nine numbered signs were installed between 1955 and 1956 along the Moses Spring Trail, and a brochure was prepared that provided a brief interpretation of each site. Copies of this free brochure were made available at the trailhead. The self-guiding interpretive trail did not replace the guided walks traditionally led by the park ranger or naturalist, but, like the museum displays, it allowed the park to provide some form of interpretation for everyone. Many national parks had begun utilizing audio-visual presentations at about this time. This worked best where an indoor auditorium was available. Pinnacles never had a facility like this, though narrated slide shows were eventually given at the evening campfire events on an outdoor projection screen.

MINING INTERLUDE (1955)

In the winter of 1955, Superintendent Russell Mahan was contacted by a geologist from the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and notified that two prospectors had located a uranium mine on monument land. This turned out to be the Buzzard's Roost Mine, situated in Crowley Canyon on the northeast side of the Balconies.⁴⁹ Within the middle of their claim was a drift, or tunnel, which had been cut about one hundred feet into the base of a stony outcropping, but this was probably a relic from the old Rootville miners of the last century.⁵⁰ It is unlikely that the two uranium miners ever conducted any work of their own beyond prospecting, given the short duration of their activities. But they did find autunite, a low-grade uranium ore. The quantities were not profitable, and their claim was illegal since it lay within monument boundaries. When the men were notified of this, they apparently abandoned the whole venture, since nothing further was heard from them. This peculiar event was precipitated by the rising value of uranium, which had created a major mining boom throughout the American West during this decade. The principal demand for the ore at this time was in weapons production, a grim reminder that the Cold War with its nuclear arms race was just beginning to warm up.

48. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, June 1962, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 2, PNM. This was removed in 2007 and replaced with an entirely new map.

49. Superintendent's Narrative Report, 1956, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM. The locators were Bobby L. Davis and Joe D. Minton from Pittsburgh, CA (near Oakland). They had filed four contiguous claims that were recorded in San Benito County on April 15 and April 18, 1955—Buzzard's Roost #1, #2, #3, and #4. The claims straddled Sections 27 and 34 in T16S, R7E, lying partially in the San Benito County parcel in the Old Pinnacles and partially in the national monument.

50. It lies very near the land homesteaded by George W. Root in 1893. The ruins of a cabin lie nearby. Lois Hain Bourke recalled seeing both this mine and the cabin—abandoned but still standing then—when she was a young woman working as a guide at the monument in the early 1920s. [Lois Bourke, *Bourke Engine Documentary*.]

MISSION 66 (1956–1966)

In his annual report for 1956, Superintendent Mahan first mentioned a proposed service-wide program called Mission 66, which was beginning to attract a great deal of attention among local business leaders.⁵¹ Mission 66 was an ambitious plan to modernize Park Service infrastructure and services, which had been steadily deteriorating since the outbreak of World War II.⁵² Although the conclusion of the war brought an immediate and dramatic surge in the national economy, the Park Service budget had remained stagnant for the next decade. Increased wealth and more leisure time allowed unprecedented numbers of Americans to visit their national parks, placing greater stress on park resources precisely when park staff were least able to absorb the impact. By 1954, there were fifty-four million visitors a year, compared to fifteen million before the war when the parks had last received full funding for maintenance and development. The situation was exacerbated by changing styles of tourism, as postwar Americans made greater use of the automobile, placing a new type of burden on parks with demand for better roads and more automobile-related services. Most existing park infrastructure remained frozen in a largely prewar, pre-automotive state of development and would require an enormous expenditure of federal money just to maintain at existing levels, much less to upgrade to meet postwar expectations.⁵³

This seemingly desperate situation continued into the early 1950s, until the declining condition of the parks had begun to reach crisis proportions. Growing public attention combined with the inauguration of a new president in 1953 finally inspired Park Service Director Conrad Wirth to propose major changes. Wirth assembled special committees to develop a prospectus of what was needed most by the parks. The result was an ambitious plan of upgrading and modernization that he called Mission 66, after the target date for the plan's completion on the National Park Service's fiftieth anniversary. Wirth presented the Mission 66 prospectus to President Eisenhower in January of 1956 and received the president's personal endorsement. Congress followed shortly afterward and voted an increase in the Park Service budget that would ultimately total nearly \$1 billion. The funds made it possible to implement the largest and most comprehensive development program since the creation of the Park Service in 1916.

While the focus of Mission 66 was not exclusively on construction, the official summary of the program stated clearly that “construction is an important element.”⁵⁴ In order to accommodate the expected eighty million visitors to the national parks by 1966, a variety of new infrastructure would have to be built, and road building headed the top of the list. Modern roads were essential, park planners believed, in order to move such greatly increased numbers of people efficiently through the parks and to prevent them from collecting in only a handful of places, compromising both visitor experience and park resources. Mission 66 planners generally saw road building as a way to mitigate visitor impacts rather than as an

51. Superintendent's Narrative Report, Supplemental, 1956, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM.

52. For the most comprehensive history of Mission 66, see Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007). A much briefer account, but one that is placed in the larger context of Park Service history, is given by William Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983). Conrad Wirth gives an invaluable, if understandably biased, insider's version of the program in his autobiography, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

53. In 1949, it was estimated that the cost of upgrading the parks would exceed \$300 million. That same year, only \$14 million was appropriated for the NPS budget. (Everhart, *The National Park Service*, p. 26).

54. “Mission 66 for Pinnacles National Monument.” This summary was included with every park's Mission 66 outline.

impact itself, though this remains one of the most controversial and disputed legacies of the program.⁵⁵ The need for road improvement was also a reflection of the changing habits of postwar park visitors with their preference for automobile tourism. In order to accommodate these new motorists, all visitor facilities—and not just roads—had to be modified. Parking lots were installed or enlarged, new service stations were built, and campgrounds were reconfigured to accommodate greater numbers of auto campers with their large and increasingly elaborate machinery.

Another hallmark of the Mission 66 program was its distinctive concept of the Visitor Center. This, too, reflected the growing influence of auto tourism, for the Visitor Center was designed to bring together as many services as possible in a single facility where they would be more readily accessible to a visitor just arriving off the highway. With this in mind, the Visitor Center was usually situated along the main entrance road and almost always included a substantial parking lot as a principal feature of its design. Mission 66 planners and architects largely abandoned the rustic design principles of the pre-war years and adopted a modernist idiom that seemed more appropriate to the new age and was better adapted to the auto tourist.⁵⁶

But not all Mission 66 planning was devoted to infrastructure improvement. Substantial attention was also given to improving the visitor experience through better and more effective interpretation. Increasing the number of staff was the most immediate and obvious way to achieve this goal, and much of the Mission 66 allotment went toward this end. But Mission 66 planners also sought ways to make existing staff more effective. A great deal of attention was given to training, and by 1964 the Mather Training Center had opened at Harpers Ferry in West Virginia specifically to enhance the job skills of park rangers and managers.

The challenge of providing effective interpretation to increasing numbers of visitors was also addressed through the design principles of Mission 66. One important purpose of the new Visitor Centers was to concentrate visitors and staff in one central place, making it easier for rangers to be available to large numbers of people. The greater use of passive interpretive displays with guided nature trails, road waysides and exhibits within the Visitor Centers themselves also helped relieve the burden on staff while increasing the opportunities for visitors to learn about the park and its resources. But probably the most distinctive response to the challenge of effective interpretation was the introduction of audio-visual programs, which often played automatically in Visitor Center auditoriums. So important was this technology to the Mission 66 interpretive program, that the auditorium became one of the most memorable and characteristic features of the new Visitor Centers (after the bathrooms).

Mission 66 planning did not get under way at Pinnacles for another year, but by the end of 1957 a finished draft of Pinnacles' first Mission 66 Prospectus was finally ready to be sent to Washington for review. It was approved on January 20, 1958.⁵⁷ The timing of this news was opportune, since it very nearly coincided with the monument's 50th anniversary on January 16th. Chief Ranger Robert Ramstad, who was acting superintendent in Russell

55. For example, the Tioga Road at Yosemite National Park was finally paved and brought up to state highway standards in the hope that improved access to Tuolumne Meadows would draw some of the crowds away from Yosemite Valley. The same argument was occasionally used to justify the proposed cross-monument road at Pinnacles among the die-hards who still supported it.

56. Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2000).

57. Superintendent's Narrative Report, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM.

Mahan's absence, took advantage of the coincidence to promote Pinnacles by announcing the government's renewed commitment to its development. Although he was not able to go into details until the Prospectus was finally released a few months later, Ramstad intimated that the plans were ambitious. But he also expressed some doubt that the government would be able to fulfill all its promises in light of the "space age economy."⁵⁸ This was a reference to the hysteria following the launch of the Soviet Union's *Sputnik* satellite, which had occurred only a few months earlier on October 4, 1957. The American satellite, *Explorer I*, was rushed into space on January 31, 1958, just two weeks after Pinnacles' anniversary celebration. It was followed by major appropriations for the military budget, the establishment of NASA, and the initiation of a manned space flight program, all in 1958. Given the cut-backs the Park Service had already suffered as a result of military escalations during the previous decade, Ramstad's skepticism was understandable and would be justified by subsequent events as the initial enthusiasm for Mission 66 began to wane. Unfortunately, Pinnacles had not benefited from the earliest stage of the program when money was still flush, and by the time its plans were ready for implementation, the Mission 66 appropriations were already in decline. Some of the most urgent needs of the monument were eventually met under the program, but the larger projects proposed in Pinnacles' Mission 66 Master Plan were never completed.⁵⁹ These included a new Visitor Center and administrative complex on the east side. Soon after introducing Mission 66 at Pinnacles, Superintendent Russell Mahan was transferred to another park, and his successor, Everett W. Bright, would assume responsibility for carrying the program out.⁶⁰

The Mission 66 Prospectus for Pinnacles identified three general elements needed for the maximum development of the monument. The first two both addressed the need for improving the monument's physical infrastructure. First, an adequate road and trail system was needed so that visitors could have access to all of the important features in the monument; and second, adequate facilities would have to be built to accommodate visitors. The third element addressed the need for effective interpretation of Pinnacles' resources. A fourth element—protection of life and property—was identified in a later revision. The Prospectus noted that the east side road and trail system was already in good shape and little would have to be done to improve it, but the west side would need extensive work. Proposed was improvement of the access road within the monument boundaries and construction of at least one new trail which would connect the west side with the existing High Peaks Trail system through Juniper Canyon. Visitor accommodations, the second element of the Prospectus, would require the most extensive work. Not only were improvements to the campground facilities needed, but the utilities which supported these campgrounds would have to be extended and upgraded as well. This was compounded by the third element of the Prospectus, the need for effective interpretation, which included an increase in staffing and would require more housing. But improved interpretation would also require the construction of new public facilities, the most significant of which was a proposed visitor center on Chalone Creek, and a smaller visitor contact station on the west side. All of these facilities would need new utilities or require a substantial upgrading of the existing systems of water supply, sewage and power. The final element, protection, would also require permanent staffing on the west side. A single facility comprising both ranger offices and visitor contact station was proposed here and was considered

58. *San Jose Mercury News*, January 15, 1958.

59. Pinnacles' initial Mission 66 allotment, which was announced in March 1958, totaled \$804,500. This broke down to \$141,700 for roads and trails; \$416,500 for buildings; \$200,500 for utilities; and \$45,000 for miscellaneous purposes. [*Hollister Evening Free Lance*, March 31, 1958.]

60. Press Release, May 11, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 21, f. 11, PNM.

sufficient for present purposes. Not listed in the original Prospectus but an important aspect of Mission 66 Service-wide was the acquisition of lands—especially private inholdings—needed to complete a park unit and ensure its effective management. This objective would become a major concern for Pinnacles staff during the Mission 66 period (and beyond).

MISSION 66 INFRASTRUCTURE

The Mission 66 Master Plan, which was developed from the Prospectus over the next several years, later included a very sober evaluation of the resource significance and visitor utilization of Pinnacles National Monument. It was found that the majority of visitors (some 80 percent) stayed for no more than a few hours or one day at the longest. Only 20 percent stayed overnight. Given the relatively small area comprised by the monument and the relative accessibility of its most popular attractions, these percentages were not anticipated to change substantially in the future. It was possible to see the monument's most important features—the Bear Gulch Caves and the Moses Springs nature trail—in three hours or less. This fact, combined with the lack of any extensive areas appropriate for further development, convinced Park Service planners to abandon the idea of ever developing elaborate overnight facilities, like a lodge or cabins and associated amenities like restaurants. They concluded that primitive campgrounds were sufficient to accommodate the minority of visitors who desired to stay more than an afternoon. The existing campground areas could be expanded and their utilities improved while a new campground could be developed on the west side, but the long-cherished idea of renewing the concession in Bear Gulch, held in abeyance since the retirement of Lillian Anderson in 1949, was finally abandoned with the Mission 66 Master Plan. The Park Service remained open to the idea that a private interest might develop recreational facilities outside the monument, but no effort was made to promote or encourage this possibility.

The abandonment of the lodge was only part of a much larger strategy to remove nearly all development from Bear Gulch. During the Hermansen years, this area had been the location of the majority of development in the monument, including the principal campground. But at that time, the monument's boundaries had lain just west of Condor Gulch and excluded the lower half of Bear Gulch and all of Chalone Valley. After 1941, Chalone Valley had been incorporated into the monument and now provided the most extensive and scenically the least obtrusive area for campgrounds and other development. Chalone Valley was also more easily accessible to auto tourists than Bear Gulch, despite the heroic efforts expended on the construction of the Bear Gulch Grade. Under its Mission 66 plan, the Park Service now resolved to concentrate the majority of east side development along Chalone Creek, where expansion was still possible, and relegate Bear Gulch to a trailhead picnic ground. Building #1 (the old "Dwelling for Official Visitors") would be retained as an ancillary visitor contact station, offering interpretive exhibits and serving as a rendezvous point for guided walks with the park naturalist, but its other roles as administrative office and museum would be transferred to a modern Visitor Center that would be constructed along Highway 146 on Chalone Creek near the eastern entrance to the monument.

Most staff housing would be concentrated in a single residential compound located at the south end of the old CCC camp, adjacent to the proposed new campground. The plan included two three-bedroom residences, one duplex, and a four-unit apartment.⁶¹ The only residences that

61. John J. Hamernik, Landscape Architect, "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Pinnacles National Monument, California: Design Analysis, Pinnacles East Entrance Area," March 31, 1964, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 10, PNM.

would be retained in Bear Gulch were the Ranger Residence (Building #19) and the recently completed Superintendent's Residence (Building #2). The old tourist cabins were judged to be substandard and most would be demolished, although several had recently been extensively refurbished and were being used for staff housing and administrative offices. A few of these would be retained, at least temporarily, until better facilities could be built. The original Hermansen campground below Moses Spring would be retained but managed as a day use only picnic area (and is still being used for that purpose today).

The old utility area in Condor Gulch would also be converted to day use picnicking. The area lacked necessary utilities and was too small to be used as a maintenance yard. Most of the monument's maintenance activities had long since moved to the old CCC camp on Chalone Creek. The destruction of the equipment shed (Building #201) in 1955 had clinched the matter, and the old utility area had seen little subsequent use. The Mission 66 plan proposed to rehabilitate the remaining buildings for visitor use. The old Stable (Building #202) would be converted to a picnic shelter, while the Oil and Gas Building (Building #200) would become a comfort station. The broad staging area in front of the buildings would be used for parking and group picnic sites. A new maintenance building with service yard would eventually be constructed on Chalone Creek adjacent to the proposed residential complex. In the meantime, existing CCC buildings would continue to be used and upgraded as necessary.

On the west side, the principal need identified by the Mission 66 planners was the improvement of the entrance road from Monterey County. Only a short segment of this road lay within monument boundaries, while the remainder was owned by the state, but it was hoped that any investment by the Park Service on its portion would stimulate a reciprocal effort by the state on the remaining twelve miles between the monument boundary and Soledad (as it eventually did). The rest of the Park Service's efforts focused on developing an adequate campground in the Chaparral Area, where only a few picnic tables and a single pit toilet existed at that time. The 1958 Prospectus recommended constructing at least thirty improved campground sites, additional pit toilets, a ranger station, and residences to accommodate a permanent ranger and at least two seasonal staff.

INTERPRETATION UNDER MISSION 66

Despite the breadth and ambition of these proposals for physical redevelopment of the monument's infrastructure, the greater bulk of the Mission 66 Prospectus dealt with less tangible—if not less consequential—matters concerning how the monument's resources would be managed and interpreted. While interpretation clearly occupied a central place in Director Wirth's concept of a revitalized National Park Service, its prominence in the 1958 Prospectus for Pinnacles probably owed as much to the energy and intelligence of the monument's seasonal naturalist from the previous year, Roland (Ro) Wauer, who had prepared an extensive interpretive outline. At twenty-three pages, his narrative constituted the most substantial portion of the entire document.

Ro Wauer's report described in detail the principal resources of the monument, patterns of public use, and the existing interpretive program. He also included proposals for future development and his own recommendations for ways to improve interpretation. Though much of the latter emphasized construction of new facilities—above all, the proposed Mission 66 Visitor Center—Wauer also insisted on the need for further research into both the natural and cultural history of the area so that better information could be made available to the public. At present, he noted that only two publications on the natural resources of the monument had been produced, one on the geology of the Pinnacles and the other a recent study of the

rare yucca night lizard (*Xantusia vigilis*).⁶² Several unpublished checklists and internal reports had also been prepared, and Wauer himself had written “A General Report on the Vertebrates of Pinnacles National Monument” that summer. These checklists were copied and made available to visitors at the Bear Gulch museum. No formal study had yet been made into the monument’s cultural resources, though Wauer had begun to research the history of the local area.⁶³ Without adequate knowledge of these resources, Wauer insisted, no amount of interpretation, no matter how effective, could adequately tell the story of Pinnacles.

One of the most significant developments for interpretation under Mission 66 was the creation of a permanent naturalist’s position. This occurred in 1960, when Dwight Warren was hired. Prior to this time, the park naturalist had been a seasonal position designed to assist the chief ranger, who was responsible for both the protection and management of all park resources. Resource management was not yet distinguished from interpretation, and the chief ranger’s role remained little different from that of Zotic Marcott, who had guided and entertained visitors along the monument’s trails back in 1925. The chief ranger still guided visitors through the monument and provided information about the cultural and natural history of the area. The former was limited to stories—many apocryphal—of the Mexican outlaw Tiburcio Vasquez, who was thought to have used the Pinnacles as a hideout during the 1870s. The latter was largely about the geology of the Pinnacles formation and its volcanic origins. Talented seasonal rangers like Ro Wauer had introduced greater nuance and depth to this interpretation, especially concerning the monument’s natural history, but it was not until the permanent naturalist was hired in 1960 that this role was formalized and could begin to stand apart from the increasingly complex management responsibilities of the chief ranger. The establishment of this position signaled the birth of a distinctive resource management and interpretive program at Pinnacles. (It would be a while longer before these two roles also became distinct responsibilities.)

Dwight Warren entered on duty on May 7, 1960, as a GS-7. During his first year, he divided his time between Pinnacles and Death Valley National Monument, where he was assigned from November through the end of March. Shortly after returning to Pinnacles the following April, Warren’s position was converted to full-time. A significant part of his duties consisted of roving the established trails—especially the Bear Gulch Caves and Moses Springs trails—and making himself available to any visitors he might happen upon, answering their questions or pointing out interesting features in the landscape. This was done not only as a service to visitors but to help prevent vandalism on the nature trail and in the Bear Gulch Caves, which had become a serious problem by then.⁶⁴ Warren remained at Pinnacles for one more year before he transferred to Saguaro National Monument in the spring of 1962. A high turnover rate with the naturalists would remain a problem until 1964, when the position was finally upgraded to a GS-9.⁶⁵

62. Philip Andrews, *Geology of the Pinnacles National Monument* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936); and Robert C. Stebbins, “New Distributional Records for *Xantusia vigilis* with Observations on Its Habitat,” *American Midland Naturalist* 39.1 (January, 1948): 96–101.

63. Among other things, Wauer had begun to conduct oral histories of local ranchers in the surrounding communities. These interviews contain much valuable information pertaining both to the history of the monument and to its surrounding communities and physical landscape. It is unfortunate that Wauer’s work was not continued after he left.

64. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, May 1960, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM.

65. Superintendent’s Narrative Reports, February 1964, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 4, PNM.

In addition to roving the trails and providing guided walks (on request), the park naturalist offered more formal presentations with museum lectures and weekend campfire talks. A simple campfire circle was constructed near the park headquarters in Bear Gulch in 1956 to provide an auditorium for this purpose. It seated approximately 140 people, but the campfire talks were so popular that sometimes more than two hundred people crowded in. By summer of 1964, a projection screen had been set up, and natural history films were being shown to supplement the evening events.⁶⁶ The following year, a carousel slide projector and sound amplifier were also purchased. These innovations were consistent with the emphasis that Mission 66 placed on new technologies to assist rangers in reaching greater numbers of people more effectively. The Mission 66 planners hoped to develop even further the role of this technology with the construction of an indoor auditorium where audio-visual presentations could be made on a regular basis to all visitors, but this required a large visitor center with facilities designed specifically for the purpose. This auditorium would be one of the principal features of the proposed visitor center on Chalone Creek. By 1965, a design had already been sketched out for the new facility.⁶⁷ The visitor center auditorium, however, was not intended to replace the popular campfire presentations. The value of these was so well appreciated by this time that a much larger and more substantial amphitheater was proposed—and eventually built—next to the Chalone Creek Campground. This had been recommended as early as 1958 by Ro Wauer, who saw the need for moving the event out of Bear Gulch and staging it closer to where the majority of campers would eventually be located.

The Pinnacles Natural History Association

In March of 1959, Pinnacles received a further boost for its interpretive program when it affiliated with the Cabrillo Natural History Association, a cooperating association devoted to education about all things natural. The association managed the sale of natural history publications, postcards, and slides. Three books were offered for sale by the association at the Bear Gulch museum: *Wildlife on the Public Lands*, *California Tree Finder*, and *National Parks in Color*. With the rapid growth of the interpretive program during the following decade, however, interest grew among Pinnacles staff and supporters to establish the monument's own non-profit association. On February 1, 1966, the Pinnacles Natural History Association was created to support interpretation and research at the monument.⁶⁸ As reported by the local newspapers,

The association will sponsor the sale of books, pamphlets, maps, and photographic slides at the ranger station, and assist in the publication of new material. It also will assist in the development and maintenance of the Pinnacles scientific museum and library facilities, and in furthering the aims of the naturalist program.⁶⁹

Soledad businessman Percy Dunlap was elected president; Millard Hoyle, publisher of the Hollister *Free Lance*, vice-president; Robert Zink, the current park naturalist, executive secretary; and Mrs. Mildred Smith, wife of park maintenance foreman Arthur Smith, treasurer. This was the second non-profit association organized to support the monument since the

66. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1956 and July 1964, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16, PNM; and Box 15, f. 5, PNM. The film shown that year was "Let's Talk About Wildlife" by former regional naturalist Russ Grater.

67. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 6, PNM.

68. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, March 1959 and July 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 16; and Box 15, f. 6, PNM.

69. *Hollister Free Lance*, February 3, 1966.

units, and acquiring inholdings. With the passage of this act, NPS land acquisition funds went from a few million dollars each year to more than a hundred million dollars.⁷²

In the postwar era, probably the most important inholding within Pinnacles was the old Root Homestead, which was still owned by San Benito County. But four other parcels totaling 1,520 acres also lay within the monument. These had all become inholdings when the monument's boundaries were extended in 1941 to add Zotic Marcott's homestead.⁷³ Immediately following this expansion, the Park Service determined to acquire these parcels through land exchanges if possible.⁷⁴ The owners were approached and negotiations carried on intermittently throughout the war and subsequent decade.

The Bourke parcel, comprising 640 acres on North Chalone Creek, had been homesteaded in 1921 by Russell Bourke, one of the group of five "Pinnacles Boys." Russell Bourke had not lived here since 1926, and the original homestead ranch had been destroyed in the 1931 fire and never rebuilt. In 1944, Russell had sold the property to his brother Leo, who operated the Must Hatch Incubator Company, an industrial chicken hatchery in Petaluma about fifty miles north of San Francisco.⁷⁵ In 1945, Leo Bourke wrote to the Park Service indicating that he wanted to start a turkey farm on his brother's old homestead. This unexpected news alarmed the Park Service, which believed that the operation would have a negative effect on the surrounding landscape.⁷⁶ This and the fact that the alternative alignment for the proposed cross-monument road, still actively being considered at that time, passed through Bourke's land, prompted the Park Service to make acquisition of this inholding its highest priority.⁷⁷ (The San Benito County lands—the old Root homestead—may have been more important for the immediate interests of the monument, but they were not in any danger of being developed.)

72. Everhart, *The National Park Service*, p. 28.

73. Marcott's 640-acre homestead had been purchased in 1938. The boundary extension, which increased the monument's area by 4,300 acres, was legally implemented with President Franklin Roosevelt's Proclamation #2528, dated December 5, 1941 (just two days before the attack on Pearl Harbor forced the United States into war).

74. Acting Regional Director Herbert Maier wrote to Director Demaray on January 30, 1942, explaining that, "The recently extended boundaries of Pinnacles National Monument include two private tracts of land which project into the Monument. These are the Kelly tract from the west and the Jolly-Hawkins tract from the north. [Maier failed to mention the Bourke and Juri tracts.] The question has arisen of the advisability of contacting the owners with a view to exchanging for Government owned lands outside the Monument." Demaray later responded with his approval. [Maier to Demaray, January 30, 1942; and Demaray to Regional Director, February 16, 1942, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 18, PNM.]

75. At that time, Must Hatch was the largest chicken hatchery in the world, which may explain why the Park Service was nervous about this company owning an inholding within the monument. Must Hatch had been founded in by A.E. Bourke Sr. in 1898, shortly after the family moved to Petaluma from Los Angeles. Alonzo, Russell and Leo were all heirs of A.E. Bourke, though only Leo became involved in the family business. Russell never had any further association with Pinnacles after selling his property to his brother, though he did return to Bear Valley in 1961 to live on his wife's family property—the Arthur Hain Ranch—for a brief period before retiring to Penngrove, a small suburb of Petaluma. He died there in 1968.

76. Superintendent's Narrative Report, October 1945, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 23, PNM; Oberg, *Administrative History*, p. 253–254.

77. Bourke's land embraced a short segment of North Chalone Creek along which the North Wilderness Trail now runs. This was being considered at that time as an alternative to the earlier proposal for building a cross-monument road through the Balconies. The North Chalone Creek proposal would not appear in the Master Plan, however, until 1965.

The Kelly parcel, which comprised about 320 acres within the boundaries of the monument, was owned by the children and heirs of Martin P. Kelly and was being run as a cattle ranch by his daughter Lena DePaquette.⁷⁸ This land was part of a much larger unit comprising approximately ten thousand acres centered in the La Gloria Valley just west of the monument. Martin Kelly had first started this successful ranch as a homestead back in 1872 and was among the first Americans to settle here. When the Park Service first approached the Kellys in the 1940s with an offer to exchange government land for their parcel, they refused to negotiate, explaining that the land had abundant running water, and nothing that the government owned could compare to it in value.⁷⁹ The matter was left at that for the next twenty years.

The Hawkins parcel, which lay a little north of Russell Bourke's land, comprised about four hundred acres inside the monument, with another eighty acres outside. It was owned in partnership by a group of hunters that included brothers Fred and Ray Hawkins—no relation to Custodian W.I. Hawkins.⁸⁰ They had bought it in 1937 from Katherine Mayo, and the property was commonly known as the Mayo Ranch (except among a few locals with old memories who still referred to it as the Merrin Homestead, after Edwin Merrin, the original patentee and namesake of Merrin Canyon). Following Fred Hawkins' death, Ray became the principal spokesman for the partnership. The Park Service was especially anxious to acquire this land, because it also embraced part of North Chalone Creek and would be needed, like Leo Bourke's land, for the cross-monument road. But the Park Service was also concerned that the hunters were using this inholding to gain access onto the surrounding monument. Even if they were not actually poaching, game animals could pass freely from the sanctuary of the monument to the private lands, where they were easily shot. This was, in fact, the principal value of the inholding for the Hawkins and their partners.

The Park Service had already had one dispute with the Hawkins back in 1939, shortly after they had bought the land. The parcel did not yet lie within the monument boundaries, but Fred Hawkins insisted that a historic right-of-way led to it up Chalone Creek from the south. According to Fred Hawkins, a road had been constructed up Chalone Creek in 1892 by Edwin Merrin, and Fred demanded that the government allow the partners to use this route.⁸¹ Not wanting to acknowledge this alleged right-of-way across monument lands, the Park Service began investigating the history of the road. After asking around, Custodian Hawkins found that the Mayo Ranch had generally been accessed from the north rather than the south, although Chalone Creek had occasionally been used as an alternative route, but nobody then living could remember an actual road ever having been built there. Custodian Hawkins summarized the opinion of one of the old ranchers in the area, whose land abutted the Mayo Ranch:

Today Mr. Fred Prewett told me that there had only been one road to the Mayo Ranch. That road was from the John Prewett Ranch on the Bear Valley Grade. There was no road from the Chalone Creek side, though previous to 1911 a team could have been driven in from that side. In 1911 there were heavy rains and a cloud-burst that washed out the road between John Prewett Ranch and the Mayo Ranch. These same high waters made such high

78. George Kelly, Martin's oldest son and Lena's brother, was listed in some correspondence as the owner of the ranch and may have helped Lena run it.

79. Asst. Reg. Director (B.F. Manbey) to Reg. Director, May 2, 1942, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 18, PNM.

80. There may have been a distant family relationship to Custodian Hawkins but no immediate connection.

81. Misc. Correspondence, 1939–40, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 20, PNM.

banks on the Chalone Creek that teams could not pass through there. It has since 1911 been impossible for machines or teams to go to the Mayo Ranch.⁸²

Based on this and similar statements, the Park Service was able to deny the Hawkins brothers an easement through the monument. The incident remains of interest, however, since it sheds further light on the issue of past circulation through the area. Not mentioned by Custodian Hawkins—probably because he knew nothing about it—was the so-called Spanish Trail that county surveyors had described back in 1913 when they were investigating alignments for an entrance road into the monument. This trail had followed the same route that Fred Hawkins believed to be a historic right-of-way and was probably the basis for his claim. In that case, the route likely predated Edwin Merrin's use of it in 1892. But if Fred Prewett's statement is true, the route was never formally improved into a road appropriate for wheeled vehicles, at least not below the Mayo Ranch.

Also of interest is the flood mentioned by Fred Prewett that destroyed the Merrin Road in 1911. The same flood was also mentioned by Lois Hain Bourke, who had grown up in the area:

The flood of 1911 caused many of the slides now seen on the hill sides and brought down millions of tons of decomposed granite, depositing it on fields and creek beds. Many of the huge old Valley Oaks which are now fallen, died because of the deposit of sand two or three feet deep around their base.⁸³

Since the average rainfall in 1911 was not unusual according to county statistics, measuring only 10.06 inches, the cloudburst that caused such a devastating effect on Chalone Creek must have been a local event occurring over a relatively short period of time.

Although Ray Hawkins expressed willingness to trade for an equivalent amount of government land after the monument encompassed his parcel in 1941, the Park Service's denial of the Chalone Creek road easement back in 1938 probably left some lingering resentments. This may explain why nothing came of these negotiations for another two decades.

The final inholding belonged to the Juris, who also failed to commit to any deal at this time. They owned a small ranch of 240 acres that was split down the middle by the monument's west boundary. Although willing to negotiate, they did not want to divide their property and would only part with their land if the entire acreage were involved. Since the Park Service was authorized to acquire land inside the legislative boundaries of the monument but not outside them, the Juri's conditions could not be met, and negotiations stalled for the time being.

THE ROOT HOMESTEAD IS FINALLY ACQUIRED (1958)

The first land to be acquired under the Mission 66 program was the old Root Homestead in the Balconies—owned by San Benito County since 1935—but not without a few hitches first. The issue was brought up early in 1958, probably at the park's instigation, and on February 3rd the county board of supervisors voted unanimously to complete the long-promised donation. But before the deal could be finalized, Lester Bisho, the manager of the Chamber of Commerce, intervened to ask for a postponement of negotiations.⁸⁴ Like his predecessor Jacob Leonard,

82. W.I. Hawkins to Reg. Dir., April 21, 1939, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 20, PNM.

83. Lois Bourke, "Early History", typed manuscript, January 1961.

84. February 18, 1958. Superintendent Russell Mahan to Reg. Dir., February 18, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.



Figure 48. View looking northeast up Merrin Canyon in 1910. This road was originally graded by homesteader Edwin Merrin in 1892. It left the county road (Hwy. 25) at the J.T. Prewett Ranch (later known as the Jef Schmidt Ranch) and joined the Old Pinnacles Road just south of Willow Spring. It was abandoned shortly after this photograph was taken. [The Russell Bourke Album, Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

Bisho was concerned that the Park Service would go ahead with its old plans to build a cross-monument road, contrary to San Benito County's business interests.⁸⁵ At first, it seemed that the entire deal would founder for the same reasons it had in 1942. But this time relations between the Park Service and the county were not troubled by any personal quarrels lurking behind the scenes. Just as importantly, Superintendent Mahan acted quickly to address Bisho's concerns. With the permission of the regional office, he preemptively offered the county a draft for the proposed donation that specifically forbade the construction of any road (though it permitted all other forms of development). This was, in fact, the same proposal that Acting Director Newton Drury had composed back in 1940. The relevant passage was unambiguous:

This grant is made upon condition that no through road or thoroughfare shall be constructed upon any part of the land, but this restriction shall not be construed to prohibit the building of trails, paths, and other utilities necessary for the convenience of the general public visiting the Pinnacles National Monument.⁸⁶

85. Sounding very much like Leonard, Bisho explained his concerns in a letter to the region's U.S. Representative: "The monument is a county feature as you know, and Hollister profits from the traffic in and out of the site. A road from Soledad, for example, could work to this county's disadvantage in routing tourists away from San Benito County." [Lester Bisho to Charles Gubser, U.S. House of Rep., February 25, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.]

86. Mahan to Reg. Dir. April 8, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM.

According to the local newspaper, Mahan also addressed county leaders in Hollister and assured them that the NPS no longer intended to build a cross-monument road anywhere in the monument, as it believed such a road would have an adverse effect on the landscape. He also promised that a substantial amount of Mission 66 funds would be spent on the monument, nearly all of it for further development of the east side with only a small amount earmarked for a campground on the west.⁸⁷ Mollified, the board of supervisors voted once more in April of 1958, this time with Bisho's grudging acquiescence. Again, the vote was unanimously in favor of making the donation, and a deed incorporating Drury's language was drawn up shortly afterward and submitted to the Park Service. Regional office staff made sure that the donation was accepted quickly before the county could reverse itself.⁸⁸

Shortly after the acquisition of the Balconies parcel, the Park Service also acquired the Bourke property. Leo Bourke had been dead some ten years by this time, and the property was controlled by his company with his sister-in-law Lois acting as representative. The company had actually had the land on the market since shortly after Bourke's death, but it was asking \$10,000, far more than was considered reasonable for the area. The company later admitted that this price was based on an appraisal made by Leo Bourke years earlier and may have been inflated for other reasons. When the Park Service made its own appraisal in 1958, it concluded that \$6,000 was a more accurate valuation and approached Lois Bourke with its offer. Apparently not very interested in keeping the land, she readily accepted. The deed was finally conveyed in February 1960.⁸⁹

With the purchase of the Bourke property, only three inholdings totaling 880 acres remained. The Park Service once more approached the owners to resume negotiations in October of 1962. These negotiations were far more successful than in the past, since now the Park Service was able to offer cash for the out-right purchase of the tracts rather than government land in exchange for them. The problem with land exchanges, as Lena DePaquette had already pointed out, was that most remaining government land was undesirable, often comprising scrubland on steep slopes with no water. This is usually why it had never been claimed. Since the government was only authorized to exchange equivalent acreage, the recipients could expect to lose value if they accepted these sub-standard parcels for their inholdings in the monument. But a cash deal assured them of at least breaking even. Within five years, the first of the remaining sales was made when Ray Hawkins finally agreed to divide his land and sell the four hundred acres within the monument for \$15,000 on October 30, 1968.⁹⁰ Most of the Juri family was also willing to sell by this time, though one brother—Joseph Juri—remained obstinate and insisted on holding out for \$100 an acre, though the land had been appraised at only \$17 an acre.⁹¹ Joseph relented the following year after the Park Service met his offer nearly halfway, agreeing to pay him more than \$46 an acre. The quarter-section Juri parcel was finally purchased on May 21, 1969, for \$7,400. Only Lena DePaquette, heir to the Kelly Ranch, refused to sell her 320-acre inholding. This, she claimed, was because she did not want to separate the land from the rest of her tract. She was, however, willing to sell the entire ten-

87. "Annual CC Meet Readied," *Hollister Advance*, February 13, 1958. This article also provided a history of the contentious issue.

88. Mahan to Reg. Dir. April 8, 1958, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 5, PNM. See also, "County Deeds 'Center' Land to Pinnacles," *Hollister Evening Free Lance*, April 8, 1958.

89. Misc. Correspondence, 1958–59, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 8, PNM.

90. Misc. Correspondence, 1967–69, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 15, PNM.

91. James Sewell, NPS Realty Specialist, to Superintendent Delyle Stevens, January 16, 1968, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 9, PNM.

thousand-acre Kelly Ranch in La Gloria Valley, but the Park Service was not interested at that time. Negotiations once more stalled and would not be taken up again for another ten years.⁹²

THE BACON RANCH RESORT

In addition to the inholdings, the Park Service also wanted to acquire at least some land outside the current boundaries of the monument. The 1958 Prospectus had identified the need for a new visitor center and administrative facilities on the east side without specifying exactly where they would be located. Park Service planners already believed that this development should be moved out of Bear Gulch and placed somewhere along Chalone Creek near the eastern entrance of the monument, but the only feasible locations in this area all lay on private land, and therefore the Service proposed extending the monument eastward to include some eighty acres of oak woodland on the Chalone Bench. This proposal was formally included in the 1961 revision of the Mission 66 Prospectus.

The Chalone Bench was still part of the old Ben Bacon Ranch, which had been sold to Ray Marcus in 1941 after Orea Bacon's death. By 1958, when the monument initiated its Mission 66 planning, the Bacon Ranch was owned by Earl Bradford.⁹³ Bradford had indicated his willingness to sell part of his land, but the Park Service had been unable to purchase it at that time, and the matter was dropped. Early the following year, however, an event happened that left a lasting impression on park staff and would raise the issue of extending the eastern boundary to a high priority. In February of 1959, Superintendent Everett Bright learned that Bradford was in negotiations with an outside developer who proposed building a tourist resort on his land. This idea was hardly new, having been tossed about several times since Schuyler Hain and the Bacon brothers had first proposed their home for disabled veterans in 1921. Even W.I. Hawkins had proposed building a resort here.

The Park Service had, for the most part, welcomed these earlier proposals, though it had never had the resources to actively support them. But this time it was deeply alarmed, since the scale of the proposed development seemed excessive and potentially detrimental to the interests of the monument. Even more disturbing was the obnoxious personality of the man behind the idea, Mr. G.T. Wells of Hollister. In a letter to the Regional Director, Superintendent Bright described how Mr. Wells strode imperiously into his office one day and began bragging about his proposed development, which would include “. . . the construction of a lodge, with dining and bar facilities, 21 cabin units, trailer park, swimming pool, riding stables, and perhaps even a golf course.”⁹⁴ Bright explained that “the main concentration of development is tentatively placed on the Pinnacles access road a short distance off State Highway 25 and approximately three miles from our east or main entrance.” He was not sure whether this would include the land desired by the Park Service on the Chalone Bench but suspected it would. Bright then went on to describe how Wells had demanded assurances that he could use the monument's trails for his proposed pack operation. When he did not get the response he wanted, he became indignant and threatened to take his case to his many close friends in state and federal government. Bright thought this might be a bluff but was worried nonetheless, for he believed that Wells was not someone who could be trusted. Although nothing ultimately came of Wells' ambitious proposal, the threat alone had driven home the necessity of obtaining some

92. Ibid.

93. Bradford had bought the entire ranch that year from Arthur Corda, who had bought it only two years earlier (in 1956) from Ray Marcus [*Abstracts*, Fidelity Title Insurance Co., Hollister, CA].

94. Superintendent Everett W. Bright to Reg. Dir., February 28, 1959, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 8, PNM.

degree of control over these lands, or at least of acquiring a buffer between the monument's eastern boundary and the developable land on the Bacon Ranch. For years afterward, the Wells incident was recalled whenever the question of land acquisition to the east came up, as it frequently did until the monument's boundaries were finally adjusted in that direction in 1976.

Although Wells himself had disappeared from the scene by 1960, his ideas had not. Later that year, the Bradfords announced that they were planning to construct a small resort themselves. This would include a restaurant, grocery store, gas station, and swimming pool, with rental cabins possibly added later.⁹⁵ Although their ambitions were not as grandiose, the Bradfords' inspiration was clearly indebted to Wells. But even these simple plans were soon scaled down, and the only development that the Bradfords ever completed was a short-order restaurant in a small shack they constructed beside the road. Mrs. Bradford ran the place with the help of her young daughter, serving hamburgers, hot dogs, and cold beer to visitors on their way to the monument.⁹⁶ The operation did not survive more than about a decade—and the small building was soon torn down—but it may have helped keep Wells' memory alive among Park Service staff.

WEST SIDE ENTHUSIASM

When news of Mission 66 first got out, it quickly rekindled enthusiasm among Monterey County businessmen and community leaders, particularly in Soledad, who once again hoped that the Park Service might develop the west side of the monument. The following year, the Soledad Chamber of Commerce organized the first of what would become an annual Pinnacles Picnic to promote the west side and encourage people to take an interest in its development. On August 25, 1957, about a hundred people turned out for the event and were treated with hot dogs, cold beer, and coffee provided by the organizers.⁹⁷ In subsequent years, the event would be held earlier in the spring, when the weather was cooler, and often attracted as many as four hundred people. It would continue through the next decade until development of the Chaparral Campground and the improvement of Highway 146 fulfilled its original purpose.

In addition to organizing the Pinnacles Picnic to raise popular support for west side development, the Soledad Chamber of Commerce also led a political campaign aimed at achieving a variety of related objectives. Its first strategy was to attempt a coalition with San Benito County and the Park Service to renew efforts to build the cross-monument road. The last time Monterey County leaders had actively pursued this idea was in 1925 under the auspices of the Pinnacles National Park Association and W.I. Hawkins. They seemed unaware of the dramatic changes that had occurred since then and were surprised when their delegation to San Benito County in 1957 received “a rather cold reception” from both the Hollister Chamber of Commerce and the Park Service. Abandoning the idea of the cross-monument road, Soledad business leaders then pushed simply for improvements on the west side of Pinnacles and for a better state road up to the monument.⁹⁸

95. *San Jose Mercury-News*, April 17, 1960.

96. Bessie Webb, typed transcript of interview with Reta Oberg, April 27, 1977, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 18, f. 16, PNM.

97. Percy Dunlap, a prominent Soledad businessman, was the chief organizer of the event. He later became president of the short-lived Pinnacles Natural History Association.

98. *Soledad Bee*, March 30, 1961.

The latter of these two objectives seemed at first more essential, since the existing dirt road up Stonewall Canyon, first graded in 1910 and little-improved since, was the chief impediment keeping more tourists from visiting the west side.⁹⁹ The Chamber of Commerce therefore lobbied its representatives in Sacramento to have the California Highway Commission improve Highway 146 from Soledad, but the highway commission judged this road a low priority, because so few people used it. This was circular logic. Soledad business leaders would have to encourage more people to visit the west side in spite of the poor condition of the road before the road could be improved. Hoping to do that, the Chamber of Commerce then petitioned the highway commission to erect signs along Highway 101 at Soledad to direct motorists to the monument. The highway commission also refused this request, explaining that not enough people used the road to justify the signs.¹⁰⁰ Seemingly the only solution left for west side advocates was to encourage the federal government to invest more heavily in developing its own facilities on that side of Pinnacles, and this now became their principal objective.

INITIAL CONSTRUCTION UNDER MISSION 66

Despite ardent lobbying by Monterey County business leaders, all construction during the first phase of Mission 66 funding occurred on the east side. This was partly due to unavoidable circumstances, for in 1958 the potable water supply in Bear Gulch became contaminated, and an emergency project had to be initiated under Mission 66 funding to renovate or replace the system. This became the first Mission 66 project undertaken at Pinnacles.

The existing potable water supply in Bear Gulch had been constructed by the CCC and was carried through pipes from a small check dam at Split Rock Spring. Contamination was virtually inevitable, since the water was drawn from a surface reservoir below the Bear Gulch Caves, one of the most popular visitor use areas in the monument. The water was chlorinated for the remainder of the season as a temporary expedient, but Park Service engineers realized that a permanent solution would require developing an alternative water supply from a source that was not susceptible to contamination. The following year, a well was drilled in the bed of Chalone Creek just below the mouth of Bear Gulch.¹⁰¹ Although this site lay downstream of the monument's developed areas, the well lay deep enough beneath the stream bed that surface waters percolating down to it were purified as they passed through the overlying sediments. By 1960, the new system was working. Water was pumped from Chalone Creek up Bear Gulch to the existing storage tanks along the Bear Gulch Caves Trail. Unfortunately, the water supply in the new well proved inadequate to meet staff and visitor needs in Bear Gulch and had to be supplemented by the old Split Rock Spring system using chlorination.¹⁰² The following year, the new system was augmented with a collection trench dug beneath Chalone Creek. Drain tile in the trench collected water percolating through the bed of the creek and directed it into the well. This eventually remedied the problem, so that by June of 1963 all potable water

99. In July 1958, the Soledad Chamber of Commerce moved that state Highway 146 be included "in the list of recommendations for improvements by next year's valley highway group." [Soledad Bee, July 17, 1958; See also, Francis Froelicher "Battle Set for Better Pinnacles Road," *Salinas Californian*, May 20, 1963.]

100. "No Pinnacles Directional Signs on Freeway, Says Engineer," *Soledad Bee*, July 17, 1958.

101. Water Resources, Chalone Creek Underflow Well #1, 1959–1979, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 32, f. 24, PNM.

102. At best, the well produced fifty gallons per hour. This was pumped at a rate of 12.5 gallons per minute with the pump running only four minutes every hour. [Superintendents Narrative Reports, 1960, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 1, PNM.]

was taken from the Chalone Creek well, and the Split Rock Spring system was shut down for good.¹⁰³

The second project initiated through Mission 66 funds was not an emergency like the water supply problem but was nevertheless considered one of the highest priorities for Pinnacles at that time. This was the expansion and upgrading of the Chalone Creek Campground. A small campground already existed here in the vicinity of the old CCC camp on the east side of the creek. This was expanded, while a second group campground was established opposite the first on the west side of the creek. Two cinder block comfort stations were also built, one for each campground. The Chalone Creek Campground was needed not only to accommodate a growing number of visitors to the monument, but to concentrate all east side camping in one place. Limited camping may still have continued in Bear Gulch up to this time in one of the original campgrounds there, but after the completion of the Chalone Creek improvements by spring of 1962, this had ceased.¹⁰⁴

THE ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM (1963–1964)

By 1961, the concerns that Chief Ranger Robert Ramstad had expressed only three years earlier were justified as a national recession began to take the wind out of the initial enthusiasm for Mission 66 and budgets dwindled. Most of the larger proposals in Pinnacles' Master Plan—like the east side visitor center or west side development—remained unfunded and seemed increasingly unlikely to be implemented any time soon. But in 1963, the monument was awarded a small amount of money for capital improvements from the Accelerated Public Works (APW) program. This was a temporary program authorized by Congress in 1962 and administered by the federal Area Redevelopment Administration in response to the recession. It ultimately released \$900 million nationwide for local public works in areas that had experienced unusually high levels of unemployment. Like President Roosevelt's Civil Works Administration of 1933, the APW was meant to provide a temporary inducement to help local economies recover from the emergency.

The first APW appropriation released \$586,000 for California. Of this, \$71,000 was earmarked for Pinnacles.¹⁰⁵ Since APW funds were granted to counties according to economic need, however, the Pinnacles appropriation had to be spent on the east side in San Benito County, which had been designated eligible to receive federal assistance owing to high levels of unemployment. More affluent Monterey County did not qualify for the program, and therefore none of the proposed west side development could be implemented through the APW. But Soledad business leaders seem not to have appreciated this distinction, and the promise of more money coming to Pinnacles for capital improvements quickly raised their hopes that the long-awaited west side facilities would finally be constructed. Chief Ranger Ramstad noted in an internal memo: "Pressures are again building up to get something underway on the Westside of the park."¹⁰⁶ Instead, the money was used to renovate and

103. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, July 1961 and June 1963, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, ff. 2–3, PNM.

104. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, September 1961 and April 1962, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 2, PNM.

105. *Hollister Free Lance*, January 22, 1963; and Superintendent's Narrative Reports, January 1963, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 3, PNM.

106. Note appended to clipping from *Soledad Bee*, January 23, 1963, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, (Media Files), Box 20, f. 17, PNM.

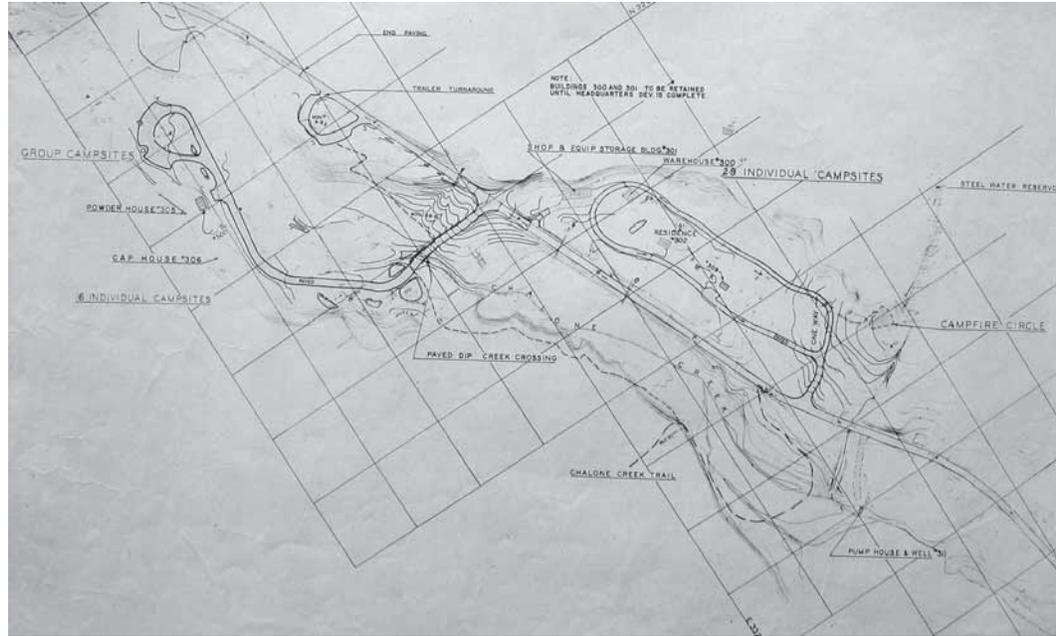


Figure 49. Plan of Chalone Campground from 1961. Group campground is upper left, on west side of creek. Note Buildings #300 and #301. These and the Powder and Cap Houses at the group site are all that remain of the original CCC camp [Map Coll., PNM.]

extend the Bear Gulch sewer system and to reseat the east side entrance road. Both projects commenced in June of 1963 and were finished by September.¹⁰⁷

The Balconies Cliffs Trail (1964)

At the beginning of June 1963, just as these east side APW projects were getting underway, Chief Ranger Ramstad, accompanied by Acting Superintendent Delyle Stevens, met with the Soledad Chamber of Commerce to address their concerns over the failure to get any development started on the west side. He told them bluntly that they should not expect to see anything happen soon, since Mission 66 planning was far behind schedule owing to lack of funds. He did not mention APW funding, since all of this money had already been obligated on east side projects and no more was expected.¹⁰⁸ But only a few months later, a second APW appropriation was made, allotting Pinnacles \$20,000 to construct a new trail around the Balconies Caves. The project benefited the west side, providing the first developed connection between the Chaparral Area and the rest of the monument, but it could be built with APW money, since the proposed trail segment lay within San Benito County. Soledad leaders were overjoyed.

107. The new sewer in Bear Gulch was completed on September 27, 1963. It replaced a cesspool constructed by the CCC on the flat just below the Superintendent's residence (Building #19). The Public Health Service had been complaining since the early forties that this cesspool was contaminating the lower reach of Bear Gulch Creek and flowing into Chalone Creek. Now that drinking water was being taken from the well on Chalone Creek, the problem could not be deferred any longer. [Superintendent's Narrative Reports, September 1963, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 4, PNM.]

108. *Soledad Bee*, June 19, 1963.



Figure 50. Chalone Group Campground in 1965, looking east. Group Campground is to the right of photo, at foot of hillside. The Old Pinnacles Road is visible in foreground and to left. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

Work on the mile-and-a-half Balconies Cliffs Trail began in October and was finished by the end of January 1964, when all APW projects were officially terminated and unused money had to be returned.¹⁰⁹ The official trail opening ceremony was delayed several months to coincide with the Soledad Chamber of Commerce's annual Pinnacles Picnic, held that year on April 26th. Percy Dunlap, president of the Chamber of Commerce, presided over the ceremony, but also present were Harold Henry, representing the Monterey County Board of Supervisors, and Ed Waldemar, chairman of the San Benito County Board of Supervisors. These two men shook hands in front of the new trail sign in a symbolic reconciliation now that the divisive cross-monument road appeared to have finally been laid to rest. The trail was a more humble surrogate for the old road and so also represented the physical unification of the east and west sides of the monument (even if it did little to actually improve park operations). The Monterey County representatives also saw it as an indication of growing commitment to the development of the west side and used the occasion to call for further improvements in the area. Park Service representatives were reminded of the need to develop better visitor facilities, but the highest priority was something nobody present had any control over—the improvement of state Highway 146 from Soledad.¹¹⁰

DEVELOPING THE CHAPARRAL AREA (1964–1966)

Soledad business leaders were correct in believing that the Balconies Cliffs Trail was auspicious of better things to come, and they took advantage of this moment while attention was still

109. The segment was originally called the "Over-the-Caves Trail." *Hollister Free Lance*, August 27, 1963.

110. *Salinas Californian*, April 27, 1964; and *Soledad Bee*, April 29, 1964.

focused on the west side to press for further development. Although the Park Service had long intended to improve visitor facilities here, it was in large part through the efforts of the Soledad businessmen that these plans were made a priority and finally implemented. In May of 1964, only one month after the opening ceremony for the Balconies Cliffs Trail, Soledad Chamber of Commerce president Percy Dunlap traveled to Washington DC, where he met with the Park Service's chief of planning John Reschoft. Dunlap presented Reschoft with a five-point plan for the west side. This included (1) improvement of the access road, (2) development of an adequate water supply system, (3) construction of basic visitor facilities such as a contact station, (4) construction of camp sites and toilets, and (5) placement of a ranger in the area. Percy Dunlap's proposal was consistent with the intentions that the Park Service already had and probably came directly from conversations with park staff.¹¹¹

John Reschoft responded positively to Dunlap's proposals but warned him that no money was available in the present budget to implement them. He encouraged Dunlap, however, to continue lobbying the Park Service to allot sufficient funds for the future.¹¹² Dunlap did just this. By September, he had arranged a formal meeting between Soledad representatives and Park Service Regional Director Edward Hummel in San Francisco to press the issue. This was too late to have any influence over the 1965 budget, but it may have encouraged the regional office to move ahead with its planning efforts and almost certainly helped justify a growing emphasis in the evolving Mission 66 Master Plan for west side development.¹¹³ In March of the following year, a new sheet had been added to the Master Plan representing the proposed Chaparral Development Area. This was the first time that a Master Plan had explicitly designated the west side for development. During the same month, a civil engineer and landscape architect visited Pinnacles to survey the area and prepare detailed plans for the proposed work. Funds were still not available to implement these plans, but they were now anticipated for the following fiscal year (1966).¹¹⁴ Finally, on May 16, 1965, at the ninth annual Pinnacles Picnic, the Park Service announced that the next fiscal year's budget would include over \$120,000 for west side development.¹¹⁵ The anticipated work would implement all of Percy Dunlap's recommendations from two years earlier. Improvements to the Bear Gulch water supply system, which continued to give trouble, were also included in the work order. Bidding opened in January of 1966 with Herman H. Neumann of El Cajon awarded the contract for all projects. Actual construction began in March. On the east side, a sixty-thousand-gallon storage tank was installed in Bear Gulch to increase the storage capacity in the potable water system. The new tank replaced the twenty-thousand-gallon concrete reservoir installed by the CCC in 1938. On the west side, the entrance road from the monument boundary to the Chaparral Area was graded and paved, a distance of just under one mile. A small parking lot was constructed at the end of the road and a cinder block comfort station

111. Only a few months earlier, regional staff had begun to prepare a final revision of the Mission 66 Master Plan, which would include a development proposal for the west side. In July, Regional Engineer Ted Rex came out to Pinnacles to make an initial evaluation of the Chaparral Area and prepared a list of recommendations that was almost identical to the five-point plan that Dunlap had taken back to Washington.

112. *Soledad Bee*, May 27, 1964.

113. *Soledad Bee*, August 26, 1964.

114. *Soledad Bee*, March 31, 1965.

115. The final figure was \$121,600 of which \$73,200 went to improvement of the entrance road and \$48,400 for development of the Chaparral Campground. Another \$75,900 was allotted for improving the Bear Gulch water system, making a total of \$197,500 for that year. This was the largest single allotment for capital improvements at Pinnacles during the entire Mission 66 period. [Stratton to Percy Dunlap, September 15, 1965; and *Soledad Bee*, May 19, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 20, f. 19.]



Figure 51. Balconies Trail opening ceremony, April 26, 1964. From left to right: Harold Henry, Percy Dunlap, Superintendent Delyle Stevens, and Edward Waldemar [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

erected here. The campground was improved and twenty-five off-road campsites constructed with fireplaces and picnic tables. A trailer was brought in to accommodate a resident ranger. Utilities were constructed to service all of these facilities. These included a deep well for potable water and a septic tank with leach field for waste. Electrical power was supplied by a diesel generator installed a short distance away in Juniper Canyon. A propane tank provided heat for the ranger residence.

The only proposal not implemented at this time was a new trail that was to connect the High Peaks Trail with the Chaparral Area through Juniper Canyon. Funding had not been included in the present budget, and the trail would remain unrealized for another ten years. All other construction was complete by July 17, 1966.¹¹⁶

One remarkable stroke of luck greatly assisted the development of the Chaparral Area. This occurred in the fall of 1965 while final preparations were being made for the following year's work. On September 22nd, hydrologists W.L. Bunham and J.P. Akers from the U.S. Geological Survey arrived to investigate potential water sources on the west side. The existing plans proposed using Oak Tree Spring at the bottom of Juniper Canyon for drinking water. Since this spring has a low and sometimes unreliable flow, it would not be used for any other purpose, and instead of flush toilets, only vault toilets would be installed at the campground. No other exploitable sources of water were believed to exist in the area. Nevertheless, the hydrologists decided to drill several exploratory wells to see if any sub-surface water was available. To their surprise, the first well they sank encountered a strong artesian flow at about a hundred feet down. Quoting from the hydrologists' report, Superintendent Stevens described the discovery:

The test well drilling on the west side has uncovered unsuspected structural conditions beneath the surface. While rhyolites were expected below the alluvial materials, a lime formation (probably marble) was encountered and some hundred feet or so deeper a semi-consolidated coarse sand layer was found. Evidence indicates the drilling is being done in

116. Completion Report Narrative, 1966, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 9, f. 15, PNM.



Figure 52. Chaparral Area in 1966, before construction (left), and after (right). [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]



Figure 53. West entrance road approaching Chaparral Area in 1966, before construction (left) and after (right). [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

a fault zone. Artesian water flow, peaking at 1000 gallons per hour and stabilizing at 200 gallons per hour, originated in the sand belt. By month's end, the well was down 300 feet and still in sand.¹¹⁷

This discovery allowed the west side development plans to be modified so that flush toilets could be installed. The new plans also included a twenty-thousand-gallon storage tank. This seemingly abundant supply of fresh water would later encourage the Park Service to propose even more extensive development in the area.

The Soledad Road

Once the Park Service had invested in improving its west side facilities, the state highway commission was finally willing to consider improving Highway 146 from Soledad. The Catch-22 had been broken. In November 1966, District Engineer Robert Datel announced that the California Highway Commission would soon begin surveying the route in preparation for construction, but he warned that state funds were not currently available to do anything more, and he did not expect funds to be allocated for another two years at least. In the meantime, road signs were finally placed along Highway 101 directing visitors to the monument. Then, in June of the following year, Datel surprised the Soledad Chamber of Commerce with news that \$75,000 had been released by the state for the Highway 146 improvement project. He made it clear that the sudden prioritization of this project came in response to the Park Service's

117. Superintendent's Narrative Report, September 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 6, PNM.



Figure 54. BZM Drilling Co. at Test Well No. 2 in the Chaparral Area in 1965. This well produced a strong artesian flow at a depth of one hundred feet. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372.]

recent development of the Chaparral Campground. Work started on April 23, 1968, and was completed by June. The new road did not follow the original 1910 alignment up Stonewall and Lopez Canyons but instead climbed Shirttail Gulch. It met the old road at the top of Lopez Canyon—at the site presently known as “Double Gates”—where it made a sharp right-hand turn and continued due east to the monument boundary at the edge of the Chaparral Area. A rudimentary dirt road already existed on the Shirttail Gulch alignment, originally constructed by the Rootville miners sometime after 1870. This road was described by a U.S. land survey in 1882 as the main road to the Melville Mining District.¹¹⁸ Between 1910 and the present improvements, however, Stonewall Canyon was the principal route from Soledad to the west side of Pinnacles. (A trace of the original 1910 road can still be seen where it meets the Double Gates corner of Highway 146 *from the north*. Another dirt road meets the Double Gates corner from the west, coming *up* Lopez Canyon, but this is a recent addition and has no known historic significance.) The new road was graded to a width varying from twelve to twenty feet and the surface paved with a chip seal treatment.¹¹⁹

ANOTHER CROSS-MONUMENT ROAD

During the 1950s, the Park Service had drifted steadily away from its commitment to build a cross-monument road, though the proposal remained a nominal policy until the end of the decade. Superintendent Russell Mahan had publically expressed his opposition to the road in 1958 during negotiations with the San Benito County Board of Supervisors over the donation of their land in the Balconies, but it was not until the following administration of

118. Charles Herrmann, “Map of Township No. 17 South of Range No. 7 East of Mount Diablo Meridian, California,” U.S. Surveyor General’s Office, San Francisco, CA, 1882 [Bureau of Land Management, California State Office, Sacramento, CA].

119. *Soledad Bee*, November 23, 1966; June 28, 1967; and June 5, 1968.

Superintendent Everett Bright that the road was formally rejected for the first time. In the 1961 revision of its Master Plan, under “Objectives and Policies,” the very first of fourteen listed objectives was to “Discourage efforts and pressures to construct a trans-park road. Such a road would destroy some of the features for which Pinnacles was established.”¹²⁰ The language of the statement suggests that pressure for this proposal was still active.

This firm rejection appears to have been due largely to the personal opinion of Superintendent Bright, as little guidance was offered by the regional office. After Bright’s departure in 1963, the Park Service’s position on the cross-monument road began to change once more. Again, this seems to have reflected the personal opinion of the park superintendent. DeLyle Stevens officially replaced Bright in January of 1964 but had actually begun acting in Bright’s absence by the beginning of June 1963. He first indicated his views on the cross-monument road later that month, when he appeared with Chief Ranger Ramstad before the Soledad Chamber of Commerce to give a presentation on the status of the Mission 66 program at Pinnacles. When asked by the audience why the Park Service was so interested in obtaining the remaining private inholdings at the north end of the monument—the Juri, Hawkins and Kelly parcels—Ramstad explained that “this is merely to round out the park boundaries,” but Stevens unexpectedly added that the parcels were also wanted because they included parts of the only feasible route for a through road along North Chalone Creek.¹²¹

In the following year, a new and final revision of the Mission 66 Master Plan for Pinnacles was prepared under Superintendent Stevens’ supervision. This version contained plans for the proposed west side development but also included a road running through North Chalone Canyon along the present route of the North Wilderness Trail. The proposal called for a one-way interpretive road. This was substantially less than the state highway that road advocates had once desired, but there could be no doubt that it was the same cross-monument road that the park had agonized over for so long. Superintendent Bright’s strongly worded rejection of the road from his 1961 revision of the Master Plan was no longer present in this final Master Plan, which was released early in 1965 after receiving approval from Washington.¹²²

If there were any doubts that the cross-monument road was alive once more after ten years of slumber, they were dispelled at the tenth annual Pinnacles Picnic on May 15, 1966. Assistant Regional Director Raymond Mulvaney came down for the day from San Francisco to offer a public presentation. Although he was scheduled to present a talk on “Our National Parks,” Mulvaney instead talked about the new Master Plan and enthusiastically described the Park Service’s proposals for developing the west side, including the eventual construction of the cross-monument road:

What the National Park Service has done so far for the Pinnacles National Monument is not all we’re going to do. We have plans for an even larger campground here on the west side. And . . . in June 1965 our Washington Headquarters approved the new Master Plan for Pinnacles National Monument which endorses the building of a Chalone Creek road that will connect the east and west sides of the Monument.¹²³

120. “The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Pinnacles National Monument,” Revision 3/13/61, Map Coll., PNM.

121. *Soledad Bee*, June 19, 1963.

122. “The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Pinnacles National Monument,” 1965, Map Coll., Pinnacles National Monument.

123. “Plans Revealed for Thru Road at Pinnacles” *Soledad Bee*, May 18, 1966. See also *Soledad Bee*, May 11, 1966.

Mulvaney went on to explain that this road was contingent on the NPS obtaining the private inholdings through which it would pass. An internal memorandum later noted that “public reaction to Mr. Mulvaney and to his talk were highly favorable.”¹²⁴ The reaction from San Benito County was not recorded.

124. Delyle Stevens to Regional Director, May 24, 1966, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 20, f. 20, PNM.

CHAPTER SIX

MANAGING RESOURCES, 1960S–1980S

The early years at Pinnacles National Monument were dominated by efforts to develop the park's physical infrastructure. Roads and trails had to be constructed to provide access to monument resources; campgrounds, comfort stations, and other amenities had to be installed to provide services for the public; and administrative facilities had to be constructed for the staff who worked there. So long as these basic elements were still lacking, construction would remain the park's highest priority. This pattern broadly reflects the history of the Park Service as a whole, with development the overriding concern at most of the national parks during the agency's first fifty years, or, roughly speaking, from the early twenties through the end of the Mission 66 program. But even as Mission 66 construction was being implemented, other priorities were beginning to emerge as well. Both scientific and historical research were receiving greater attention as concern for the professional management of park resources—both cultural and natural—grew. At the same time, greater emphasis was increasingly being placed on the *preservation* of resources, rather than on their *development*. This change in emphasis was in part a natural evolution within the Park Service, but it also reflected shifting values in American society as a whole, as environmentalism, wilderness, and historic preservation all became important issues by the mid-1960s. Mission 66 would be the last major initiative in the Park Service to put so much emphasis on development alone, and even before it concluded, the program was already being criticized. By the end of the decade, engineers and landscape architects were having to share pride of place in the Park Service with resource management professionals trained in such disciplines as the biological sciences, history, and archeology.

At Pinnacles these changes first manifested themselves in the growing professionalization of natural resource management. Guided by a series of resource management plans beginning in 1966, monument staff began implementing strategies to maintain or restore natural processes to desirable conditions. (What constituted desirable would remain a subject of debate, however, both at Pinnacles and throughout the larger resource management community.) Among the chief subjects identified in these early management plans were fire, which was seen as integral to local vegetation patterns and species composition (though its role remained poorly understood), and exotic species, especially feral pigs, which first began to appear in the monument in significant numbers during the early 1970s. The National Park Service would spend more than a million dollars over the next few decades attempting to eliminate these destructive pests. Geology, despite its central place in the monument's enabling legislation, was not a major priority in Pinnacles' early resource management plans, primarily because little management was believed necessary to protect it. Nevertheless, several important geological studies were conducted by outside researchers during these decades. Their work revealed that the geological significance of the Pinnacles was even greater than originally thought. Cultural resources received even less attention, though by 1983 the resource management plan had been revised to include cultural resources as a distinct category. This represented an important change for a park that had been established primarily to protect its scenic natural features, and it portended even more substantial changes in the future as increasing attention was given to the role humans have played in shaping the Pinnacles landscape over time.

NATURAL RESOURCES

In 1958, the announcement that Pinnacles was to receive more than \$800,000 under Mission 66, most of which was slated for physical development, understandably drew attention away from other less tangible developments that were also occurring. Important among these was the Natural History Research Program. This had originated in the late 1940s in response to a series of policy directives issued by Director Newton Drury.¹ Though Drury's actions fell short of actually rejuvenating Park Service research in the natural sciences, it nevertheless encouraged parks to identify their most important research needs and seek ways to fulfill them through cooperative agreements with universities and private professional organizations.² In 1954, Director Conrad Wirth asked parks to submit annual progress reports on their research programs.³ Pinnacles listed four—a geology exhibit with mineral collection, an area administrative history, a comprehensive biological survey, and the establishment of an herbarium collection. As the regional office later pointed out, these items represented ongoing research studies rather than discrete projects, but the list is important, because it indicates the principal directions future research at Pinnacles would take (fire ecology is the only notable omission). Eventually, each of these programs would be linked with specific resource management policies as well.

Two of the four research projects identified by Pinnacles were initiated almost immediately—the geology exhibit and the herbarium. The former was already being planned for the Bear Gulch Visitor Center early that year. It would eventually feature 12 color drawings of geologic cross-sections rendered by Superintendent Earl Jackson and a mineral collection of representative samples from various locations around the monument. The drawings were finished and on display by December of 1954, though the mineral collection was still being assembled. By the beginning of the following year, the herbarium had also been started and included some 250 specimens by year's end. These were collected and pressed by Pinnacles staff, then sent to the University of California at Berkeley for identification.⁴ Though originally expected to be finished in no more than two years, it soon became clear that the herbarium would remain an ongoing project as new species continued to be found. The other two projects—the biological survey and the administrative history—were really long-term goals and were much too big to initiate without a substantial increase in funding. They would not be fully undertaken for many years, though small contributions were occasionally made in the interim. The Natural History Research Program noted, for instance, that several existing studies done by visiting scientists contributed in a small way toward completing a comprehensive biological survey of the monument. These studies included research on falcons and a study of the distribution of the yucca night lizard (*Xantusia vigilis*) by Robert Stebbins of UC Berkeley in 1948.⁵ Park staff would make ongoing contributions to the final research goal—the area administrative

1. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, p. 165, n. 51; and Lowell Sumner, "Biological Research and Management in the National Park Service: A History" *George Wright Forum* 3.4 (Autumn, 1983):16–18.

2. In 1940, all Park Service wildlife scientists were moved to the Bureau of Biological Survey, effectively ending most in-house research and marginalizing the role of science in NPS management. [Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, p. 146.]

3. See, for example, Acting Reg. Dir. to Superintendent, January 7, 1954, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 3, PNM.

4. "Project Report, Natural History Research Program," December 19, 1955, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 3, PNM.

5. "Project Report, Natural History Research Program," December 31, 1956, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 3, PNM; and Robert C. Stebbins, "New Distributional Records for *Xantusia vigilis* with Observations on its Habitat," *American Midland Naturalist* 39.1 (1948): 96–101.

history—by collecting and filing notes on local history and later by conducting oral interviews with older residents of the area.

The growing importance of interpretation, research, and resource management at Pinnacles in the postwar period led to the appointment of the monument's first trained naturalist in 1956. This was made possible as a result of a Service-wide budget increase under Mission 66, which was inaugurated that year. Though still primarily an interpreter, the naturalist combined all of these various resource-related functions and took the lead in guiding park research, both cultural and natural. This allowed the chief ranger to devote more of his time to visitor protection and law enforcement, tasks that increasingly defined his job. For the first several years, the naturalist position was seasonal, but in 1960, Dwight Warren was hired on a permanent but less-than-full-time basis. He spent half of the year at Pinnacles, working the other six months at Death Valley National Monument. In 1961, Pinnacles was finally able to fund Warren's position for the entire year.⁶ As further proof of the growing importance of the naturalist, the position was upgraded three years later from a GS-7 paygrade to a GS-9.⁷ The appointment of a park naturalist helped Pinnacles begin to make progress on its research and resource management needs. One particularly talented seasonal naturalist, Roland Wauer, contributed substantially to the Natural History Research Program with his completion of "A General Report on the Vertebrates of Pinnacles National Monument." Wauer also revised the bird checklist and began collecting notes and conducting interviews for the area administrative history.⁸ But the most serious and extensive research done at Pinnacles up to this time was, not surprisingly, related to the monument's geology.

Geological Resources

Geology is the natural resource most closely identified with Pinnacles National Monument during its formative decades. It was to protect this resource that the monument was established in the first place, as the founding proclamation of 1908 stated: ". . . the natural formations, known as the Pinnacles Rocks, with a series of caves underlying them, . . . are of scientific interest, and it appears that the public interests would be promoted by reserving these formations and caves as a National Monument . . ." The striking and unusual character of the formation attracted visitors and stimulated their curiosity. At that time, nobody understood the significance of this geology or how the Pinnacles had formed, but their very distinctiveness left little doubt as to the value of the place both for scenic wonder and scientific study.

On the other hand, the economic value of the Pinnacles' geology was negligible—except as an attraction to tourism—because no marketable ore occurred within the formation. It took some time, however, before this fact was appreciated. Numerous prospects were made in and around the Pinnacles during the late nineteenth century, and several mines were actually opened within the boundaries of the present monument. The attraction was understandable, given that much of the land surrounding the Pinnacles actually did contain valuable minerals. Only forty miles to the east in the Diablo Mountains lay the New Idria Mining District, which contained one of the largest mercury deposits in the world. And to the west, gold was found in the granites

6. United States Department of the Interior, Interpretive Prospective, Pinnacles National Monument (Paicines, CA: National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1967).

7. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1964, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 5, PNM. Joseph L. Sperber transferred from Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park in February of that year and was the first Pinnacles naturalist to be employed at the higher pay grade.

8. "Project Report, Research Program," January 1, 1959, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 3, PNM.

of the Santa Lucia Mountains. It seemed reasonable to expect that the dramatic outcroppings of the Pinnacles would also contain minerals, but only trace amounts were ever found. Henry Melville located his copper mine on the west side of the Balconies in 1870, but made more money from the fraudulent sale of inflated stocks than he ever did from any ore uncovered. In 1893, Thomas Flint and his partners located a gold mine on Mt. Defiance and even sank a shaft more than a hundred feet into the mountain, but the ore they found contained so little gold that it was not even worth milling.⁹ The mine was abandoned not long afterward.

What these early prospectors did not understand was that the Pinnacles are geologically unrelated to most of the surrounding country. This explains why the formation appears so distinctive, but it also explains why precious minerals found in nearby deposits were not also found in the monument. By 1908, the absence of valuable ores was apparent to most and made it possible to set the Pinnacles aside as a public reserve, since there were few competing interests to challenge the proposal.

The significance of this anomalous geology was not understood until well into the twentieth century, when professional geologists began to study the formation. Its unusual characteristics, though worthless to the mineral prospector, eventually proved of great value to the scientist. The first serious research to address the Pinnacles formation was a master's thesis completed in 1933 by Philip Andrews and published three years later as *The Geology of the Pinnacles National Monument*.¹⁰ It remains the most thorough and comprehensive survey of its kind. Andrews identified all of the key mineral types that comprise the Pinnacles. He also proposed a geological history to explain the origins of the formation, beginning with a period of explosive volcanism that first created the hard rhyolitic deposits more than twenty-three million years ago, followed by the gradual erosion of surrounding material that exposed and sculpted them into their present dramatic shapes. Although Andrews failed to grasp the full significance of Pinnacles' relationship to the geological faulting that is prevalent in the area, his research laid the foundation for later studies which did explore this matter.

The mineral specimens that Andrews collected and identified during his master's research formed the basis of the original geology exhibit that park staff assembled in 1954. Unfortunately, the fire that destroyed the equipment shed in Condor Gulch the following year also destroyed Andrews collection and notes. Over the next four years, park staff slowly replaced it, sending specimens off to specialists at the California Division of Mines for identification.¹¹ This project had the happy side effect of building good relations with the Division of Mines, whose geologists provided informal assistance to Pinnacles staff for many years, answering technical questions as they came up and even running laboratory analyses of specimens.

Seismology

Another area of geological research at Pinnacles that has received considerable attention is seismology, the study of earthquakes and related phenomena. This is hardly surprising, given the number of active faults that are scattered throughout the area. The San Andreas, one of the longest and most active faults on the west coast of North America, runs a few miles

9. Crawford, J.J., *Gold-San Benito County: Twelfth Report of the State Mineralogist* (Sacramento: California State Mining Bureau, 1894): pp. 227–228.

10. Philip Andrews, "The Geology of the Pinnacles National Monument" University of California Publications, *Bulletin of the Department of Geological Sciences* 24.1 (1936).

11. Sup. Russell Mahan to Charles Chesterman, Calif. Div. of Mines, February 4, 1957, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 24, PNM.

east of Pinnacles through Bear Valley. Smaller faults pass through the monument itself. With the San Andreas Fault constantly in motion, earthquakes are frequent around Pinnacles, and the area has attracted scientists interested in studying them. Formal monitoring of seismic activity in California began in 1932 with the establishment of the Seismological Field Survey in the U.S. Department of Commerce's Coast and Geodetic Survey. Its headquarters were located in San Francisco.¹² Local ranchers remember seismographs being placed in Bear Valley during the early 1950s.¹³ The Seismological Field Survey was later absorbed into the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), which is currently responsible for most earthquake research and monitoring in the United States. During the summer of 1967, field researchers from the Geological Survey's National Center for Earthquake Research stayed in the monument's Chalone Creek Campground while they monitored fifteen seismographs located throughout the region. The first seismograph to be set up permanently inside the monument was a type of instrument called a "strong-motion accelerograph." It was installed during the summer of 1972 in the fire cache on Chalone Creek by scientists from the California Institute of Technology working in cooperation with the federal government. By 1985, the USGS reported that it had eight strong-motion accelerographs located throughout the area, including the one in the monument. Most were on local ranches. All of these instruments were self-contained and transmitted data automatically to a central receiving station by radio signal. Today, only three of the accelerograph stations in southern San Benito County are still operating. (The monument's station is not one of them.)¹⁴

In 1965, Pinnacles also became the subject of a type of seismological research entirely unrelated to earthquakes. In February of that year, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) requested permission to test instrumentation it was developing to monitor human-generated seismic waves transmitted through rock. SRI was working under contract for the Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) and the U.S. Air Force's Office of Scientific Research. These agencies were hoping to develop a practical means of detecting and evaluating underground nuclear explosions following the atmospheric test ban treaty of 1963. This was thought necessary in order to continue monitoring the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons research during this tense period of the Cold War. Superintendent Delyle Stevens granted permission to the SRI scientists, and a series of tests were conducted in October of the following year. The tests involved placing about a dozen instruments in holes drilled into the rhyolitic formations on the west side of the monument. The instruments measured ground explosions set off about eight miles distant. (The holes were later puttied in and are no longer evident.) Given the classified nature of the research, these experiments were not publicized and never became widely known.¹⁵

Philip Andrews' 1933 study had described the geologic composition of the Pinnacles in great detail but did not explain its relationship to local faulting and seismic activity, though it

12. See the history of the National Strong Motion Project (NSMP) on the Web page of the U.S. Geological Survey: http://nsmp.wr.usgs.gov/about_nsmp.html. Accessed January 29, 2008.

13. Clara Lou Melendy, interviewed by author, March 21, 2007.

14. L.C. Pakiser, USGS, National Center for Earthquake Research, to PINN Staff, December 6, 1967, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 25, PNM; Acting Sup. James Langford to Richard Dielman, Cal. Inst. of Tech., August 8, 1972, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 26, f. 2, PNM; and Edwin Etheredge, USGS, to Steve DeBenedetti, March 19, 1985, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 26, f. 2, PNM.

15. Stanford Research Institute (SRI) to Superintendent, February 17, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 25, PNM. See also Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 5, PNM.

was suspected by many that this relationship might be significant. In the late 1960s, another student, Vincent Matthews, directly addressed this question for his doctoral research at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Matthews recognized that the Pinnacles lay on top of the Chalone Fault, which divided the formation in two parts. He also hypothesized that this fault was a fragment of the much larger San Andreas Fault that had become isolated at some undetermined point in the past. Prior to Matthews' research, a number of theories had been proposed to describe how the San Andreas Fault moved and how much it had moved since its formation. Most geologists agreed that it was a strike-slip fault, with its two sides being displaced relative to each other in a right lateral movement.¹⁶ But they were uncertain how much displacement had occurred. A few geologists suggested that the fault might have moved by as much as a hundred miles or more, but their studies were based on large-scale landscape observations and lacked precision. Vince Matthews was able to confirm these theories when he discovered a geologic formation on the east side of the San Andreas Fault that almost exactly matched the configuration of rocks on the west side of the Chalone Fault at Pinnacles. The Neenach Volcanic Formation lies just east of the Tejon Pass in the Tehachapi Mountains, 195 miles south of Pinnacles. By making detailed comparisons of the rocks at both these sites, Matthews argued convincingly that the two formations had originated as a single volcanic cluster that had been split in two by the San Andreas Fault shortly after it had been formed. The northward movement of the land west of the fault had carried the Pinnacles to their present location, leaving the Neenach half of the formation behind. Vince Matthews' thesis provided the most conclusive evidence of large-scale lateral displacement on the San Andreas Fault up to that time and contributed substantially to the theory of plate tectonics.¹⁷

Matthews' work was the last serious geological research done at Pinnacles up to the present time. Combined with Philip Andrews' seminal work, it provided a fairly comprehensive understanding of the monument's geological history and composition, but it still left important questions unanswered, like the relationship of the Chalone Fault to the San Andreas. The correlation that Matthews had demonstrated between the Pinnacles and Neenach Formations had more or less proven that the Chalone Fault was related to the San Andreas, but Matthews had left the exact nature of this relationship a matter of conjecture. He suggested that a large mass of sandstone might have become wedged in the main fault in relatively recent times, causing the San Andreas Fault to move further east, leaving the Chalone Fault as an isolated fragment to the west. The landscape between the two faults in their present locations represents the mass that caused this supposed bifurcation. Matthews' theory was later challenged after exploratory drilling just east of the Chalone Fault encountered basement granites like those that underlie the Pinnacles Formation west of the fault—Matthews' theory suggested that the basement rock east of the Chalone Fault should resemble the basement rock east of the present

16. This meant that a person standing on one edge would see the other edge moving to the right.

17. Vincent Matthews' doctoral dissertation was approved in 1976. A summary version of his main argument was published that same year as "Correlation of the Pinnacles and Neenach Volcanic Formations and their Bearing on the San Andreas Fault Problem" *The American Society of Petroleum Geologists Bulletin* 60.12 (1976): 2128–2141. For a comprehensive review of scholarship relating to this question, both before and after Matthews' contribution, see J.D. Sims, "Chronology of Displacement on the San Andreas Fault in Central California" in *The San Andreas Fault System: Displacement, Palinspastic Reconstruction, and Geologic Evolution*, eds. R.E. Powell, R.J. Weldon II, and J.C. Matti (Boulder, CO: Geological Society of America, 1993), pp. 231–256. Matthews' discovery also attracted considerable attention in the local press. See, for example, Jane Bird, "Pinnacles Formed by Once-Active Volcano," *King City Rustler*, March 9, 1972.

San Andreas Fault.¹⁸ This discovery does not invalidate Matthews' work, but it does suggest that the geological complexity of the region is far from completely understood, and further research might still reveal significant new information.

Caves

Another area of study related to the geology of Pinnacles that has received attention—if not serious research—is geomorphology, the study of landforms and the processes that shape them. Interest in this subject is due primarily to the monument's most popular geologic attraction, its caves. Even the casual observer notes very quickly that Pinnacles' caves bear no similarity to the much more extensive features at places like Carlsbad Caverns, where naturally occurring acids have eroded large cavities in deep limestone deposits. The much smaller features at Pinnacles are talus caves, formed by large boulders wedged over narrow chasms in the rock. Philip Andrews described these features and briefly discussed the processes by which they were created:

Natural caves of rather large size occur along both branches of Chalone Creek where streams have cut under the massive beds of fragmental volcanic rocks. Stream action has not only carried away the softer material of these beds to form part of the natural cavities, but, even more important, it has removed material which supported the overlying rocks and permitted slumping of huge blocks . . . Rocks have also rolled downhill into the sharp canyons, thus assisting in the formation of these caves.¹⁹

Further research has corroborated Andrews' analysis with one exception. Rather than breaking loose and tumbling into the canyon bottoms in sudden cataclysmic events, many of the boulders that form the roofs of the caves appear to have slid very gradually into their present positions along natural joints and bedding planes. This process was described in detail by Jeffrey Schaffer, a rock climber and amateur naturalist, in an unpublished manuscript written in 1971.²⁰

While gradual movement may be the prevailing dynamic in the formation of these features, occasional cataclysms do occur. In 1976, only a few years after Schaffer all-but-dismissed the possibility, approximately sixty tons of rock collapsed onto the trail near Moses Spring. Jim Snyder, a trails supervisor and expert in demolitions from Yosemite National Park, was brought in to clear the debris and remove the rest of the unstable material.²¹ During the winter of 1982–83, heavy rains caused extensive damage throughout the monument, and floodwaters rushing through the caves loosened boulders, causing some to fall. The caves were closed out of concern for visitor safety, and stainless-steel bars with locked gates were installed at the major entrances to both cave systems. The closure remained in effect for over a year, while the Park Service arranged to have the caves evaluated by a qualified engineer. Local reaction was strongly negative. Pinnacles Campground owner Stu Kingman gathered more than five thousand signatures on a petition requesting the Park Service to reopen the caves, observing

18. This problem was noted, for example, by geologist Clyde Wahrhaftig in "Geologic Note on Pinnacles National Monument" May 6, 1987 [revd. March 29, 1990]. typed manuscript for San Francisco Hiking Club. [Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 34, f. 21, PNM.]

19. Andrews, "Geology of the Pinnacles National Monument," pp. 3–4.

20. Jeffrey P. Schaffer, "Geomorphology of the Bear Gulch Caves, Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California," typed manuscript, 1971, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 34, f. 16, PNM.

21. Superintendent's Narr. Reports, 1976, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 17, PNM.

that “no one’s been hurt yet.”²² But Park Service Engineer Jim Ellis, who completed his report in March of 1984, described the caves as a deathtrap. “To my knowledge,” he commented, “It’s the only place in the United States where a person can crawl around in a rubble pile.” Nevertheless, Ellis agreed to reopening the caves in response to public interest, provided that they be carefully monitored. He recommended establishing reference points to measure potential movement on key boulders. Ring bolts were affixed to the faces of these boulders, and the distance between them periodically measured with a tape extensometer, an instrument that is capable of measuring increments as small as 1/1,000 of an inch. If any movement were detected, the caves would remain closed.²³ After more than a year of careful monitoring, the caves were finally reopened in October of 1985, but regular measurements continue to be made with the extensometer to monitor the situation, especially after floods and earthquakes.

Biological Resources

Although Pinnacles was reserved specifically for its geological resources, by the 1950s park staff were beginning to acknowledge that the monument’s biological resources were at least equally significant. This was noted in the Mission 66 planning documents being developed between 1958 and 1965. The Natural History Research Program had also acknowledged biological resources as a growing priority with its proposal for a comprehensive biological survey, but apart from the occasional work of visiting scholars—Robert Stebbins’ 1948 study of the yucca night lizard, for example—little progress was actually made in this area. The first scientific study of biological resources to originate within the park itself occurred in 1963, when Peter Bennett made a systematic investigation of the native deer population and its relationship to food abundance and availability.

Though Bennett’s research was a significant landmark in Pinnacles’ resource management program, his actual project was relatively simple. He set up fifty permanent one-hundred-foot transects within representative vegetative communities around the monument, then monitored deer utilization of forage material within each transect throughout the year. He also recorded the health of the deer sampled, inventorying their diseases, ecto-parasites and other afflictions to develop a generalized characterization of the condition of the overall deer population at Pinnacles. He determined that the deer were in fair to poor health, with moderate malnourishment and diseases associated with malnourishment prevalent throughout the population. Bennett also observed that most of the deer’s preferred food plants were heavily overbrowsed, which led him to conclude that the total population, which ranged between 450 and 600, exceeded what the vegetation could reasonably support. But he also noted that only 6 percent or less of the edible chaparral vegetation was actually being utilized by the deer, since the rest grew in the midst of dense, inaccessible thickets. Bennett believed that these vast uniform stands of brush were an unnatural pattern that had resulted from years of human-induced fire suppression. Though he acknowledged that it would not be possible under current Park Service policies, he recommended reintroducing fire to the chaparral ecosystem as the most effective means of restoring health to both deer and vegetation. His analysis would have long-reaching consequences.²⁴

22. *Hollister Evening Free Lance*, March 30, 1984.

23. *Salinas Californian*, March 30, 1984. Jim Ellis was based out of the Denver Service Center (DSC).

24. Peter S. Bennett, “A Study of Deer-Deer Browse Relationships at Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California” typed manuscript, 1963, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 28, f. 6, PNM.

Peter Bennett was a student at San Jose State College and was using this research to complete his degree, but he was also working at Pinnacles as a seasonal ranger, and his project had begun with a suggestion from Regional Biologist Richard Prasil, who believed that the monument's deer were malnourished. Seemingly excessive numbers of deer and occasional mass die-offs had been observed by park staff at various times in the recent past, and it was widely acknowledged that a better understanding of the problem was needed in order to manage the resource better.²⁵ Peter Bennett's project was specifically designed to serve the park's resource management goals by answering these questions and providing guidance for improved management strategies. This close relationship between research and resource management later became characteristic of the Park Service's resource divisions, and it distinguished Bennett's research from that of other scholars working independently of Park Service objectives (like Philip Andrews or Robert Stebbins). Peter Bennett's project, coincidentally, was completed the same year as the influential Leopold Report, which strongly encouraged the Park Service to base its natural resource management policies more firmly in scientific research.²⁶ While there was no direct relationship between Bennett's work and the Leopold Report, the appearance of the latter ensured that the Park Service would continue to favor research with a similarly practical application.

Resource Management Plan & Wilderness Proposal

In 1963, an independent advisory board chaired by A. Starker Leopold (generally known as the Leopold Committee) and the National Academy of Sciences both presented reports critical of NPS management of its natural resources. The following year, the national Wilderness Act (P.L. 88-577) was passed. Both these events had immediate and profound consequences for Pinnacles. Of the two studies, the Leopold Report would have the greater influence and is better known (though the NAS Report was more extensive). The Leopold Committee had been appointed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in response to pressure from scientists and resource managers both within and outside the Park Service who were concerned that the Service had neglected its responsibility for its natural resources during more than three decades of intense recreation-oriented development.²⁷ Although the Leopold Report focused primarily on wildlife, the ecological perspective it adopted made it impossible to treat a single resource or resource type in isolation, and its observations applied broadly to all aspects of natural resource management in the parks.

The report made two crucial points, which it presented as objectives for future management. The first was the idea—or assumption—that parks represented vestiges of nature relatively undisturbed by human intervention. Where this still appeared to be the case, the report recommended that those primitive conditions be maintained. Where it was not, it

25. Sup. Narr. Report, February 1948, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 3, f. 26; and Everett Bright, "Narrative Wildlife Report," May 1, 1962, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 1. These documented observations were corroborated by the recollections of Tim Regan (interviewed by author March 19, 2007) and Clara Lou Melendy (interviewed by author March 21, 2007).

26. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, p. 215; A. Starker Leopold et al., "Wildlife Management in the National Parks," in *Transactions of the Twenty-eighth North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference*, ed. James B. Trerethen (Washington, DC: Wildlife Management Institute, 1963).

27. That is, from the beginning of the CCC period in 1932 up to the present Mission 66 program. The immediate cause of Secretary Udall's investigation was a report by the chief of the Park Service's Branch of Natural History, Howard Stagner, in response to criticism over NPS wildlife policy in Yellowstone. [Carr, "Mission 66 Multiple Properties Document," p. 94.]

recommended that these conditions be the objective toward which management aimed, even if restoration of primitive conditions represented only an illusion of human absence.²⁸ The other point that the Leopold Report emphasized was the need for sound research as a prerequisite to proper management. This was integral to the goal of maintaining or restoring primitive conditions, for it often required serious study to determine what those conditions were. The report observed that most research currently being done in the parks served interpretive rather than management purposes and urged that this emphasis be changed (presumably by replacing naturalists with professional scientists, as eventually happened).²⁹ Secretary Udall immediately endorsed the Leopold Report and instructed the NPS to “take such steps as are appropriate to incorporate the findings of the [Advisory] Board into the administration of the National Park System.”³⁰ This gave the Leopold Report the force of policy and all but required the Park Service to adopt its recommendations.

Implementing the Leopold Report proved difficult however. Specifically, the objective that park managers preserve vestiges of primitive nature had problematic implications, and eventually even Leopold was forced to modify this ideal. The report’s recommendations were also more conceptual than practical, and it was not always apparent how they should be translated into specific actions. This confusion was partially mitigated the following year when Congress passed the Wilderness Act, which both clarified and strengthened the broad principles outlined by the Leopold Committee. One of the more salient achievements of the Wilderness Act was its concise definition of wilderness itself, which it described as . . . an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain. An area of wilderness is further defined to mean . . . *an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions* . . . [emphasis added]³¹

This sounded almost identical to the objective for which the Leopold Committee had recommended the Park Service aim in its management of natural areas. Even the language was similar. This correspondence suggested that the Wilderness Act might be used to interpret the recommendations of the Leopold Report in order to facilitate the Report’s implementation. Unlike the Report, the Wilderness Act included clear mandates for action and well-defined goals. It specifically instructed the Department of the Interior to review all roadless areas within its jurisdiction of five thousand acres or more and to assess their suitability for wilderness designation. The Department had ten years from the effective date of the act to complete this survey, or until 1974.

The following year, Director Hartzog’s office finally issued a Service-wide memo providing detailed guidelines for both the implementation of the Leopold Report and the designation of wilderness areas. Not surprisingly, these two actions were seen as related. Parks were instructed

28. “As a primary goal, we would recommend that the biotic associations within each park be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man. A national park should represent a vignette of primitive America.” [Leopold, “Wildlife Management in the National Parks.”]

29. “Most of the research now conducted by the National Park Service is oriented largely to interpretive functions rather than to management. We urge the expansion of the research activity in the Service to prepare for future management and restoration programs.” [Leopold, “Wildlife Management in the National Parks.”]

30. “Implementation of the Leopold Report . . .,” October 14, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 4, PNM. Secretary Udall issued his memorandum endorsing the report on May 2, 1963.

31. Public Law 88-577 (16 U.S.C. 1131-1136), 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., September 3, 1964.

to prepare a Natural Area Resource Management Plan that would adapt the broad principles outlined in the Leopold Report to their specific situation and needs. At its core, each plan would include three essential elements: an inventory and description of existing biotic communities, natural processes, and land use practices; an inventory and description of biotic communities and natural processes under original conditions (that is, when Europeans first arrived); and a plan for managing or restoring existing conditions to the original primitive state where it was possible and desirable to do so. Each of these elements required sophisticated knowledge of the relevant resources (especially the second element), and so the Director's guidelines also proposed establishing an extensive research program to accompany each stage of the management plan.³² So closely attuned was research to resource management, in fact, that no research project could be undertaken if it was not first identified in the park's Resource Management Plan.³³

All parks were instructed to undertake work on their Resource Management Plans "promptly," but certain parks possessing natural areas thought to be eligible for wilderness designation were required to complete a draft by early next year so that a final plan could be approved no later than February 1967. Pinnacles was one of only eighteen parks nationwide to be included on this list. The reason for the urgency was the Wilderness Act itself with its stipulation that all eligible areas on federal lands be formally identified and nominated prior to 1974. According to the new resources policy being worked out by the Park Service in response to the Leopold Report (and the urgings of Secretary Udall), a determination that carried such profound implications for the management of park natural areas could not be made without a Resource Management Plan already in place. Thus, the new resource management planning process and the Wilderness Act worked in tandem to support one another in realizing what appeared at that time to be common goals.

Pinnacles' first Natural Resource Management Plan was finished early and sent to the Regional Office on March 30, 1966, where it was subsequently approved. An especially notable feature of this plan was its emphasis on the chaparral vegetation as one of the most significant natural resources in the monument. This represented a substantial evolution from the time when geological features were the principal resource of value identified at Pinnacles. Because the volcanic rocks and talus caves remained the only resources specifically named in the monument's founding proclamation, geology was still listed at the top of the management plan, but the management needs for these durable features were relatively minor, and the plan proposed only that measures be taken to prevent excessive erosion. (With growth in the popularity of rock climbing, this would eventually become a higher priority, but for the time being it was negligible.) Vegetation, on the other hand, was a more complex matter and occupied the bulk of the plan's thirteen pages.

Responding to the Leopold Report's emphasis on maintaining primitive conditions, Pinnacles' management plan focused on two questions: What pattern characterized its dominant vegetative communities prior to European arrival? And how could the park restore these

32. "Guidelines for Resources Management in the Areas in the Natural Category of the National Park System," in, "Memo," Assistant Director to All Field Offices, October 14, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 4, PNM.

33. Although this principle was assumed at the time, it was stated explicitly several years later by Deputy Director William Briggie, whose comments "No new science/research projects may be undertaken unless identified as a need in an approved Resource Management Plan" and "Park research should facilitate refinement of the management programs" became known as "Briggies Law." These statements originated at a regional directors meeting held at Harper's Ferry on May 26, 1976. [Quoted in Reg. Dir. to all superintendents, June 29, 1976, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 7, PNM.]

patterns and maintain them into the future? Fire would play a significant part in the answer to both questions. It was already known that the relationship between Pinnacles' dominant vegetation types and the wildlife that inhabited them had been structured by fire over a long period of time.³⁴ Although the details of this relationship and the patterns it had established prior to European intervention were not fully understood, park managers were well aware that fire had been largely eliminated from the monument for close to half-a-century, and the present landscape was therefore altered from its primitive condition. The longer fire remained absent, natural processes would continue to diverge from their pre-European condition. The resource management plan repeatedly came back to fire as a crucial element in achieving the park's management goal. At that time chaparral was thought to be a transitional, pre-climax community that would be succeeded by woodland in the absence of fire.

After this discussion about restoring natural processes within native vegetation communities, the management plan also noted the importance of removing exotic species. Although this issue had been recognized as a serious problem in other parks, and the subject was given substantial treatment in the Leopold Report, it was still only a minor concern at Pinnacles. The only exotic species thus far noted was a small herd of goats that had escaped from a nearby ranch more than a decade earlier and had established itself in the northwest corner of the monument.³⁵ The management plan recommended removing them as a matter of principle, even though it acknowledged that the goats were not a serious threat to the monument's resources. (They were later killed.) Even if park staff did not realize it yet, however, these goats were an early sign of a growing problem, though it was pigs that would later become Pinnacles' most persistent and damaging exotic species.

With its first Natural Resource Management Plan (RMP) completed, Pinnacles now turned its attention to the question of wilderness. Monument staff, led by Superintendent Delyle Stevens and Naturalist Robert Zink, considered various options with resource planners from the Regional Office during the summer of 1966. They settled on a proposal that designated only 3,720 acres of actual wilderness around Mt. Defiance in the south end of the monument but included 12,280 acres of roadless area as well. This encompassed all of the monument within 1/8 mile of the boundaries except areas that were already developed—for example, the east side corridor along Chalone Creek and the Chaparral Area on the west side. A hearing was scheduled for February 10, 1967, in Salinas to respond to public comments on these proposals. Anticipating possible objections to the novel idea of protecting brushland, Superintendent Stevens carefully explained in the Park Service's press release that "the proposed wilderness is not a forest area but that chaparral and desert can be wilderness in every sense of the word, just as much as areas of dense forest or the treeless mountain tops that most people think of as wilderness." Stevens was referring in this statement to assumptions that had popularized the national parks during their first era of existence, when traditional scenic qualities had defined their value. The spectacular volcanic formations that constituted the heart of Pinnacles more-or-less fit these traditional categories of rustic beauty, but the chaparral-covered slopes of Mt. Defiance did not. The chaparral was valued more for ecological than aesthetic reasons, as

34. Peter Bennett had drawn attention to this fact in his 1963 study.

35. A herd of about sixteen goats had been discovered within the monument by the chief ranger in January, 1952. They had escaped from the homestead of F.W. Silvear sometime earlier and become feral. Superintendent Jackson tried to eliminate them at that time, but his efforts obviously failed. They were not finally exterminated until sometime in the early 1970s. "Getting the Goats that have been Getting Our Goat," Superintendent Earl Jackson to Regional Director, October 1, 1953, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 24, f. 19, PNM.

the recent RMP had suggested, and Stevens was right to suspect that the local community would be surprised to learn that the Park Service thought brushland deserved special attention. These practical ranchers, who measured the value of land according to its economic utility, considered brush largely worthless, and spent considerable effort trying to remove it in order to create more grassland and to increase streamflow in valley bottoms.

The emerging environmental community saw the matter quite differently. All natural areas, whatever the vegetation type or terrain, had come to be valued for other reasons, often in direct proportion to their lack of utility and the resulting absence of human activity or disturbance. This absence is largely what defined the new idea of wilderness. Ironically, this idea was increasingly understood as essential to human life and spiritual or psychological health, a subject that was taken up the following year at the Sierra Club's tenth biennial Wilderness Conference in San Francisco.³⁶ Far from questioning the value of Mt. Defiance, the local Ventana Chapter of the Sierra Club responded to the Park Service's announcement by telling its members that the proposed area was too small.³⁷ The Sierra Club was taking a similar position on the proposed Ventana Wilderness in the U.S. Forest Service's Los Padres National Forest (the former Monterey National Forest that had once included Pinnacles). The Forest Service wanted to designate fifty-four thousand acres of this land under the new Wilderness Act, but the Sierra Club was arguing for nearly twice as much.³⁸ Other environmental organizations—most notably the Wilderness Society—joined the Sierra Club in advocating for the maximum acreage allowable to be designated wilderness in the areas under study. At Pinnacles, the environmental organizations wanted the entire roadless area, comprising 12,280 acres, to receive wilderness designation.

The vast majority of formal comments submitted to the Park Service in response to its Mt. Defiance Wilderness proposal seemed to agree with the environmentalists' position and wanted a much larger area to be designated (if not the entire 12,280 acres, then something close).³⁹ During the public hearings in Salinas, however, a number of local residents and organizations voiced opposition to this idea. Practically no one objected to the original Mt. Defiance proposal, since it would have little or no impact on local interests. But if the wilderness designation were extended to the north end of the monument, as the environmentalists wanted, it would prevent any further development occurring here. At stake was the cross-monument road, which the Park Service had recently revived and Monterey County business interests—represented by the Soledad Chamber of Commerce—enthusiastically supported.⁴⁰ Ranching interests in San Benito County also opposed the larger alternative, because they feared this would set a

36. "Wilderness and the Quality of American Life," Tenth Biennial Wilderness Conference, San Francisco, April 7–9, 1967, Sierra Club Records, Carton 22, f. 40, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA.

37. "Pinnacles National Monument Wilderness Hearing Set For Feb 10," *The Ventana* 5.1 (January 15, 1967).

38. The same clause in the 1964 Wilderness Act that required the National Park Service to review its lands for potential wilderness designation also applied to the U.S. Forest Service and all other federal land management agencies. Concerning the Sierra Club's views on the Ventana Wilderness proposal, see *Soledad Bee*, June 14, 1967.

39. Out of a total 222 responses, 188 wanted a larger wilderness area. Only thirteen respondents supported the original Park Service proposal, and one opposed wilderness designation altogether (the rest expressed no specific recommendations or comments). [United States Department of the Interior, *Wilderness Recommendations for Pinnacles National Monument California* (Paicines, CA: National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1967).]

40. Business interests also opposed environmentalists over the proposed Ventana Wilderness for similar reasons, since an enlarged wilderness area in the Los Padres National Forest would prevent the construction of the Arroyo Seco Dam. See, "Over-Eager Conservationists Endanger Local Projects," *Soledad Bee*, June 21, 1967.

precedent that might eventually lead to more land being removed from economically useful purposes. The county board of supervisors formally resolved that

it opposes the taking of additional lands for wilderness area because such action could eventually involve private land, remove said land from the assessment rolls, deny livestock operators from participation in the multiple use of public lands and make it more difficult for the average visitor to traverse and enjoy the Pinnacles National Monument.⁴¹

It is hard to see how these actions could ever come about, since wilderness designation did not apply to private lands, but in 1967 the Wilderness Act was still new and its legal implications were poorly understood. San Benito County did support the original proposal of 3,720 acres around Mt. Defiance, since it believed wilderness was an appropriate designation for these otherwise unproductive lands.⁴²

Pinnacles modified its original recommendations in response to these comments and prepared a revised proposal in September of 1967. Although this included the environmentalists' wish for a 12,280-acre wilderness as one alternative, the Park Service's preferred alternative comprised a designated area totaling only 5,330 acres. This included the original Mt. Defiance area but was now enlarged to include the principal High Peaks formations as far north as Machete Ridge. The Park Service would not extend wilderness designation north of the Old Pinnacles, because this would interfere with existing development plans, which still included the cross-monument road through North Chalone Canyon. This final compromise proved satisfactory to local business leaders and ranchers but left wilderness advocates frustrated. Given the large number who had responded in favor of a much larger wilderness area, the park's final recommendation was surprising and may reflect the Park Service's own ambivalence toward the Wilderness Act. Superintendent Stevens, who strongly supported further development of the monument, was understandably tepid about the prospect of permanently locking up any part of it against all future construction or road building. He also felt that Pinnacles was too small and lay too close to growing urban centers to be an appropriate place for wilderness, an opinion he candidly expressed at his retirement party a few months later: "How you can call anything a wilderness, when you can sit atop a peak and watch 1,000 cars per day on roads below, it is beyond me." Stevens may have chosen the right time to retire, since his point-of-view was quickly losing ground in Park Service management, while support for wilderness would continue to grow.⁴³

Pinnacles had finished the review and recommendation procedures required by the Wilderness Act seven years before the stipulated deadline in 1974. This left plenty of time for reconsideration, and a number of changes affecting the park's original 1967 proposal would occur over the intervening years. Crucial among these changes was the retirement of Superintendent Delyle Stevens. His successors—Gordon Patterson in 1968, followed by Rothwell Broyles in 1973—were both more supportive of the new wilderness idea. Another

41. San Benito County Board of Supervisors, Frank J. Sabbatini, Chairman, "Resolution Re. Proposed Mt. Defiance Wilderness Area in the Pinnacles National Monument," February 20, 1967. Reproduced in Department of the Interior, *Wilderness Recommendations for Pinnacles National Monument California* (1967).

42. This appears to have been the opinion of farm advisor Rocky Lydon and county clerk Ralph Towle. [See *Hollister Evening Free Lance*, April 15, 1968.]

43. On the same evening, in an address before the Soledad Chamber of Commerce, Stevens also observed that the Park Service was beginning to change its policy toward development in the parks, hoping to reduce visitor facilities rather than increase them as pressure on natural resources became greater. "They are learning," he said, "you cannot preserve natural features and maintain commercial services, cabins, camping grounds and similar services within the parks . . . There are just too many millions of people pushing into the parks." [*Soledad Bee*, February 21, 1968.]

change was the growing influence of the environmental organizations, which naturally supported wilderness designation over infrastructure development. Stevens' successors were more sensitive to these groups and more willing to respond to their interests. A final crucial factor influencing the wilderness proposal was the cross-monument road. This had been an important priority during Stevens' administration but was no longer valued by either Patterson or Broyles. The road had been the single most important reason for keeping wilderness designation from the northern third of the monument. Once support for it began to dwindle within the Park Service, resistance to enlarging the wilderness area to the full extent desired by the environmentalists also diminished. By 1974, resistance had disappeared altogether. The revised Resource Management Plan, which appeared for public comment that year, included, as the Park Service's new preferred alternative, almost the entire area desired by the wilderness advocates designated as Class 5 Primitive Area.⁴⁴ This was based on a classification system used at that time by the Department of the Interior and would have permitted nomination under the terms of the Wilderness Act.⁴⁵ The cross-monument road, and a much-reduced wilderness area, remained as options in this plan but were not recommended by the Park Service.

Two years later, on October 20, 1976, President Ford signed Public Law 94-567 establishing 12,952 acres within Pinnacles National Monument as wilderness. The bill also established wilderness areas in other national parks and monuments throughout the United States.⁴⁶ In addition to creating the Pinnacles Wilderness, the bill authorized Pinnacles to add 1,717.9 acres to the monument, most of which lay along Chalone Creek on the east side. It noted that 990 acres of this potential addition would be eligible for wilderness designation as well and could be so-nominated without further legislative action. This resulted in nearly all of Pinnacles being designated wilderness, with 672 more acres than the environmentalists had wanted back in 1967. The only areas not designated were those that had already been developed. Future development could not expand beyond the existing developed areas, unless new lands were added to the monument. The cross-monument road was now effectively prohibited by legislation.

At the same time that the NPS was reviewing its lands for potential designation under the Wilderness Act, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) was doing the same. This would later have an important effect on Pinnacles, because the BLM owned a number of large parcels adjacent to the monument. In December of 1979, the BLM completed its Final Intensive Inventory Report, which resulted in a recommendation that 5,838 acres of its lands adjoining the monument be designated Wilderness Study Areas (WSAs), with potential designation as wilderness sometime in the future. After a brief public comment period, formal establishment of the WSAs was made on February 5, 1980. These lands would soon afterward be proposed

44. "Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument; Draft," (Released for Public Comment in May, 1974), pp. 37ff, Resources Library, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA.

45. This was the system of land classification used by the now-defunct Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR). As Ethan Carr suggests, the preference within the Park Service to use the BOR category rather than the term wilderness may have reflected some lasting resentment within the Park Service toward the Wilderness Act, which many considered unnecessary and an implicit criticism of Park Service management policies. These individuals, who included the now-retired Mission 66 Director Conrad Wirth, believed that the Park Service already effectively managed natural areas as wilderness and did so more competently than the restrictive conditions of the Wilderness Act would allow. [Carr, *Mission 66*.]

46. Within the western region alone, wilderness areas were established at Haleakala National Park, Point Reyes National Seashore, Joshua Tree National Monument, Chiricahua National Monument, Saguaro National Monument, and Pinnacles National Monument.

for addition to the monument, but a conflict between local Park Service and BLM managers over the monument's proposed perimeter fence—discussed below—stalled the interagency transfer, and the land was not added to the monument's wilderness area until 2000.

The 1976 Revised Resources Management Plan

In 1976, the same year that the bill establishing the Pinnacles Wilderness was passed, Pinnacles revised both its Master Plan and its Natural Resources Management Plan (NRMP). The latter was done according to a new set of guidelines established by the regional coordinator for the NRMP program. These guidelines were formally adopted in May of 1974 and included three basic components: planning, environmental compliance, and programming. The first component was little different from the original RMPs ordered in 1965 (or, for that matter, from the natural resource component of all Master Plans since the late 1920s). It described the existing resources of the park and the park's broad objectives for managing them. The second component—environmental compliance—was a new addition that responded to the recently passed National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).⁴⁷ NEPA stipulated that all proposed management actions that might have an environmental impact were to be assessed and presented for public review. As a result of NEPA, all Resource Management Plans (and Master Plans) had to be accompanied by an Environmental Assessment (EA) and possibly an Environment Impact Statement (EIS), if the EA concluded that a significant environmental impact would result from a management action. The final component of the revised RMP format—programming—addressed the practical details of implementing the plan. This included specific projects and funding allocations.⁴⁸

Pinnacles' revised Natural Resources Management Plan remained firmly grounded in the 1963 Leopold Report, whose broad objectives were adapted to the specific needs of the monument. But the drafters of the plan cautioned that the ideal of restoring the monument's natural areas to a primeval state might not be practical or even desirable. Instead, Park staff adopted the more moderate goal of managing the monument's resources “in a manner consistent with their unique character.”⁴⁹ This softening of the original idealism of the Leopold Report was supported by the new guidelines, in which a more realistic—but still ambitious—goal of restoring ecosystems to what they might have become in the absence of human disturbance (rather than restoring them to an arbitrary point in time) had become accepted resource policy.⁵⁰ In order to achieve this objective, the resource management plan recognized that a combined program of research and management actions would have to be undertaken. Research would be necessary to determine

47. The National Environmental Protection Act went into effect at the beginning of 1970.

48. Mietek Kolipinski developed the new guidelines for the Natural Resource Management Plans by February of 1973. The final proposal, “Instructions for the Preparation of the Natural Resources Management Plan,” was adopted by Washington in May of 1974. [Assoc. reg. dir. to Assoc. Dir., August 1, 1979, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 7, PNM; and personal communication with Mietek Kolipinski, January 23, 2008.]

49. “Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument; Draft,” (Released for Public Comment in May, 1974), p. 19, Park Files, Resources Library, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA.

50. See James Agee to Jason Greenlee, January 25, 1982, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 16, PNM, in which Agee conveys his comments about the first draft of a fire history of the Gabilan Mountains. Note his subtle modification of the Leopold restoration philosophy: “The issue of vegetation management goals is one that continues to confuse those involved in National Park Management. You are correct in your interpretation of the Leopold Report: bring the systems back to 1860, etc. However, this interpretation (as later reorganized by Leopold) is neither a proper goal nor the goal now embraced by the National Park Service. Our goal is to restore ecosystems to what they would have been today had we not interrupted natural processes some time ago.”

what significant anthropogenic influences had interrupted natural processes in the past and to determine how these influences might be reversed, while management would be undertaken in response to the conclusions reached. Another important and related goal of research was to complete the inventories of the monument's resources that had been started during the 1950s. A comprehensive knowledge of what natural resources Pinnacles actually possessed (or had once possessed) was recognized as an essential starting point for any management action and was needed to establish a baseline for all future inventories and assessments.

As in the original 1966 management plan, the new plan emphasized the value of the monument's plant life. Although the scientific value of Pinnacles' geological history was acknowledged, particularly in light of the research then being done by Vince Matthews, much greater attention was given to the "complete representative sample of coast range chaparral" that Pinnacles possessed. This attention was at least partly due to the vegetative resource's greater vulnerability as compared to volcanic rocks and to the greater need for immediate action needed to protect it. But it was also due to the growing interest in fire ecology within the Park Service. The Park Service's traditional policy of total fire suppression had recently been modified to include using fire under controlled conditions to manage vegetation types that were naturally adapted to a fire regime. It was thought that chaparral, Pinnacles' dominant vegetation type, had a unique relationship to fire and might require periodic burning to remain healthy. The 1966 management plan had stated that chaparral was a sub-climax community which was arrested in an otherwise transitional state through the influence of fire. In the past—the plan went on to say—periodically recurring fires had maintained the chaparral as the dominant vegetation, preventing succession to a climax community of vegetative associations and growth patterns that had not existed prior to active suppression. But the plan had observed that current fire policy made it impossible to restore the natural fire regime that resource managers now believed was necessary to maintain the chaparral in its original condition.⁵¹ A few years earlier, biologist Peter Bennett had also recognized the importance of fire in the chaparral. He had observed that periodic, low-intensity burns helped to maintain diversity in the vegetative cover and maximized the availability of food and habitat for wildlife. Bennett had concluded that the Park Service's policy of total fire suppression was detrimental to the natural ecology of Pinnacles and recommended seeking some alternative, if possible.

Although no formal research had yet been done on the history and ecology of fire in the Pinnacles area, it was widely believed that local native peoples had ignited fires on a regular basis to encourage desirable plants and animals, and a seminal study by Henry T. Lewis documenting these practices was published in 1973.⁵² Anglo-American ranchers and hunters had continued this pattern of intentional burning into the historic period, a fact that was noted

51. Understanding of the relationship between chaparral and fire has changed considerably since the 1960s. Most fire ecologists have rejected the idea that chaparral is a sub-climax community along with the belief that frequent burning is necessary to maintain healthy stands. Early notions about managing chaparral through fire were often derived from burning in montane conifer forests, where frequent, low-intensity surface fires have proven beneficial, but the natural fire regimes of these two vegetation communities are quite different. [See, Jon Keeley, "Chaparral and Fire," *Fremontia* 35.4 (Fall 2007): 16–21; Sheri L. Gutsell et al., "Varied Ecosystems Need Different Fire Protection," *Nature* 409 (22 February, 2001): 977; and further discussion in the *Conclusion* of this study.]

52. Lewis' paper, "Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory," was originally published as *Ballena Press Anthropological Papers*, No. 1 in 1973. It has been reprinted in *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*, ed. Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1993), pp. 55–116. Another study by the present author examines the subject in greater detail [Timothy Babalis, *Fire and Water: An Environmental History of the Upper Chalone Creek Watershed—Draft* (Oakland, CA: National Park Service, Pacific West Regional Office, 2009)].

by Schuyler Hain and Herman Hermansen (both of whom were themselves ranchers).⁵³ These early caretakers of the monument were critical of this practice and wanted to keep fire out of the Pinnacles. When the National Park Service was established in 1916, it committed itself to fire suppression, following the example of other federal land management agencies like the U. S. Forest Service. Lack of adequate resources, however, made it difficult to implement this policy at first. Pinnacles did not own any fire prevention equipment until 1931 and had to hire local ranch laborers whenever a fire did break out.⁵⁴ Fire prevention and suppression became more effective when the Civilian Conservation Corps arrived in 1933, and no large fires burned within the monument for more than forty years thereafter. This apparently successful effort to exclude fire resulted in the dense, relatively uniform thickets of vegetation observed by park biologists and resource managers in the late sixties and early seventies.

During the same period of time, suppression had not been practiced on the lands surrounding the monument. Ranchers continued to use fire to burn off agricultural stubble every year, and these fires often burned into the surrounding chaparral. By the late 1940s, improved tractor technology made it possible for ranchers to begin cultivating the hillsides as well as the level bottomlands, and they began clearing chaparral on steeper slopes to increase available range pastureland. These efforts were greatly intensified in 1951, when the Rangeland Improvement Association was organized by local ranchers Jef Schmidt and Walter Melendy with the assistance of the California Division of Forestry and San Benito County Farm Advisor Rocky Lydon. The principal purpose of the Association was to convert chaparral to grassland for livestock grazing. This was done through a combination of chaining and bulldozing accompanied by controlled burns. Between 1951 and 1979, the Rangeland Improvement Association conducted 55 burns in the general vicinity of Pinnacles.⁵⁵ By the end of this period, the monument had begun to appear like an island of dense scrub surrounded by relatively open grasslands of mostly exotic annual species.⁵⁶ This contrast is still apparent in many places around the border of the monument.

The Park Service's fire policy only gradually began to shift away from complete suppression during the 1960s. The Leopold Report was the first endorsement of wildland fire use to have a significant influence.⁵⁷ When the directorate released its guidelines for the implementation of the Leopold Report in 1965, it addressed the issue of fire's potential benefit, though with some ambivalence:

Resolving the question of using fire beneficially versus the customary impression that all fires are bad is difficult. Fire is a natural agent, it is likely to be inexpensive [as a tool for management] and it can be used without mechanical scarring of the landscape. The thought of deliberately setting fires regardless of the so-called advantages and the fact fires

53. See, for example, Schuyler Hain to F.E. Olmsted, July 26, 1910, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 336, NARA II; but especially Herman Hermansen to NPS Director, January 5, 1925, PINN Coll, RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II. Hermansen observed that local cattlemen regularly burned their fields at the end of each productive season and that these fires frequently got out of control, burning into the surrounding chaparral.

54. Superintendent's Narr. Reports, 1931, PINN Coll, RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

55. U.S. Forest Service, "Vegetation Management Alternatives for Chaparral and Related Ecosystem Research and Development Program Charter," January 29, 1976 [Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 12, PNM]; and U.S. Forest Service, CHAPS Newsletter 1 (July, 1977) [Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 12, PNM]; also Kathy Spencer, interviewed by author 2007. Kathy is the daughter of Jef Schmidt.

56. Dean Clark (Forestry Technician for PINN during late 1970s), pers. comm., March 30, 2008.

57. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, pp. 255–58.

were common in the early history of the land is contrary to well-established customs and attitudes.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the Director's guidelines concluded that the "National Park Service accepts prescribed burning as a management tool," provided that its use was limited within narrowly defined conditions. It was this very hesitant endorsement that allowed Pinnacles to recommend prescription burning in its 1966 Resource Management Plan, even though it was still not possible to actually implement such a program, as the plan regretfully acknowledged. But in 1968 everything changed. That year the National Park Service adopted a new wildland fire policy that included both "let-burn" and prescription burning as well as suppression as management alternatives. The Service's first prescription burns were ignited later that year in Sequoia National Park.⁵⁹

In 1973, as Pinnacles began developing its new Master Plan, Superintendent Rod Broyles and his staff discussed implementing the prescribed fire program that had been tentatively proposed five years earlier. Regional Chief Scientist O.L. Wallis supported the idea and encouraged Pinnacles to adopt such a program as a long-range resource management objective but cautioned the park not to begin implementation before adequate research was undertaken.⁶⁰ Wallis' caution reflected just how little was then known in the Service about fire ecology and the management of chaparral vegetation. Two years later, on December 4–5, 1975, Pinnacles hosted a seminar to discuss and formulate a program for chaparral management with fire. In addition to relevant Pinnacles staff, the seminar included Chief of Resource Management Bill Orr from the Regional Office in San Francisco; research scientists Peter Bennett from Grand Canyon National Park, Jan van Wagendonk from Yosemite National Park, and David Parsons from Sequoia National Park; San Benito County Farm Advisor Rocky Lydon; rancher Jef Schmidt from the local Range Improvement Association; several representatives from the California Division of Forestry (CDF); and Dr. Harold Biswell from the University of California, Berkeley. The inclusion of Rocky Lydon, Jef Schmidt and the CDF representatives was an important gesture acknowledging the locally continuous tradition of using fire as a landscape management tool, but the seminar made clear that the objectives of the Range Improvement Association and the National Park Service were not the same. Since the purpose of the Association was to convert scrub to grassland, its methods were designed to actually kill the chaparral bushes. Plants were chained into dense windrows, which fueled intense fires hot enough to destroy the surviving roots. By contrast, the Park Service would employ no mechanical means of removal and would instead ignite many small, relatively cool fires that burned only the superstructure of the plants, leaving the roots and root crowns intact to produce healthy regrowth. It was believed that this sort of burning was typical of the pattern that had existed prior to historical interference in the natural processes. As Superintendent Broyles observed, "The objectives are to restore the area to the natural state that it would have been had there not been interference with the natural event of fire."

Restoration of natural conditions was the Park Service's primary objective in reintroducing fire, but the Service also hoped to reduce the threat of dangerous conflagrations. Intense fires were thought to be increasingly likely with the accumulation of heavy fuel loads after years

58. "Guidelines for Resources Management in the Areas in the Natural Category of the National Park System," Assistant Dir. to All Field Offices, October 14, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 4.

59. Bruce M. Kilgore, "Origin and History of Wildland Fire Use in the U.S. National Park System," *The George Wright Forum* 24.3(2007): 102–103.

60. Reg. Chief Scientist (O.L. Wallis) to Broyles, March 16, 1973, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 13, PNM.

of successful fire suppression. These two objectives were closely related, as Dr. Harold Biswell and other resource managers noted, because the natural conditions they assumed had existed prior to historic fire suppression efforts had prevented the over-accumulation of fuel. Thus, the restoration of natural conditions would simultaneously improve ecosystem health and increase visitor safety. Resource managers assumed that the primitive (natural) environment included frequent but relatively cool, non-life-threatening fires.

Not surprisingly, the participants at this seminar were all strongly in favor of introducing a long-term prescribed burn program at Pinnacles. Peter Bennett had the satisfaction of hearing the recommendations he had made in his 1963 deer browse study confirmed. Now his recommendations would actually be implemented. Following up on the seminar, Chief Scientist Wallis assigned biologist James Agee to coordinate Pinnacles' incipient fire program from the Regional Office and recommended that a fire technician be hired at Pinnacles to provide local coordination. He then asked Dr. Biswell to draft the monument's first fire management plan.⁶¹ Harold Biswell was at that time considered one of the nation's leading experts on the subject of prescribed burning. He had started his career fighting fires with the U.S. Forest Service back in 1930. After doing research in the pine forests of the Southeast during the early forties, however, Biswell had become acquainted with the ecological utility of management through prescribed burning in certain environments and had gone on to study and teach this subject at the University of California at Berkeley, where he had worked in the Department of Forestry since 1947.⁶²

Biswell's Fire Management Plan was completed by March of the following year (1976). It proposed an initial program of research and experimentation to be followed by full-scale prescription burning on a periodic rotation beginning in 1979. The details of the operational phase of the program would be worked out during the initial research and experimentation phase. Research would result in a vegetation map and a detailed fire history. These would help resource managers to better understand the patterns and frequency of past fires and the response of native vegetation to them (or to their suppression). Experimentation would result in practical knowledge of how fires act in the specific conditions associated with Pinnacles' unique vegetation communities and topography. Since no extensive prescription burning had been done in the chaparral before this time, little was actually known about how it would work or what to expect.⁶³

At a professional conference later that year, Biswell and James Agee presented a paper that summarized Pinnacles' recently completed Fire Management Plan and described the purposes of the program. The abstract (which was used by Superintendent Broyles for his own narrative report) is worth quoting in full:

Fire has always been an integral part of California's chaparral and the vegetation is well adapted to it. Occasional fire in chaparral reduced dead fuels and maintained a vegetation mosaic by encouraging sprouting of some shrubs and germination of others. At Pinnacles, where the primary vegetation type is chaparral, the historical management strategy was total fire suppression. The successful use of this policy has resulted in high volumes of dead fuel

61. Regional chief scientist (O.L. Wallis) to Broyles, December 22, 1975, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 1, PNM.

62. Kilgore, "Origin and History," p. 98.

63. The controlled burning of the Rangeland Improvement Association could not be used as a model for the prescribed burn program, because the objectives of the two efforts were so different. A distinct burn methodology would be needed in order to maintain the relatively small, cool fires desired by the latter.

and a disappearing vegetation mosaic. Wildfire hazards are extremely high during summer months.

National Park Service fire policy changed in 1968 when prescribed and natural fires, now called management fires, were allowed in certain areas. The proposed chaparral fire management plan for Pinnacles begins with a research plan that has evolved from the park's Master Plan and Natural Resources Management Plan. A three year research program initiated in the 1976 FY will experiment with three kinds of burning techniques under varying conditions of weather, fuels and topography correlating fire behavior and effects to the indexes of the National Fire Danger Rating System.

The Pinnacles area will be divided into fire management units, most of which will remain unburned, during the research phase. In addition to testing and burning techniques, studies will include sampling existing vegetation and its conditions, fire history, direct impacts of fire on the site, successional patterns of vegetation after burning and the extent to which fire restores the appearance and character of the original chaparral cover that evolved with recurring fires.⁶⁴

As Biswell and Agee both noted, the Fire Management Plan was related to Pinnacles' revised Natural Resources Management Plan and its new Master Plan, both of which were also completed and approved in 1976. With the designation of nearly thirteen thousand acres of the monument as wilderness occurring that year as well, 1976 proved to be one of the most decisive in Pinnacles' recent history.

In 1976, a similar fire management program was initiated by the U.S. Forest Service. On September 30th of that year, the Forest Service's Fire Laboratory in Riverside, California implemented a five-year interagency research program to study prescribed fire in chaparral ecosystems as part of an integrated vegetation management plan. Two workshops were held in Southern California to discuss this proposed Chaparral Management Plan in 1977. Superintendent Rod Broyles and regional Forest Ecologist Bruce Kilgore attended and were enthusiastic about the results of the discussions and the ideas being proposed. The Forest Service began experimental burning on a large demonstration plot in San Diego County later that year.⁶⁵ By 1979, the Bureau of Land Management and the California Division of Forestry, both of which were participants in the Chaparral Management Program, had taken over the activities of the local Range Improvement Association in San Benito County and were applying

64. Harold Biswell and James Agee, "The Fire Management Plan for Pinnacles National Monument," *Proceedings of the First Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks* (1979), pp. 1231–1238.

65. A USFS newsletter described the Chaparral Management Plan, explaining that the "goal of the program is to develop, test, and demonstrate vegetation management plans, techniques, and systems designed to maintain or enhance productivity of chaparral and related lands and, at the same time, ensure adequate protection of life, property, and resources. The overall goal is to achieve an uneven-aged mosaic of chaparral and associated ecosystems . . . The main objectives of the Program are: design a multiresource data base and classification system, an operational set of prescribed burning guidelines and planning methods for chaparral, techniques for and demonstrations of an integrated vegetation management plan, and a set of chaparral management guidelines along with a compendium of state-of-the-art background analysis and information . . . The Program is headed by Program Manager Jim Hickman and Assistant Program Manager Bill Dean and has a core Research Work Unit (RWU) . . . A major portion of the planned demonstrations and evaluations of the Program will be conducted on the Laguna-Morena Demonstration Area in San Diego County." The demonstration area comprised 127,000 acres under both public and private ownership. [CHAPS Newsletter 1 (July, 1977) in Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 12, PNM.]

the techniques and knowledge they had developed through the work of the Forest Service's program.⁶⁶

By the end of 1976, Pinnacles was ready to begin implementing Biswell's Fire Management Plan. Forest Technician Dean Clark was hired in March—the same month the final plan was approved—to supervise the prescription burning program and to coordinate research.⁶⁷ Two permanent fire weather stations were established later that year, one on each side of the monument, and actual burning was initiated during the week of January 31, 1977, beginning with a fifty-acre plot near Scout Peak. The plan called for three different types of burning to occur at different times of the year: upslope strip burning in winter and early spring, broadcast burning after grasses have dried in the spring, and broadcast burning after the start of fall rains. This would be carried on for a period of two years—through the end of 1978—with burning occurring approximately three days a week during each burn season. Research would be carried on simultaneously during the same period. Full-scale operational burning was expected to begin by 1979.⁶⁸

This rigorous schedule was interrupted by drought conditions during the second year, which forced a temporary moratorium on all fires. As a result, funding had to be programmed for a third year to finish the experimental program.⁶⁹ By the end of 1979, the experimental phase had finally ended, and full-scale prescription burning began in 1980. The research side of the program was delayed even further. Tree ring data were gathered and analyzed during the initial few years of the program to determine past fire frequency, but these data were not sufficient to construct a comprehensive fire history.⁷⁰ In 1979, a private fire management consultant—Jason Greenlee—was contracted to research historical sources to supplement the initial field data. Greenlee's report was finally completed in 1981.⁷¹ It remains the principal source for understanding Pinnacles' historic fire return interval.⁷²

Invasive Exotics

Restoration of natural conditions was the clear priority of the 1976 Resources Management Plan, and nothing was given greater emphasis than the reintroduction of fire as an essential step toward achieving this objective. But the plan also noted that the elimination or exclusion of exotic species was another important priority. By this time, the feral goat herd had been eliminated. Pigs had only recently been observed within the monument but were not yet perceived to be a threat. (They were not mentioned in the management plan.) The principal exotic intruders at that time were cattle wandering in from adjacent private lands. To alleviate this problem, the Resources Management Plan proposed constructing an ordinary three-strand

66. Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 12.

67. Dean Clark entered on duty on March 27, 1976.

68. Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 25, PNM.

69. Reg. Dir. to Broyles, July 13, 1978, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 15, PNM.

70. The only trees available for sampling were gray pines (*Pinus sabiniana*), which are relatively short-lived and dispersed unevenly through the monument.

71. Jason Greenlee graduated in 1974 from UC Berkeley's School of Forestry, where Dr. Harold Biswell taught. It was Biswell who had proposed the narrative fire history, and he may have recommended Greenlee to do it. [*Hollister Evening Free Lance*, March 10, 1980.] The final report, which remained unpublished, is, Jason Greenlee and Andrew Moldenke, "The History of Wildfires in the Region of the Gabilan Mountains of Central Coastal California," Pinnacles National Monument, Paicines, CA, 1981. [Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 39, f. 7, PNM.]

72. Personal correspondence, Tom Leatherman to Sharon Franklet, June 15, 2006.

barbed wire fence around the perimeter of the monument. Nobody had any serious objections to this proposal, which was a common enough undertaking in that part of the county, but the expense and labor required to enclose such a large area kept the project on hold for the time being. Within the next few years, however, the feral pig population increased dramatically and began to have a serious impact on the monument's natural resources. As this new threat emerged, the idea of the perimeter fence began to seem increasingly important, although it would no longer be sufficient to build a traditional cattle fence to keep this destructive new invader out. A pig fence would be much more expensive, requiring woven wire, buried or fixed at the base. Such a fence would also require regular monitoring and maintenance to remain effective, further increasing its long-term cost.

There are many, sometimes conflicting, stories told concerning how the now-prolific feral pigs arrived in California. Pigs (*Sus scrofa domesticus*) are not native to North America. In California, the earliest were brought by the Spanish explorers and colonists during the eighteenth century as domestic animals, raised for their meat. American homesteaders arriving in the mid-nineteenth century also brought domestic pigs with them. These animals were often allowed to roam freely to forage for mast, and many probably became feral, or semi-feral, as a result.⁷³ The wild boar (*Sus scrofa scrofa*) is the animal from which the more familiar domestic pig is descended. The two belong to the same species, but the former has always remained feral.

Wild boar were first introduced to North America during the early twentieth century as a game animal for sport hunters. A wealthy capitalist named George Gordon Moore described importing a small population of these animals from the Ural Mountain region in Eastern Europe in 1911 to a game preserve he had established at Hooper's Bald in Graham County, North Carolina (now part of Great Smokey Mountains National Park). Because of their place of origin, they were often called Russian boars. In the early 1920s, Moore purchased the Rancho San Carlos in Carmel Valley northwest of Pinnacles and in 1923 brought several of his Russian boars here from North Carolina. The boars quickly naturalized and spread throughout the coastal mountains. In his 1937 poem "Steelhead, Wild Pig, The Fungus," Robinson Jeffers was thinking of Gordon Moore and his wild boars when he wrote:

. . . a wealthy amateur up the Carmel Valley brought in wild pigs
 From the Urals to stock his hunting-park: they overswarmed it and broke his borders and
 roam the coast-range, beautiful
 Monsters, full of fecundity, bristled like a hedge at midnight; and the boars with long naked
 Knives in their jaws. They lair all day in impenetrable manzanita-thickets of the farther
 mountain
 And whet their knives at night on the farmer's apple-trees.⁷⁴

These boars also bred with domestic pigs from the ranches and farms in the surrounding area, resulting in the hybrid animals commonly seen today.⁷⁵

73. J. Hall Cushman, "History and Ecology of Feral Pig Invasions in California Grasslands" in *California Grasslands: Ecology and Management*, eds. Mark R. Stromberg, Jeffrey D. Corbin and Carla M. D'Antonio (Berkeley: University of California, 2007).

74. Robinson Jeffers, "Steelhead, Wild Pig, The Fungus" [1937], in *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers*, ed. by Tim Hunt (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

75. John Waithman, "Guide to Hunting Wild Pigs in California" California Department of Fish and Game, Wildlife Programs Branch, 2001; George Gordon Moore to Stuyvesant Fish, February 12, 1963, reproduced by the Monterey County Historical Society, www.mchsmuseum.com/boar.html, accessed September 12, 2007; Laura Thompson,

This was the earliest recorded introduction of wild boars to the area, though it may not be the only introduction. Bear Valley resident Clara Lou Melendy remembers that Hannes Schroll introduced wild boars on the 101 Ranch on the San Benito River just north of the Bear Valley Grade. This was shortly after Schroll bought the ranch in the 1960s. (The place is also known as the Stone Ranch.) According to Clara Lou, these boars soon escaped and were eventually seen in Bear Valley as well. Other Bear Valley residents remember first noticing the wild boar sometime during the 1960s, corroborating Clara Lou's account. Ernie Prewett, who operates the ranch just south of the Melendy place, remembers the boar becoming a problem in his barley fields about that time.⁷⁶

The first report of wild boars within Pinnacles National Monument itself was made in 1969, when park staff sighted several animals they described as Russian boars, one of which they shot and killed.⁷⁷ Over the next five years, sightings remained sporadic, but after 1975 they began to become more common. By the end of the decade, feral pigs—as the hybrid species were now commonly called—had become a permanent presence in the monument, and their impact on native plants and soils was increasingly evident. The extent of concern over the growing problem was illustrated in 1982 when feral pigs were ranked second in a list of Pinnacles' research priorities.

The following year, Pinnacles hired its first natural resources specialist, Steve DeBenedetti. DeBenedetti also identified the pigs as his leading challenge and committed himself to determining what might be done about them, if anything. Feral pigs had already proven to be serious problems in other units of the Park Service—for example, at Hawaii Volcanoes, where systematic eradication efforts had been underway since 1980—and concern was great enough to prompt the Regional Office to fund a multi-disciplinary study of the situation at Pinnacles.⁷⁸ This was to be done through the Cooperative Parks Studies Units (CPSU) at UC Davis under the direction of Charles van Riper III. Although the pigs are what drew the most attention and got this project funded, the entire study was more extensive and included a vegetation map and comprehensive surveys (or Resource Base Inventories) of all biological taxa at the monument.⁷⁹

The CPSU study was not completed until 1987, but DeBenedetti and his staff were already convinced that the threat posed by pigs was real enough to warrant immediate action.⁸⁰ DeBenedetti decided to modify the proposed cattle fence so that it would be effective against pigs as well. Once the fence was complete, the pigs could be removed or eradicated from the area it enclosed. The cattle fence had already been listed as a high-priority project by the Park

“Rooting from Wild Pig (*Sus scrofa*) in Chaparral versus Oak Woodland” January 1985. typed manuscript, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 20.

76. Clara Lou Melendy, interviewed by author March 21, 2007; Ernie Prewett, interviewed by author March 19, 2007.

77. Gordon Patterson, “Narrative Wildlife Report,” April 25, 1969, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 1, PNM.

78. For an early analysis of Hawaii Volcanoes' successful program, see Jim Hone and Charles P. Stone, “A Comparison and Evaluation of Feral Pig Management in Two National Parks” *Wildlife Society Bulletin* 17.4 (1989): 419–425.

79. The actual list of research needs outlined by Charles van Riper III, in order of priority, included: 1. a vegetation map; 2. the feral pig study; 3. a mammal survey; 4. a limnological survey; 5. a herpetological survey; 6. an ornithological survey (focusing on endangered species); 7. an entomological survey; and 8. a soil map. [Charles van Riper III to Broyles, December 6, 1982, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 11, PNM.]

80. William L. Halverson, *Vegetation and Floristics of Pinnacles National Monument*, Cooperative National Parks Resources Studies Unit, Technical Report No. 34 (Davis: University of California at Davis, Institute of Ecology, 1989).

Service in 1981, ranking seventh out of thirty-two so-called Significant Resource Problems (SRPs) identified within the western region, and was authorized to receive \$40,000 for construction.⁸¹ DeBenedetti estimated that it could be upgraded to a pig fence at an additional cost of only 25 percent more. He proposed building as much of this fence as possible under existing funds while later applying for additional funding to complete the project. In order to make the fence as effective as possible, DeBenedetti wanted to build it along ridgelines, following the natural topography of the landscape as much as possible. Since the existing boundaries of the monument rarely corresponded to these features, he hoped to push the fence outside the monument to the next ridge or other natural barrier wherever possible. This seemed at least potentially possible, since at that time much of the land surrounding Pinnacles—especially the more rugged and remote areas—remained in the public domain and was managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). A total of 5,838 acres of BLM lands adjoining the monument had been designated Wilderness Study Areas (WSAs) a few years earlier, and the BLM had already expressed its willingness to transfer this land (or at least part of it) to the National Park Service. By 1984, a bill to authorize the transfer had been submitted to the legislature and was under consideration by the House Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks.

Local representative Leon Panetta supported this bill, and it looked as though the proposed land conveyance would soon occur. But later that year, after word got out that the Park Service planned to build a pig fence around a significant portion of the WSA lands, a coalition of local sport hunters became concerned. The hunters contacted both Representative Panetta and the BLM, protesting the fence and urging that the WSA lands not be given to the Park Service. The reason for their opposition had less to do with the fence itself than with the proposed land conveyance, to which the fence had drawn attention. So long as the land remained only a Wilderness Study Area under BLM management, hunting was still permitted, but if it passed to the Park Service, all hunting would have to stop (fence or no fence). This would affect most of the remaining public lands in the vicinity of Pinnacles, leaving the hunters only private lands, where they often had to pay a substantial fee, if they were even allowed to hunt at all. Many local residents also opposed the land deal, though not because they would be barred from hunting on the former BLM lands. They were more concerned about losing the opportunity to graze their cattle here. In response to these concerns, Representative Panetta withdrew his support for the land conveyance—rather disingenuously claiming that he had not known the Park Service forbade hunting or grazing on its units. The BLM also expressed its opposition to the transfer now that it understood how the Park Service planned to manage the land. The authorization bill was abandoned, and the land remained under BLM jurisdiction for another two decades. (It was finally transferred to the Park Service in 2000.)

Despite losing the opportunity to obtain the adjacent BLM lands, Pinnacles went ahead with its proposal to build the pig fence. But faced with growing public concern and criticism from other government agencies, Steve DeBenedetti prepared a lengthy position paper explaining the Park Service's management objectives and its strategy for dealing with the feral pigs. This paper described in detail the fence that DeBenedetti's staff hoped to erect around the monument. Response to the paper was mixed. A number of environmental organizations, including the California Native Plant Society and the Sierra Club, supported the Park Service's efforts to do something about the pigs, though some had questions about the effectiveness of the proposed fence, while others wondered how the pigs would be removed once the fence was completed and hoped that lethal means would be used only as a last resort. By contrast, the

81. Reg. Dir. to Assoc. Dir., February 6, 1981, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 25, f. 11, PNM.

BLM and the California Division of Fish and Game (CDFG) both expressed strong criticism of the project. Dave Howell, the local area manager for the BLM, thought the Park Service had no “quantifiable data” to support its assertion that the pigs caused any environmental damage. He also believed that a fence would not be effective in excluding pigs and might harm local wildlife, causing mortality among newborn fawns trying to get through it. If the Park Service wanted to control the feral pig population, Howell recommended that it allow the public to hunt them, with tags issued through lottery. The California Division of Fish and Game shared the BLM’s concern over potential fawn mortality and opposed the fence for this reason. But Fish and Game also had little incentive to support the Park Service in its pig management program, since it was then actively working to increase the feral pig population to enhance opportunities for sport hunting.⁸²

The only meaningful criticism came from San Benito County, represented by Supervisor Rocky Lydon (formerly the county farm advisor). Lydon had no objection to managing the pigs but was concerned by the cost of the fence. With years of ranching experience, Lydon knew that DeBenedetti had seriously underestimated the difficulty of the project and requested a more detailed breakdown of expenditures. The Park Service obliged, and DeBenedetti produced a second report: “Funding Approaches for Erecting a Cattle Proof/Hog Deterrent Fence at Pinnacles National Monument.”⁸³ In this report, DeBenedetti considered a number of labor alternatives ranging from in-house to prison inmates (the Soledad Correctional Facility was nearby) and estimated that the total cost would range between \$343,000 and \$414,000 over a period of five years. Work on the fence began later that year.

As it turned out, Rocky Lydon’s concerns were well founded, but so was the Park Service’s optimism. The pig fence was ultimately constructed and has proven effective in keeping pigs out of the monument, but the project took eighteen years to complete and cost more than a million dollars, or about \$40,000 per mile on average. After construction was finished in 2003, the non-profit Institute for Wildlife Studies was contracted to kill the pigs inside the fence. In preparation, the contractor conducted extensive studies to assess the relative efficacy of different treatment methodologies and to establish monitoring transects to evaluate progress. By June of 2006, the contractor was able to declare with confidence that the monument was pig-free.

The 1983 Resources Management Plan

In 1983, the Resources Management Plan went through its third revision since the original RMP of 1966. The most noticeable difference in the new plan was the formal inclusion of cultural resources as a distinct management category—the plan was officially called the Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan—but the emphasis still remained natural

82. For a summary of the differences between the California Department of Fish and Game (CDF&G) and the National Park Service over feral pigs, see Gary Candelaria to Doug Updike, June 26, 1995, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 21, PNM. Superintendent Candelaria commented on the CDF&G’s “Wild Pig Management Plan for California” of 1995, asking, “Is it wise for the State to continue to promote a non-native animal as a game species, at the price of continuing destruction of native habitat and private property?” Instead of managing pigs at medium to high populations for good hunting, Candelaria (and the NPS as a whole) recommended getting rid of them: “We suggest the State take a stronger position regarding those damaging aspects [of maintaining pigs], and assume a more responsible, proactive role in eradicating wild pigs in protected areas such as state parks, state forests, etc., and in helping other landowners and land managers do likewise.”

83. A copy of this was sent to Lydon in April 1985.

resources. As before, subjects were divided into basically two categories: research programs and management actions. In some instances, the two overlapped, as when a given subject had both research and management components. Research included the comprehensive biological inventories proposed in 1966, ongoing fire research and the feral pig study. All but the last were already underway. Growing concern over the apparent scarcity of young oaks led staff to propose monitoring oak recruitment as well. Management actions included existing programs like prescription burning and the control of exotic species. The elimination of feral pigs was the focus of the latter, with the proposed boundary fence first identified as a potential means of excluding the animals from the monument. Other management actions included the construction of trails in the newly designated wilderness area and miscellaneous projects like reduction of the ground squirrel population around developed areas and the control of dodder (*Cuscuta brachycalyx*) and mistletoe (*Arceuthobium campylopodum*) in native vegetation.⁸⁴ Cultural resource management actions included the identification and protection of significant historic and archeological sites as well as the collection and preservation of selected artifacts associated with them. (This last proposed action was not carried out.)

The 1983 management plan included several new proposals as well. The most significant of these was the establishment of a water resources management program. The elements of this were described as

the identification of water resources oriented management objectives, the classification of all surface water sources by present and proposed uses, a detailed plan for monitoring the quality of the monument's water, and the identification of water resources research needs.

The water resources program also included a basic hydrologic survey of the monument and the determination of the one-hundred-year floodplain for Chalone Creek and Bear Gulch. The latter was needed before the park could implement its future development plans for these areas.

Also proposed was an air quality monitoring program and a program for assessing and managing the impact of rock climbers on monument resources. With the designation of the majority of Pinnacles as a Class I airshed following the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1977, air quality monitoring became a legal necessity in order to ensure that current conditions were not degrading. Pinnacles began monitoring air quality in 1986 with the installation of an automatic camera at the Chalone Peak Fire Lookout to measure visibility. The following year, a small station was set up near the east entrance of the monument to measure particulate and ozone levels as well. Climber management was a more complicated issue. With the increasing popularity of the sport, concern had been growing among park resource managers that climbers were having a negative impact on cliff-nesting raptors and lithophilic vegetation. Also of concern was soil erosion caused by the informal paths and staging areas at the base of climbing routes. After studying these problems through the course of the next decade, the park would eventually begin drafting a detailed Climbing Management Plan as part of a comprehensive Wilderness Management Plan. Both were suspended in the late 1990s, however, pending completion of a new General Management Plan. In the interim, climbing impacts were mitigated through a variety of solutions, including the establishment of designated trails

84. Dodder is a parasite of California buckwheat (*Eriogonum fasciculatum*) and had first been observed along the east entrance road in 1974. Mistletoe is a parasite of gray pine (*Pinus sabiniana*). It had apparently been introduced with plantation-grown trees during the late 1930s or early 1940s and at this time was still restricted to those populations.

and climbing routes, temporary closures of sensitive areas during raptor nesting season and educational outreach.

The idea of wilderness as primitive nature was one of the leading principles driving park management by the end of the 1960s. This ideal of primitive nature was articulated in the Leopold Report of 1963 and the Wilderness Act of 1964 and was expressed in the subsequent resource management plans, which all sought ways of restoring natural processes to a primitive condition as far as possible. Fire was identified as the leading instrument for achieving this goal, since fire suppression was believed to be the most significant anthropogenic impact on the natural environment in historic times. This objective was reiterated a few years later, appropriately enough, in Pinnacles' updated Fire Management Plan, which stated that a "principal objective of the Monument's Resource Management Plan is to provide a setting where natural processes are permitted to shape the environment with a minimum of influence by modern man."⁸⁵ It represented a dramatic departure from the attitude that had been dominant during the first half-century of Park Service management of Pinnacles, when emphasis was given to developing recreational infrastructure and improving visitor access through roads and trails.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Until very recently, cultural resources have not played a significant role in the management or administration of Pinnacles National Monument. Although the monument was established under the Antiquities Act, which was originally intended to protect archeological sites and associated artifacts, the vagueness of the act's language allowed it to be applied to places that had no identifiable or known cultural resources. Pinnacles was one of these. Its founding proclamation stated that the monument was established to protect specific geological features for their scientific value. Pinnacles was, in effect, a *natural* national monument. Nevertheless, Pinnacles does possess cultural resources, many of which have been recognized informally for as long as the monument has existed. Pinnacles' earliest guides and park administrators, for example, all drew attention to the colorful history associated—or thought to be associated—with the place. Two of the most common stories told by these early interpreters concerned the eighteenth century English explorer George Vancouver and the nineteenth century outlaw Tiburcio Vasquez. Much later, administrative changes in the Park Service itself led to more systematic efforts to identify and document culturally significant resources in the monument. By the 1950s, with the introduction of a research program at Pinnacles, park staff became interested in formally investigating the large collection of stories that they had accumulated about the area's past, both to verify them and to learn more, if possible. One of the earliest results of these efforts was the discrediting of the popular Vancouver story.

The supposed connection between George Vancouver and the Pinnacles was first noted by an amateur historian named Paul Shoup in 1902 or 1903 and popularized by journalist Donald MacDonald with an article published in *Sunset Magazine*.⁸⁶ Shoup had come across an excerpt in Vancouver's diary that described an excursion he had taken to the interior of California from Monterey in November of 1794. Vancouver was visiting the Spanish California port during a

85. *Fire Management Plan: An Amendment to the Natural Resources Management Plan for Pinnacles National Monument*, March, 1986, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 34, f. 15, PNM.

86. Donald MacDonald, "Vancouver's Pinnacles," *Sunset Magazine* 11(August 8, 1903): 345–349.

break in his five-year mission to explore the Pacific coast north of Alta California for the British government, which had recently taken control of this vast and relatively unknown area from Spain. While riding by horseback with his Spanish hosts, Captain Vancouver recounted seeing “the most extraordinary mountain I ever beheld.” He described the feature in great detail:

On one side it presented the appearance of a sumptuous edifice falling into decay; the columns, which looked as if raised with much labor and industry, were of great magnitude, seemed to be of elegant form, and to be composed of the same cream colored stone of which I have before made mention. Between these magnificent columns were deep excavations, resembling different passages into the interior parts of the supposed building, whose roof being the summit of the mountain, appeared to be wholly supported by these columns rising perpendicularly with the most mathematical exactness. These had a most beautiful appearance of human ingenuity and labor; but since it is not possible from the rude and very humble race of beings that are found to be the native inhabitants of this country, to suppose they could have been capable of raising such a structure, its being the production of nature cannot be questioned; and it may not be preposterous to infer that it has been from familiar phenomena that man has received that architectural knowledge by which he has been able to raise these massy fabricks which have stood for ages in all civilized countries.⁸⁷

Shoup took this “extraordinary mountain” to be the Pinnacles. Despite some troubling inconsistencies, his interpretation was quickly accepted by people familiar with the place. Schuyler Hain was enchanted with Shoup’s interpretation and presented it as truth to Donald MacDonald when he guided the journalist through the Pinnacles in 1903. Hain continued to use the alleged connection during his promotional campaign to establish a national park. He was so successful in these efforts that the name “Vancouver” became inseparable from the Pinnacles for the next fifty years and was used in all Park Service literature associated with the monument. It was not until 1955 that somebody finally thought to test Shoup’s theory.

That year, an amateur historian named Hobart Lovett tried to recreate Vancouver’s 1794 outing and discovered that the party would have had to ride more than thirty miles to catch even a distant glimpse of the tops of the Pinnacles from the Salinas Valley. It seemed unlikely that Vancouver and his hosts had traveled that far in only one day, especially since Vancouver had been ill when he made the journey. Lovett also noted that the description in Vancouver’s diary, and a sketch by artist John Sykes who was accompanying Vancouver, did not seem to match the actual appearance of the Pinnacles from the west side. But Lovett did find an unusual formation only a few miles out of Monterey that seemed very similar to the description. This unnamed “mountain” lies in the hills dividing the Carmel and Salinas Valleys just south of the old Fort Ord Military Reservation. Lovett took a photograph from a likely vantage point and found that it matched John Sykes’ sketch almost exactly. Convinced that he had discovered the true “Vancouver’s Pinnacles,” Lovett sent a report of his findings to Superintendent Russell Mahan, who was also convinced. From that date forward, all reference to Captain George Vancouver and his 1794 excursion was expunged from Pinnacles’ interpretive and historical literature.

By 1965, Pinnacles staff had identified three distinct areas of cultural significance associated with the monument: the history of Tiburcio Vasquez, Native American prehistory, and the administrative history of the monument itself. Each of these areas would require formal

87. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* . . . (London: J. Stockdale, 1801).



Figure 55. Sandstone formation described by George Vancouver in 1794 and later mistaken for the Pinnacles. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

research in order to develop a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the subject, so in November of that year, Superintendent Delyle Stevens submitted Resource Study Proposals (RSPs) to the regional office to ask for funding to undertake the work.⁸⁸

The first of these proposals, “Tiburcio Vasquez and his Relationship to the Pinnacles,” has yet to be undertaken. This is unfortunate, since Vasquez represents an important chapter in California history that Pinnacles is uniquely placed to interpret. Vasquez was one of early California’s most notorious Hispanic outlaws, often compared to Joaquin Murieta, who was active at nearly the same time. Like Murieta, Vasquez’s crimes have been understood to reflect the social dislocation of Hispanic Californians during the first few decades of American rule following the Mexican-American War.⁸⁹

A native Californio rather than a Mexican, Vasquez was born at Monterey in 1835. He moved throughout the state during a twenty-year career of cattle rustling and other forms of larceny. In 1870, however, he settled near the quicksilver mines of New Idria, about forty miles east of Paicines, and was active in and around the Pinnacles for the next four years. Vasquez had many supporters among the large Hispanic and Native American populations that existed among the miners, from whom he recruited many accomplices.

Between 1870 and 1873, Vasquez and his companions were occasionally seen among the homesteaders in Bear Valley and would travel across the mountains into the Salinas Valley

88. Sup. Delyle Stevens to Dir., November 9, 1965, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 7, PNM.

89. The social significance of Vasquez and other Hispanic outlaws from this period has been studied by a number of historians. See Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), especially pages 214–219; the classic study by Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California, 1970); and Ernest May, “Tiburcio Vasquez,” *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 29 (1947), reprinted in *Furia y Muerte: Los Bandidos Chicanos*, edited by Pedro Castillo and Albert Camarillo (Los Angeles: Aztlan Pub., 1973).

from time to time along the old trail through the Pinnacles. The homesteaders at first tolerated Vasquez, whom they considered more of a nuisance than a genuine threat. The descendants of the Bacon family still remember an encounter between Vasquez and Susan Shell, one of Elizabeth Bacon's daughters, which occurred around this time. The story was recorded by Susan's daughter, Juanita Burton Hinman, many years later:

One day Susan Shell was coming from the well with a bucket full of water; and who came boldly riding in on horseback—none other than the daring Tiburcio Vasquez. He rode right up to Susan Shell and asked her for a drink of water. She knew him at once and showed no fear. Susan Shell filled the dipper with the cool water in the bucket.

As she handed the dipper of water up to Tiburcio Vasquez, he reached down without dismounting. Instead of taking the offered dipper of water, he tickled Susan Shell under the chin.

Her quick response was to throw that water from the dipper right into Tiburcio Vasquez's face. Surprised he was. He smiled at her, wiped his face with the back of his hand, tipped his hat and rode off.

Susan Shell watched him ride away. Then she went into the house, calmly, at that!

All this time Susan Shell's brothers were watching Tiburcio Vasquez and Susan Shell from a window [that is, Oliver, Horace and Ben, who were all still living on the ranch]. They had their gun sights right on Tiburcio Vasquez. Had he shown one movement of harm to their sister, the brothers would have shot him.⁹⁰

This event took place on the Bacon family ranch on Sandy Creek (now within the monument).

Henry Melville also recalled encountering the outlaw. Melville had staked his copper mining claims on the west side of the Pinnacles about the same time that Vasquez settled at New Idria. According to his grandson, Leland Melville, the two men had reached an understanding with one another. Melville's mining claim lay along the trail through the Old Pinnacles Gorge, which Vasquez and his men used to escape back and forth across the mountains. In exchange for Melville's silence about the little-known route, Vasquez promised not to harm him or steal any of his property. Melville once complained to Vasquez that the outlaw was not honoring his side of the arrangement, since one of Vasquez's men had stolen a horse. When the man was identified, Vasquez had him whipped in front of Henry Melville to demonstrate his good faith.⁹¹

By 1872, Vasquez had begun to push the ranchers' patience too far. That year, he robbed the San Benito Stage at Robber's Roost just east of the valley, and in response, Bear Valley homesteader John T. Prewett assembled a posse to hunt him down.⁹² The local men eventually captured and hung Vasquez's partner in the robbery, José Castro, but Vasquez himself escaped. The following year, Vasquez and his men robbed Snyder's store in Paicines (then known as Tres Pinos), killing three men. Once again, the ranchers organized a posse. John Shell, one of Susan Shell's brothers, was among these vigilantes. Again, the posse failed to capture Vasquez, but this time his crimes had been so heinous that a determined manhunt was kept up by the

90. Juanita Burton Hinman, "The Trail Back," typed manuscript, compiled and edited by Juanita B. Joseph, September, 1979, pp. 61–63.

91. Leland Melville, interviewed by author, May 14, 2007.

92. This narrow chasm got its name from the event. It is on the San Benito River near the Butts Ranch.

police, and the following year he was captured in Los Angeles. On March 19, 1875, Tiburcio Vasquez was hung for the murders he had committed at Paicines.⁹³

Unlike George Vancouver, there is no question about Tiburcio Vasquez coming to the Pinnacles. On the other hand, many of the stories told about him hiding in the rocks and caves of the monument were probably exaggerated by early guides to add romantic color. Vasquez certainly visited the Pinnacles, but it is unlikely he ever made it a permanent hideout or base of operations. Juanita Hinman wrote that her mother, Susan Shell, dismissed this common rumor, claiming that Vasquez had no need to hide in caves, since nobody in the area dared challenge him. When he traveled, Vasquez would stay at any convenient ranch house along the way and simply take whatever provisions he needed. Most of the local homesteaders preferred to avoid a confrontation, so Vasquez and his men were free to go wherever they wished, at least until the stage robbery of 1873.⁹⁴

Although much romantic popularization has obscured or trivialized the significance of Tiburcio Vasquez, he remains an important figure in the history of California and is intimately associated with Pinnacles and the surrounding area. Much can be learned from him about the social and ethnic tensions that existed in his day, and this would be an appropriate subject for further research and interpretation by the Park Service at Pinnacles National Monument.

Archeological Resources

The second Resource Study Proposal, concerning “California Indian Usage of Pinnacles,” reflected possibly an even greater need, since very little was known by monument staff about the Native Americans who had inhabited the region prior to European contact, and virtually nothing was known about their relationship to the Pinnacles. Descendants of the Ohlone people who had inhabited the region at the time of European contact still survived, and many even lived in the area, but most of their traditional culture had long since been lost. In January 1930, Custodian Hawkins noted that the last native speaker of the Mutsun dialect—Ascencion Solorsano—had died.⁹⁵ Prior to her death, ethnographer John P. Harrington of the Smithsonian Institute had recorded extensive interviews with Solorsano and with other surviving elders from adjacent tribes, thereby preserving some of the ancient languages and

93. *Crimes and Career of Tiburcio Vasquez: The Bandit of San Benito County and Notorious Early California Outlaw* (Hollister, CA: Evening Free Lance, 1927). This is a compilation of contemporary newspaper articles. Other sources on Tiburcio Vasquez include: Jack Jones, *Vasquez: California's Forgotten Bandit* (Carlsbad, CA: Akira Press, 1996); Eugene T. Sawyer, *The Life and Career of Tiburcio Vasquez* (San Jose, CA: B.H. Cottle, 1875); George A. Beers, *Vasquez, or, the Hunted Bandits of the San Joaquin* (New York: R.M. DeWitt, 1875), later reprinted as *The California Outlaw: Tiburcio Vasquez* (New York: Arno Press, 1974). John Boessenecker, has recently completed an excellent biography of Tiburcio Vasquez. This is the most detailed and comprehensive study to date and contains much useful information about the history of the local area as well (John Boessenecker, *Bandido: The Life and Times of Tiburcio Vasquez* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010]).

94. According to Susan Shell, Vasquez and his men “rode horseback to the different ranches to obtain what they needed. It was usually food, sometimes livestock they took, didn't pay for what they took . . . there was no fighting nor shooting at such a time. Tiburcio and his outlaw men were fully armed. The ranches were far from each other and far from any legal protection. The ranchers knew who the bandits were and avoided actual confrontation with Tiburcio and his outlaw men.” [Hinman, “The Trail Back,” pp. 64–66.]

95. This was mentioned by Custodian W.I. Hawkins in a letter to Director Albright, January 31, 1930, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

traditions of these peoples.⁹⁶ More might be learned by studying historical records from early explorers and Spanish missionaries, but it appeared at that time that the most detailed knowledge about past Native American life in the immediate vicinity of Pinnacles would have to come through archeology. Recognizing this, Park Superintendent Delyle Stevens soon replaced the original proposal, which was historical in method, with an archeological survey.

In 1966, a contract for the monument's first archeological investigation was awarded to the Central California Archeological Foundation at Sacramento State College. The report was written by W.H. Olsen, L.A. Payen and J. L. Beck and completed in May of 1967.⁹⁷ Although their survey was not comprehensive enough to support the assertion, Olsen, Payen and Beck believed that prehistoric occupation of the Pinnacles was at most intermittent. As a result, they did not expect to find any substantial or otherwise significant archeological sites:

It is clear [the authors wrote] that the Pinnacles National Monument was not an especially favored area for aboriginal occupation. This is demonstrated by the lack of large midden sites throughout the park. Smaller sites are not infrequent, but all suggest only intermittent occupation by small groups of people.

In all, only thirteen sites were recorded by this survey. Of these, two sites located on the west side were determined to warrant further investigation (PNM-8 and PNM-9), and these later became part of an archeological district that was listed in the National Register of Historic Places.⁹⁸

This assumption that Pinnacles was subject to only intermittent use, and therefore of little archeological significance, persisted in later studies as well. By 1974, as the new Master Plan was being prepared, it became necessary to conduct more comprehensive surveys of all cultural resources in the monument—both historic and archeological.⁹⁹ To satisfy the latter area of need, Dr. John M. Fritz of the University of California at Santa Cruz was contracted to write an archeological overview of the monument. Although Fritz was supposed to finish this study by early the following year, to coincide with the acceptance of the new Master Plan, he dragged the project out for another three years and did not submit his final report until the end of 1978 (causing considerable frustration for his contracting representative in the Park Service).¹⁰⁰ Fritz agreed with his predecessors about intermittent use of the Pinnacles, interpreting the archeological sites in the monument as temporary encampments where plants were gathered or tools made on a seasonal basis. He also proposed a model that suggested that the monument

96. The John Peabody Harrington Papers reside at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. For an index of the relevant papers and microfilm rolls, see Elaine L. Mills, ed., *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907–1957; Volume Two, A Guide to the Field Notes: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Northern and Central California* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 2007).

97. W.H. Olsen, L.A. Payen and John L. Beck, *An Archeological Survey of Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California* (Sacramento: Central California Archeological Foundation, 1967); and miscellaneous correspondence, 1965–69, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 7, PNM.

98. “Chalone Creek Archeological Sites,” (NR# 78000365), listed August 31, 1978. This is currently the only property at Pinnacles on the Register.

99. Because the Master Plan proposed actions that would affect existing architectural resources and would cause soil disturbance, possibly affecting buried archeological resources, the park was required by the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) and by Executive Order 11593 “Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment” (1971) to document these resources and evaluate their significance before any action was taken.

100. John M. Fritz and Charles Smith, *Archeological Overview of Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California* (Western Archeological Center, 1978); and miscellaneous correspondence, 1975–76, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 8, PNM.

area was most likely used by Indians returning inland after the secularization of the missions in 1834. But Fritz suggested that more permanent occupation sites might be found outside the existing borders of the monument and believed that a satisfactory understanding of Native American use and occupation could not be obtained without reference to the larger area surrounding Pinnacles.¹⁰¹

The final archeological investigation of any significance occurred in the early 1980s, when Trudy Haversat and Gary Breschini (of Archeological Consulting) surveyed the lands that had been added to the monument with the implementation of the new Master Plan.¹⁰² This area comprised nearly two thousand acres on both east and west sides. Haversat and Breschini limited their study exclusively to the added lands but produced probably the most detailed survey to date. They also referred to the assumption about intermittent use in the earlier reports with some skepticism, noting that this assertion had been made on the basis of inadequate knowledge.¹⁰³ Justifying their skepticism was the discovery of a large, possibly permanent occupation site (CA-SBn-123) near the mouth of Sandy Creek just outside the scope of earlier surveys. Haversat and Breschini's hesitation to draw any premature conclusions about the potential archeological resources of Pinnacles seems prudent. A review of the status of research at Pinnacles, made as part of a system-wide archeological review in 1994, noted that only 6% of the monument had been adequately studied up to that time.¹⁰⁴ This included the work done by Haversat and Breschini in 1981.¹⁰⁵

Administrative History

The third project that was identified in the 1965 Resource Studies Proposal was for an Administrative History of the monument itself. This had actually been suggested as early as 1956, when the Natural History Research Program had identified the need for a comprehensive area history.¹⁰⁶ Park naturalists like Ro Wauer had collected oral histories and compiled notes in their spare time for this project. A fact file had also been started, with information collated on three-by-five cards. This proved helpful for interpreters in the Visitor Center, but no written

101. Review of Fritz's report by Keith Anderson, Chief, Div. of Internal Archeological Studies, to Superintendent, January 9, 1979, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 8, PNM.

102. Another survey of relatively limited extent might also be mentioned. This was done in 1984 in anticipation of a proposed widening of the east entrance road (Highway 146) for a new entrance kiosk. See Richard G. Ervin, *Report of Archeological Investigations Associated with Pinnacles East Entrance Station and Parking Lot, PINN 84B* (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1984).

103. Trudy Haversat, Gary S. Breschini and R. Paul Hampson, *Cultural Resources Inventory of Newly Acquired Lands at the Pinnacles National Monument* (Salinas, CA: Archeological Consulting, 1981).

104. "NPS Systemwide Archeological Survey Program, Western Region Plan," 1994, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 15, PNM.

105. Shortly after conducting their archeological survey of the newly acquired lands at Pinnacles, Haversat and Breschini prepared a survey for the Bureau of Land Management of all cultural resources relating to Native Californians in the central coast region from prehistory to the 1930s. This includes archeological, ethnographic and historical sources and is probably the most comprehensive study to date. See Gary S. Breschini, Trudy Haversat, and R. Paul Hampson, *A Cultural Resources Overview of the Coast and Coast-Valley Study Areas* (Salinas, CA: Archeological Consulting, 1983).

106. "Project Report, Natural History Research Program," December 31, 1956, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 3, PNM.

history was ever formally programmed.¹⁰⁷ The 1965 RSP proposed assigning a professional historian to transform this piece-meal research into a coherent study with a narrative account of the monument's past. The Regional Office acknowledged the importance of such a study, and the importance of such studies for all parks, but noted that few administrative histories were being funded at that time. Most of those that were being done were the result of staff working on their spare time. In November of 1968, the Regional Director advised Pinnacles to preserve its files for future researchers but informed Superintendent Gordon Patterson that the monument's proposal for an administrative history was "suspended" until further notice.¹⁰⁸

Nothing more was done about Pinnacles' administrative history proposal for the remainder of Patterson's administration, but Rod Broyles, who replaced Patterson in January of 1974, rejuvenated the project. Broyles was able to get funding for the history through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), which had been introduced by President Richard Nixon the previous year.¹⁰⁹ This act was loosely modeled after Franklin Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration (WPA) from 1933. Both were designed to create jobs and provide training for the unemployed or underemployed. CETA provided full-time jobs for up to two years in public agencies like the Park Service with the intent of giving the participant, or trainee, a marketable skill by the time he or she left. Pinnacles employed several CETA trainees while the program lasted. (It was discontinued in 1982.) Most of these worked in jobs associated with the maintenance division, but one trainee—Reta Oberg—was employed as a historian to research and write the monument's long-suspended administrative history. Oberg was then a student at San Jose State University. Her study, which was completed by the end of 1978, was the first comprehensive history of Pinnacles and surrounding area.¹¹⁰

Historic Structures and Landscapes

When Pinnacles staff identified the monument's principal areas of cultural significance in 1965, they did not include any of the architectural or landscape features dating from the historic period. At that time, none of these features were thought to be important enough to justify special study or management considerations. But over the following years, new laws and policies made it necessary to formally address these resources. Both the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and Executive Order 11593 of 1971 (Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment) required the parks to inventory their cultural properties and wherever appropriate to prepare determinations of eligibility for listing on the National Register. These policies were designed to protect potentially significant cultural resources from careless or uninformed management decisions, and no action could now be taken that might affect them without prior evaluation. When the new Master Plan proposed removing 16 structures on the east side of the monument, therefore, an evaluation of all structures was undertaken by the historical architect and historian from the Regional Office in August

107. During the summer of 1960, Seasonal Ranger Ross Miser prepared a manuscript summary of the history currently known. See, "Project Report, Research Program," January 1, 1961, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 14, f. 4, PNM.

108. Asst. Reg. Dir. to Superintendent, November 26, 1968, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 7, PNM.

109. Sup. Narr. Reports, 1977, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 17, PNM.

110. Oberg, *Administrative History*; and miscellaneous notes, drafts and correspondence, 1979, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 18, ff. 7–16; and Box 19, ff. 1–4, PNM.

of 1974.¹¹¹ This was the first comprehensive survey of Pinnacles' architectural resources. The evaluators determined that none of these structures met the criteria for listing on the National Register—all were still less than fifty years in age—but made specific management recommendations for each one based on their professional judgment. Nearly twenty years later, a similar survey was made by a historian from the Denver Service Center, and this time eleven individual buildings or structures were recommended for nomination to the National Register.¹¹² To date, none of these, or any other historic structure at Pinnacles, has been listed.

Museum Collections

Several halting attempts have been made to establish a museum collection at Pinnacles over the course of the monument's history, but until recently little has come of these efforts. The first attempt dates to the early 1930s, when local ranchers offered to donate their private collections of Native American artifacts to the Park Service for display at the monument. (See Chapter 3.) Negotiations with these prospective donors were predicated on the construction of a museum facility, which at that time the Park Service intended to build—the Master Planning sheets from 1934 show this structure.¹¹³ But negotiations with the ranchers were broken off, for reasons not recorded, and the collections were never acquired. The proposed museum was also abandoned and does not appear in later Master Planning sheets.

The beginning of the present museum collection dates from 1954, when the Natural History Research Program identified the creation of an herbarium as one of its four principal objectives. By 1955, approximately 250 plant specimens had been collected, pressed and identified. Pinnacles' staff soon determined that the herbarium would have to remain an ongoing project, as new specimens continued to be added over the following years. At the time this project began, no formal location was established for the collection, but in 1969 Building #13 was set aside for this purpose and became the Museum Archives Building. This was one of the original twelve-by-fourteen-foot cabins built in 1932 to serve as a bunkhouse for the labor crews building the Bear Gulch Entrance Road (and later used as a tourist cabin). It was subsequently improved by the CCC with the addition of rustic stone facing.

A more organized museum program began in the early 1980s at Pinnacles with the establishment of a resource management program, when Steve DeBenedetti was hired to become the park's first resource manager. In 1983, DeBenedetti noted that the museum collection included, in addition to the herbarium, twenty-six stone artifacts and a small number of other archeologic and historic items, such as photographic negatives. DeBenedetti also observed that these materials were improperly stored, especially the negatives.¹¹⁴ The

111. The proposed actions are described in the "Final Environmental Statement: Proposed Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument," 1975, p. 2, Park Files, Resources Library, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA; and Robert Cox and Gordon Chappell, *Evaluation of Structures at Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California* (San Francisco, CA: National Park Service, Western Regional Office, 1974).

112. Harlan Unrau, Historian, to DSC, "Trip Report," December 1–5, 1992, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 6, PNM. Unrau recommended the following structures for nomination: Buildings #1 (the Visitor Center), #2 (the Ranger Residence), #17 (the Condor Gulch Comfort Station), #18 (the Moses Spring Comfort Station), #200 (the Oil and Gas House), #202 (the Horse Barn), #400 (the High Peaks Vault Toilet), #403 (the Chalone Peak Vault Toilet), the Bear Gulch Dam, the Entrance Pylons, and the Chalone Creek Bridge.

113. *The Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument*, 1933 (revised 1934), Map Coll., PNM.

114. United States Department of the Interior, *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, Pinnacles National Monument* (Paicines, CA: National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1983).

following year, the Park Service's Western Region developed a program to copy all cellulose nitrate negatives, and Pinnacles' collection became the earliest to be completed. The original negatives were subsequently located at San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park in San Francisco, while Pinnacles retained the inter-positive and duplicate negatives on site. These materials were later catalogued into the park's museum collection. In 1991, the park de-accessioned a large number of materials from multiple accessions.¹¹⁵

A FINAL NOTE: VISITOR AND RESOURCE PROTECTION

As the management of resources has become increasingly specialized in the Park Service, so have the responsibilities for their protection and the protection of the visitors who enjoy them. The evolution in the duties and responsibilities of the park ranger at Pinnacles has largely paralleled changes in the Service as a whole. Over the last forty years, these responsibilities have become increasingly focused on resource and visitor protection, to the exclusion of other, more traditional roles. This specialization has resulted from a variety of factors, ranging from the growing specialization of other resource duties—already discussed—to the increasing demand of protection-related duties themselves. Interpretation, alone of all non-protection duties, remained within the purview of the park ranger into the 1970s, but the start of that decade saw the beginning of dramatic changes in the role of the park ranger that would result in further differentiation between interpretive and protection rangers, with the latter eventually becoming specialists in formal law enforcement and safety skills to the exclusion of most other responsibilities.

The need for professional law enforcement training was dramatically illustrated on July 4, 1970, when riots broke out in Yosemite National Park. This was the first time that anything like this had ever occurred within a national park. The responsibility for the event and the subsequent response to it remain subjects for debate, but that it occurred at all and managed to get so out of hand was a matter of grave concern to Park Service leadership and resulted in an immediate reevaluation of ranger operations. Park Service rangers had proven unprepared to deal with an incident that seemed more typical of a city than a wilderness park, and, in response, rangers soon began to receive professional law enforcement training. By 1971, all division chiefs in ranger operations were being sent to the newly organized Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) in Glynco, Georgia, where they were trained in a standardized course for police-like duties.¹¹⁶ In 1978, legislation was passed requiring all federal employees engaged in law enforcement duties to be commissioned. In addition to the specialized training required, this meant that most Park Service protection rangers would now carry a weapon, which at least symbolically represented a significant change in their relationship to the public.¹¹⁷

At Pinnacles, the most persistent law enforcement problem prior to the 1970s was vandalism. This was first noted in 1959, when the signs on the self-guiding nature trail, completed the previous year, were destroyed. Over the following decades, incidents of property damage

115. United States Department of the Interior, *Pinnacles National Monument Museum Management Plan* (Oakland, CA: National Park Service, Pacific West Regional Office, 2005).

116. The Park Service has always possessed park police, who remain distinct from the park rangers, even though a large proportion of the latter are now trained as law enforcement officers and perform similar duties; see Barry Mackintosh, *The United States Park Police: A History* (Washington DC: National Park Service, 1989).

117. Park Ranger Butch Farrabee observes that rangers have always been issued weapons, but prior to 1978, they usually kept them hidden away in the back of a glove compartment or the bottom of a briefcase. They never identified with police officers prior to the 1970s. [Charles R. Farrabee Jr., *National Park Ranger: An American Icon* (Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart, 2003), p. 124.]

became increasingly frequent, with comfort stations wrecked, signs broken and trash receptacles overturned. One of the most common acts of vandalism was stoning the electric light bulbs in the Bear Gulch Caves. In 1960, the superintendent estimated that the park went through about thirty replacement bulbs every month.¹¹⁸ While vandalism of this sort is a comparatively minor crime, it represented a serious expense and was a considerable frustration for staff. It also represented a significant change in the attitude of visitors who were coming to Pinnacles. In the decades prior to World War II, wanton property damage was almost unheard of, and the sort of crime that rangers usually encountered was the sort typical of rural areas—poaching of wildlife or trespass livestock. In the postwar years, as growing numbers of non-local visitors came to the monument, the intensity and frequency of more destructive forms of crime increased. This placed a greater burden on the rangers, who found themselves having to act more and more like urban police officers. While the Yosemite riots were a major catalyst in the conversion of the Park Service ranger to law enforcement officer, these incidents at Pinnacles illustrate how a gradual transformation had been occurring in most parks and monuments throughout the Service for at least a decade prior to that event.

At Pinnacles, another important change took place in 1970. That year, the first rock climbing fatality in the monument's history occurred. On March 21st, a young Berkeley woman named Kathy Sasaki was climbing Machete Ridge with her partner Gerald Osborn. As the two were preparing to rappel down from the peak at the end of the day, Sasaki fell to her death, leaving Osborn stranded on a ledge. After being notified by hikers of the incident, Chief Ranger James Langford responded from the west district and eventually rescued Osborn.¹¹⁹ It was later concluded that nobody was to blame for this tragic incident, and that accidents of this sort were inevitable with such a dangerous sport. As rock climbing became increasingly popular at Pinnacles, it placed a new burden on park rangers to become proficient in highly technical search and rescue (SAR) techniques. Within a few years, the superintendent's annual report noted that regular training for park rangers included "Mountain Rescue and Rock Climbing" (as well as "In-Service Law Enforcement" and "Bomb Search and Explosive Safety"—signs of the time). Eventually, other members of the Pinnacles staff, even park aids (student seasonal employees), received rudimentary SAR and first-aid training in order to assist the rangers in case of emergency.

The circumstances that had necessitated the rangers' growing specialization in law enforcement and safety, especially search and rescue techniques, only intensified at Pinnacles over the years. Incidents requiring technical assistance on the high rocks and cliffs of Pinnacles became regular events as rock climbing continued to grow in popularity. Over the next couple of decades, two more climbing-related deaths occurred.¹²⁰ By 1990, climbers were so numerous that they were beginning to have a negative impact on the cliffs themselves. Superintendent Jim Sleznick observed that year that the sport had increased exponentially and was now considered by the Park Service a "consumptive use of Monument resources."¹²¹ In response, rangers found themselves having to manage use of the cliffs in order to mitigate some of this damage.

Crime remained a significant concern throughout this period. In 1998, an incident occurred which illustrated the monument's growing vulnerability. On the night of May 2nd, several staff buildings in the Bear Gulch headquarters area were broken into. Among the items stolen

118. Sup. Narr. Reports, 1960, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 1, PNM.

119. Hollister *Free Lance*, March 27, 1970. Ranger Langford was later commended for his extremely risky but successful rescue of Osborn. [*Soledad Bee*, August 12, 1970.]

120. "Accident, Injury and Death Case Files," Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 8, ff. 17–20, PNM.

121. Sleznick to Dick Doughty of the Hollister *Free Lance*, August 3, 1990.

were weapons and ammunition. Although the suspects were later apprehended, the monument was closed to the public at night from then on. Superintendent Gary Candelaria explained his reasoning in a press release later that year:

Traditionally, Pinnacles has always been open to visitors for hiking, picnicking, star-gazing, and other activities. We have relied upon our isolation from major population centers and the general good behavior of visitors to protect the plants, animals, and government property within the Monument when staff were not on duty. Recent events have shown us that we can no longer maintain around-the-clock availability without serious problems developing. Ongoing poaching of park wildlife, low-level but repeated vandalism, and a major burglary within the Monument have shown us that the park is vulnerable to serious and dangerous problems after dark. We haven't the staff to provide 24-hour visitor and resource protection services. Thus, we feel compelled to institute and enforce established opening and closing hours.¹²²

As Candelaria observed, part of the problem was due to insufficient staffing, which made it impossible for the rangers to provide adequate service over the entire monument. This was a particularly serious problem for the more isolated west side, especially after floods earlier that year destroyed the only ranger residence in the Chaparral Area. Only one full-time ranger had ever resided here, and then only since 1967.

122. Superintendent Gary Candelaria, undated press release, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 21, f. 9, PNM.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, 1966–1998

Comprehensive planning became an integral part of park administration shortly after the establishment of the National Park Service itself with the introduction of five-year Master Plans by landscape engineer Daniel Hull in 1925. Pinnacles' first Master Plan was completed in 1933, almost simultaneously with the arrival of the Civilian Conservation Corps. This document identified the fundamental concepts that would guide the monument through its first, and most significant, period of development during the Great Depression. Director Conrad Wirth's ambitious Mission 66 would introduce the next important period of development for the National Park Service. His program resulted in some of the largest, and most controversial, projects in the history of the agency, though its impact on Pinnacles would be comparatively minor. But Mission 66 had also brought a renewed emphasis on planning in its effort to rationalize the design and organization of visitor facilities. Pinnacles completed its Mission 66 Master Plan in 1965 after the ten-year program had already lost much of its impetus and was unable to fund most of the development it proposed for the monument. This apparent failure had its positive implications (depending on one's perspective). For example, the cross-monument road, which had remained an integral, if ambiguous, component of the Mission 66 plan, would not be built. By this time it had lost most of its popular support, and, with only a few exceptions, its demise was welcomed by those who were still even aware of the proposal's existence.

Changing values—such as the growing interest in resource protection and preservation described in the previous chapter—combined with the diminished funding of Mission 66 itself, would result in the premature abandonment of Pinnacles' 1965 Master Plan with little of it ever being realized. A new plan was initiated to replace it early in the 1970s and completed by 1976. This planning process would prove to be substantially different from its predecessors, largely as a result of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) that was enacted only a few years before the new process got underway. This legislation required any significant federal undertaking—such as a national park Master Plan—to prepare a detailed environmental assessment to consider the potential impacts of the proposed action and weigh its relative merit against possible alternatives (including the possibility of doing nothing at all). But the most significant innovation that NEPA introduced was to open the decision-making process to public scrutiny. This resulted in profound changes to the Park Service's planning methodology, as principles that were once informed primarily by internal agency values now had to reflect the interests and opinions of the local, non-NPS community. Some unexpected modifications were made to Pinnacles' 1976 Master Plan as a direct result of this public process, for example, the preservation of the Bear Gulch Dam and Reservoir, and the continuation of NPS-managed campground facilities despite the Regional Directorate's preference that Pinnacles be administered for day use only.

The 1976 Master Plan would effectively guide the monument for the next few decades, but during the late nineties several significant events occurred that would render it obsolete. Among these were a series of natural catastrophes that forcefully demonstrated the impracticality of many of the earlier plan's development concepts. But the most decisive event would be the

acquisition of the old Ben Bacon Ranch on the east side of the monument. Not only would this increase the overall size of Pinnacles, it would add important new resources, including historically significant cultural properties such as the Bacon Ranch itself. It would also create new opportunities for relocating administrative development and visitor facilities. In response to the anticipated changes that would result from this acquisition, a new planning effort would have to be initiated.¹

THE 1965 PLAN UNRAVELS

The 1970s were a turning point for Pinnacles in many ways. Already discussed were the changes affecting ranger operations with the need for increasingly specialized law enforcement skills and the growing emphasis on natural resource management and scientific research in the wake of the Leopold Report and the National Environmental Policy Act. But planning also saw a new chapter opening—or perhaps an old one finally closing—with the resolution of the long-debated cross-monument road.

This proposal remained the single most important issue for local planners and businessmen, but it had finally ceased to be a source of contention dividing Monterey and San Benito County leaders. The road had always been popular with Monterey County businessmen but was firmly resisted by their counterparts in San Benito out of fear that it would draw tourism away from the east side of Pinnacles. The Park Service had contributed to this fear by indicating that it wanted to encourage development on the west side. For decades, competition and mistrust between the two counties had succeeded only in stalling development and had imposed a tense detente that made it nearly impossible for the NPS to implement other important planning proposals. This inter-county rivalry finally began to subside during the late 1960s, partly because the older generation was simply retiring. But interest in a newly proposed state scenic highway, which would loop through both counties, may have also been a factor.² Business leaders realized that this proposal, which would include a cross-monument road, would contribute as much to the economy of San Benito as to Monterey, and cooperation could replace the rivalry of the past.

Superintendent Gordon Patterson, like his predecessor Delyle Stevens, was an enthusiastic supporter of the cross-monument road (whether it was part of a state scenic highway or not).³ He correctly understood that there was no hope of administering the monument as a single unit without it. Ever since its establishment, Pinnacles had effectively operated as if it were two parks, with separate entrances on east and west sides but little connection between the

1. Even if the events of the late nineteen-nineties had not demanded a new planning process for the monument, the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-625, Sec. 604) had made it legally necessary. This legislation required parks to revise their comprehensive plans—now called General Management Plans—in a timely manner, which was understood to mean every fifteen to twenty years.

2. *Soledad Bee*, May 26, 1965. Percy Dunlap called on the Monterey Co. Board of Supervisors for a resolution to have State Route 146 included in a national scenic route system. This would make it eligible for federal funds.

3. Gordon Patterson was superintendent of Pinnacles from April of 1968 to October of 1973. Delyle Stevens had been superintendent from January of 1964 to March of 1968. Stevens had overseen the production of the final draft of the Mission 66 Master Plan, which included the proposal for a cross-monument road along the north fork of Chalone Creek as an essential condition of its plan to unite east and west sides of the monument in a single administrative entity. Both Stevens and Patterson were staunch advocates of this proposal and saw the road as the essential condition of its realization. Their willingness to cooperate with local county interests probably had more to do with their vision of a unitary monument than with any economic considerations.

two. Patterson supported the cross-monument road, because he believed it would resolve this dilemma. He was also a strong advocate of auto tourism and believed this sort of recreation deserved a prominent place in the national parks and monuments. But the tide was turning against Patterson and local business interests alike. Many people both within and outside the Park Service were beginning to question the value of park roads and wondered, just as Herman Hermansen had wondered many years before, whether the destructive impact of a cross-monument road could be justified simply on the basis of convenience to management or economic benefit.

During the latter half of the 1960s, a politically powerful environmental lobby was emerging within the state, and representatives from groups like the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society openly challenged the pro-development values of county business leaders (and of many within the Park Service as well).⁴ When these and similar organizations expressed their opposition to the cross-monument road, Superintendent Patterson accused them of being elitist. “Persons opposing the road,” he wrote, “are not thinking of the average American fellow who sees parks from a car seat.” But sentiments like this were beginning to run against the popular grain, and the Park Service itself was starting to withdraw its support for the proposal. It was ironic that, even as business leaders from the two counties were beginning to cooperate for the first time in recent history and finally making it possible for the Park Service to build its long-desired road, other forces now appeared that would soon render all of these efforts null.

In April of 1972, the Park Service announced that it was preparing to develop a new Master Plan for Pinnacles. This would supersede the existing Mission 66-era plan that had last been approved in 1965. Ten years is considered normal for the lifespan of any plan, so Pinnacles was due for a revision, but increasing doubts about the proposed cross-monument road, as well as growing congestion in the developed areas of the monument all contributed to the sense of urgency driving the new effort. The local press assumed that the new plan would focus on the old road proposal, and by all accounts this was the subject most discussed during the initial public scoping sessions. But Park Service planners brought a host of other concerns to the meetings that they also wanted to address.

Chief among the planners’ concerns was growing congestion in the existing developed areas as visitation in the monument continued to increase. Park facilities—especially the campgrounds and picnic areas—were already overwhelmed during peak seasons, and the physical constraints of the natural geography severely limited new development. One reason for the Park Service’s long-standing interest in the cross-monument road, in addition to being able to unite east and west side operations, was to distribute visitors more evenly through the monument. With this option becoming increasingly less likely, however, Park planners began to consider shutting down Pinnacles’ campgrounds altogether and converting the monument to day use only. As the Master Planning process progressed, other responses to the problem of overcrowding were introduced, but this solution would remain the most prominent. To accommodate overnight visitors, the planners agreed that property owners with land adjacent to the monument should be encouraged to develop private campgrounds. The Park Service subsequently worked very hard to facilitate this idea, even working with Monterey County planning officials during the late 1970s to amend the county’s general plan so that commercial campground development would be permitted in lands along the west side of the monument under the existing zoning

4. The Wilderness Society was established during this decade. The Sierra Club was a much older organization but experienced dramatic changes during the 1960s in response to the new environmentalism. See Michael Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892–1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988).

classifications.⁵ One private landowner on the west side did respond to NPS encouragement and in 1979 began discussing the idea of establishing a campground just north of the Chaparral Area, but this proposal was soon abandoned.⁶ No other private owners ever showed any interest in similar development on the west side.

The only private development to result from Pinnacles' new planning strategy occurred on the east side and was undertaken by the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company. This was a partnership of three businessmen—Frank LaHaye, Robert Katz and Albert Wollenberg—who had bought the old Bacon Ranch in 1968. Katz was a former chairman of the board of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company, the principal concessionaire for Yosemite National Park, and so already had ample experience working with the National Park Service operating visitor facilities. He apparently wanted to establish a similar business arrangement with the National Park Service at Pinnacles. Katz and his partners approached the NPS regional office shortly after they acquired the Bacon Ranch and proposed cooperating with Pinnacles to build a new headquarters and visitor facilities—including a campground—on the company's land, either on Sandy Creek or on the nearby Chalone Bench. Under the terms of this proposal, the Park Service would lease the land and the buildings from the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company.

Katz already knew that the Park Service wanted to build a new headquarters near the eastern entrance of the monument and hoped to take advantage of this plan to negotiate a concession. The proposal for the new headquarters had been an important piece of the Mission 66 Master Plan from 1965 but had never been realized, because the Park Service could not obtain the lands it needed to build the facility. In 1958, the NPS had tried to acquire eighty acres on the Chalone Bench from Earl Bradford, who was apparently interested in selling, but had failed to close the deal for lack of funds. After entrepreneur G.T. Wells proposed building a resort here the following year, the potential for large-scale adverse development never ceased to worry Park planners, and they now recognized the urgent need to have some control over how adjacent private lands were used, or, barring that, to acquire a buffer to keep development far enough away from the monument's chief resources to protect them from serious impacts.⁷ Katz's proposal seemed to offer an opportunity to do just that at minimal cost

5. Pinnacles West Dist. Ranger to Sup., March 1, 1980, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 6, PNM. On March 10, 1978, Monterey County announced it was planning to make a zoning reclassification in the Soledad area in order to bring classifications into compliance with the county master plan. The proposal was to reclassify from agricultural with ten-acre minimum to agricultural with two-and-a-half- and one-acre minimums, which would allow tract housing development but would prevent commercial development, including campgrounds. Therefore, the NPS proposed an amendment to the Central Salinas Valley General Plan (part of the Monterey County General Plan) that would allow campground facilities of stated characteristics on or near monument boundaries. This was accepted by the county on October 9, 1979.

6. In January, 1979, Tom Pivetti and Larry Wilson applied for, and received, a conditional use permit to operate a campground just outside the western boundary of the monument. Apparently, nothing came of this. ["County of San Benito, Use of Permit Application No. 118–179," January 12, 1979, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 6, PNM.] An EIR was required, and perhaps Pivetti and Wilson declined to prepare this study.

7. Concern over neighboring development prompted the Park Service to become actively involved in county zoning legislation. As Superintendent Rod Broyles observed in response to a proposed rezoning of the area around Soledad and the monument's west boundary, "We [Pinnacles National Monument] do not exist in a vacuum. The characteristics and values of the Monument can be radically changed by external influences such as the zoning of the Gabilan area. The National Park Service would prefer to have that portion of the Gabilan area, referred to commonly as the area under the sphere of influence of Soledad, in a zoning category that would not detract from the Park's scenic and esthetic values. Because the resource values of the Park are of national significance, we must be concerned with

to the government, and the Regional Director quickly expressed his support.⁸ Later, however, a regional planning team, organized to prepare the government's official response, rejected the offer. The team's report, titled "A Planning Directive for Pinnacles National Monument," explained that the company's proposal did not support the monument's planning priorities, which should concentrate future development on the west side, rather than the east, and construct a cross-monument road to tie the two sides of the monument together and disperse visitor use.⁹ The planning team acknowledged that west side development was stalled for the time being, pending a state initiative to improve Highway 146 from Soledad. (This was not expected to occur for many years.) Additional land might also be needed on the west side to make development there possible. Once this happened, however, the directive recommended that the east side, including Bear Gulch, should be managed for only minimal development. With this in mind, the team insisted that any development more extensive than a campground should be avoided here and suggested that the status quo in Bear Gulch be maintained until proposed west side development could replace it.

Apart from the cross-monument road, the directive's recommendations were unexpected and had not been part of the Mission 66 Master Plan, which was still the operative framework guiding the monument. The final version of the Mission 66 plan had called for development of the west side but only to counterbalance existing development on the east, where the focus of monument operations was expected to remain (though administrative facilities were to be moved out of Bear Gulch and down to Chalone Creek).¹⁰ Katz and his partners in the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company were almost certainly thinking of this plan when they proposed developing an administrative center and visitor facilities on their property near Sandy Creek. Sometime between 1965 and 1969, the existing Master Plan had been tacitly abandoned—at least in the Regional Office—and a new set of priorities adopted. This must have come as a surprise to Katz and his partners, but they may have taken heart from the conclusion of the regional directive, which offered them considerable room for negotiating a profitable business arrangement:

The highest priority should be put on determining the possibility of getting a road connection through the monument and acquiring more land on the west side so that the phasing out of Bear Gulch can be started. Meanwhile, we should negotiate with the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company to insure the integrity of the eastern approach to the monument is maintained. This may require acquisition of a portion of their land as a scenic buffer. Also, we should encourage them to develop public camping facilities on their land with our standards as a guide.

planning from the standpoint of Regional zoning and not only local influences." [Broyles to Monterey Co. Board of Supervisors, December 4, 1978, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 6.] An influential report by the National Parks Conservation Association the following year identified adverse development as one of the greatest threats facing parks nationwide. [National Parks and Conservation Association, "NPCA Adjacent Lands Survey: No Park Is an Island," *National Parks and Conservation Magazine* 53 (March 1979)].

8. Reg. Dir. to Dir., May 28, 1969, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 16, f. 33, PNM.

9. "A Planning Directive for Pinnacles National Monument" November 1969, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 16, f. 33, PNM.

10. This balancing of development was expressed in the general objectives of the master plan thus: "To develop such additional access and circulation roads and trails, and such campgrounds, picnic areas, and related facilities *on both sides of the monument* as may be feasible to accommodate visitors in an acceptable manner." [emphasis added]. "The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Pinnacles National Monument," June 11, 1965, Map Coll., PNM.

Although the opportunity for establishing a government administrative center on the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company's east side property was apparently lost, the company was still offered the possibility of a lucrative land sale and the potential to develop a campground concession.¹¹

In responding to the recommendations of this directive, the Associate Director for the Western Region explained that his office concurred with the directive but noted that acquiring land on the west side was unlikely to happen any time soon, and therefore Pinnacles should count on living with the status quo for the foreseeable future. In other words, Pinnacles should expect to keep its headquarters in Bear Gulch. If operations were eventually to move to the west side, the Associate Director suggested that Pinnacles consider establishing its headquarters in Soledad rather than construct a new administrative center from scratch.¹² In December of 1969, representatives from the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company met with National Park Service employees at the Regional Office in San Francisco and discussed all of these items in detail. According to Superintendent Patterson, who was present at the meeting, all negotiations with the company were aborted at that time.¹³ But Patterson had earlier indicated a strong dislike for the partners, and his opinion was biased. As events would later prove, these negotiations were only temporarily postponed and no hard feelings apparently existed between the parties, contrary to Patterson's implied meaning.

As preparations for the new Master Plan got underway in 1973, the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company once again approached the Regional Office and renewed its proposal for an east side concession or lease arrangement. The Regional Director reemphasized the Park Service's commitment to convert the monument to day use only and further explained that the agency was not interested in managing a campground, even on private land. However, it would support any effort by the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company to develop and run such a facility on company land adjacent to the monument. Furthermore, the Park Service would be very interested in acquiring land on Chalone Creek just outside the existing boundaries. The Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company agreed to both these proposals and soon applied for a special use permit from the county to open a three-hundred-site campground on Sandy Creek.

Plans for this proposal lagged at first, and actual construction did not begin until June of 1978. By then, the size of the campground had been substantially diminished. When it was finally completed at the end of that year, the campground included only a little over one hundred sites with store, comfort stations and other facilities. The Park Service provided technical advice for design and construction, and the comfort stations were done according to standard National Park Service plans typical of the Mission 66 era. Stewart "Stu" Kingman had joined the partnership a few years earlier and was living with his wife Peggy in a trailer home next to Ben Bacon's old house, supervising the construction. Stu would be the only member of the partnership to ever live on the Pinnacles Ranch (as the company had begun calling its property).

The second part of the 1973 agreement between the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company and the National Park Service—the purchase of the company's land at the east entrance of the monument—also took several years to realize. This time, however, the delay was necessitated by legal constraints, for the Park Service could not buy the land until the monument had first been authorized to expand its boundaries and the money for the purchase appropriated

11. Both possibilities would ultimately materialize.

12. Associate Dir. to Reg. Dir, March 16, 1970, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 16, f. 33, PNM.

13. Gordon Patterson to Reg. Dir., May 19, 1971, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 4, PNM.

from Congress. Both of these requirements were fulfilled with the Omnibus Wilderness Bill of October 20, 1976 (P.L. 94-567), which also designated 12,952 acres of wilderness area inside the monument.¹⁴ With authority granted through this legislation, the Park Service was able to go ahead with the land purchase. By late 1977, the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company had agreed to sell 607 acres along Chalone Creek and the confluence of Sandy Creek (including the Chalone Bench) for just under half a million dollars. The Park Service still wanted this land as a buffer against potential adverse development on the east border of Pinnacles—it had never quite forgotten the threat posed by G.T. Wells in 1959—but it also hoped to locate a small administrative center here.

THE 1976 MASTER PLAN

By this time, Pinnacles had adopted its new Master Plan. The initial draft had been released for public comment in May of 1974 and drew considerable attention from the local communities in both San Benito and Monterey Counties.¹⁵ Its key features were the conversion of the monument to day use and the shifting of emphasis to the west side. The drafters of the document regretted the lack of adequate planning in the past and sought to rectify this omission by identifying four strategic objectives: (1) preserve natural resources, (2) offer only facilities appropriate to these resources, (3) encourage development of visitor services on private lands outside the monument, and (4) regulate the circulation of visitors through the monument in order to better disperse use. Both the Master Plan and its associated environmental impact statement asserted that Pinnacles is “a fragile, compact natural area” and is “particularly vulnerable to human intrusions.” The resources section of the plan discussed at great length the significance of Pinnacles’ biological resources, especially its chaparral vegetation, in a marked change from past emphasis on geologic features but consistent with concurrently developed resource management plans.¹⁶

The pinnacles formations are contained in an area of approximately 1,000 acres—only 1/15 of the entire acreage of the monument. The remaining 11,000 acres encompass an excellent example of a “coastal broadleaf chaparral” ecosystem. This environment provides a rich educational and research opportunity for the visitor to study extremely specialized plant and animal communities of a type not preserved anywhere else in the National Park System. The

14. In addition to authorizing the Park Service to purchase the east side parcel from the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company, the bill also authorized the purchase of a twenty-acre corner of Mark Francis’ land at the foot of McCabe Canyon (on the east side), 160 acres belonging to J. Brosseau and 816 acres belonging to Larry Wilson, both on the west side. [Robert Katz, Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company, to Superintendent Broyles, November 9, 1976, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 4, PNM.]

15. The format of the proposed plan, as well as the procedure for adopting it, was greatly influenced by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1970. In the past, the entire master planning process occurred internally within the Park Service. The final plan was approved by the directorate with the concurrence of the superintendent and appropriate division chiefs but without any contribution from the general public. NEPA now required the Park Service to open the process to public comment and to present alternatives to any proposed action. It also required an environmental assessment of proposed actions, and if those actions were determined to cause significant environmental impacts, a full Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) needed to be prepared.

16. It is not entirely true that Pinnacles’ vegetative resources were overlooked prior to this time. In 1904, when Stanford president David Starr Jordan sent his colleague Professor William Russell Dudley to investigate the proposed Pinnacles Forest Reserve, Dudley noted in particular the unique and diverse array of native plants represented in this coastal ecosystem and believed that these plants were perhaps the most valuable resource of the area. His opinions were largely forgotten, however, and the monument was established on the basis of its geological peculiarity with no mention of its biological resources, vegetative or otherwise.

preservation and scientific value of this chaparral community is equally as important as that of the pinnacles formations themselves, which historically have been the primary resource. Identification and preservation of this chaparral community becomes more and more important as vast areas of California's native vegetation vanish under suburban expansion and the pressures of grazing.¹⁷

This shift in emphasis justified the growing concern with visitor impact, for the vegetation of Pinnacles, unlike its geology, was vulnerable to excessive use and could more easily be impaired. This concern was the principal reason for the desire to now limit visitor use. The Master Plan proposed five recommendations for doing this: (1) convert the monument to day use only, (2) shift focus of visitor use to the west side (which was better able to accommodate large numbers of people than Bear Gulch), (3) relocate extraneous facilities outside the monument (the Environmental Impact Statement suggested locating monument headquarters and staff residences in Soledad), (4) acquire 900 acres of adjacent private land for necessary development (this included the 607-acre parcel purchased from the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company in 1977), and finally (5) locate visitor staging areas on acquired lands and use shuttles to bring visitors from here into the monument.

The proposed plan also included a list of resource management objectives. These objectives all focused on the ecological integrity of the environment and represented a significant departure from past precedent. Among the objectives listed was removal of the Bear Gulch Dam and Reservoir. The plan noted that this facility had originally been constructed to provide flood control and fire protection but now served no useful purpose. Removing it would restore a seasonal drainage to its natural conditions. Interestingly, this proposal elicited a great deal of resistance from the public. The dam and reservoir had become popular attractions, though their value was strictly aesthetic. Responding to these sentiments, the Park Service eventually retracted its proposal to remove the dam. Another matter that might have gotten far greater attention in other units of the Park Service was the proposal to reintroduce fire as a tool to manage environmental conditions in the chaparral ecosystem. This proposal met little or no resistance, because fire had been used by local ranchers for rangeland management since long before the Park Service had entered the region.¹⁸ The local Rangeland Improvement Association had been conducting controlled burns with the assistance of the California Department of Forestry (CDF) since 1955. If the proposal to initiate wildland burning elicited any surprise at all, it was only because it had taken the Park Service this long to come around to the practice, and when Pinnacles finally began prescription burning in 1976, the local response was favorable (even though the objectives of Park Service resource managers were very different from those of ranchers).

By far the most contentious issues debated in the public review meetings were the Park Service's proposal to remove all campgrounds from the monument and its preference to abandon the cross-monument road. The latter was introduced as a non-preferred alternative in the proposed plan in deference to its long history and the perceived popularity of the road among local citizens. It came as something of a surprise, then, when the vast majority of people supported the Park Service's own preference to abandon the idea. The few proponents who remained were powerful and eloquent, but they represented an old guard of business interests whose time had passed. Percy Dunlap was the chief holdout from Soledad. He had been chair of

17. "Master Plan, Pinnacles National Monument; Draft," May 1974, Park Files, Resources Library, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA.

18. Some local ranchers believe that the practice was adopted by the original homesteaders after observing Native Americans doing the same. [Pers. comm. with Kathy Spencer and Lisa Smith, December 9, 2006.]

the local Chamber of Commerce during the previous decade and had organized many of the popular picnics that had been held from 1956 to 1968 to raise support for the development of the west side. But Dunlap was aging now, and most of his constituency had long since retired from public life. He spoke to deaf ears when he addressed the crowd at the Soledad meeting in 1974. The majority of people there were more concerned about the environmental impact of such a road than the economic benefits it would bring to members of the Chamber of Commerce. Of 138 responses recorded by the Park Service on this question, only 3 supported construction of the road (including Percy Dunlap himself). When the new Master Plan was officially adopted two years later, the road was stricken from its recommendations. This was the last time the idea was ever seriously considered by the Park Service up to the present day.

The other issue that raised concern with the general public was not so easily resolved. This was the question of overnight camping. The public was almost unanimously in favor of preserving the practice within the monument, while the Park Service was firmly committed to ending it and converting monument operations to day use only. The issue had become moot with respect to the east side, where the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company was already making plans to construct its own campground on private lands just outside the monument. But on the west side, where the Park Service would have liked to see a similar entrepreneur step forward, there seemed little possibility that a private campground would replace the aging government facility anytime soon. Camping was popular with local residents and almost a necessity with visitors who came from far away, since few other accommodations were available in the area. The retirement of the government campground would therefore probably reduce visitation from Monterey County. All of these considerations contributed to a strong motion to retain the government campground in the Chaparral Area, and the Park Service finally relented. The final version of the new Master Plan, adopted on February 4, 1976, reflected the Park Service's preferred alternative with the exception only that the Bear Gulch Dam and the Chaparral Campground would both be retained. The final plan also included no reference to a cross-monument road.

THE DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT PLANS

Like all Master Plans, the 1976 plan was only a general framework to guide monument operations and development. It did not provide details necessary for the actual implementation of specific programs. Further studies—special topical plans that tiered off the Master Plan itself—would be needed in order to provide this level of information and guidance. Given the emphasis placed on the “fragile” natural systems of Pinnacles by the Master Plan and associated Environmental Impact Statement, it is not surprising that the first and probably most important of these special studies was the Natural Resources Management Plan, which was approved in April of 1976. (This is discussed in the previous chapter.) Details relating to the development or modification of physical infrastructure, however, were to be worked out in a Development Concept Plan (DCP).¹⁹ Two of these specialized documents would be required, one for each side of the monument. In rejecting the proposal for a cross-monument road, the 1976 Master Plan had acknowledged that Pinnacles would function, for all practical purposes, like two parks, and had proposed establishing separate east and west districts, with

19. The relationship of the DCP to the Master Plan is explained in the introduction to the DCP itself: “Because the master plan is conceptual and goal-oriented, more specific development concept plans are required to implement many of the features of that plan.” [United States Department of the Interior, *Development Concept Plan and Environmental Assessment, West District, Pinnacles National Monument* (Paicines, CA: National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1991), p. 2.]

each district administered as a quasi-independent unit. Each district would go through a separate development planning process and would therefore require its own DCP.

The preparation of the DCPs suffered maddeningly long delays as a result of inadequate staffing in the Regional Office. Research could not begin until 1980, and initial drafts were not ready until 1985. But then the process lagged once more—again, for lack of sufficient staff—and would not resume until 1989. In the meantime, little could be done at Pinnacles to implement any of the development proposed in the Master Plan. Conditions continued to worsen at the monument as aging or poorly designed facilities deteriorated. A severe storm in the spring of 1983 damaged roads, campgrounds and other facilities in both districts. In the Chalone Annex, the concrete ford that crossed the creek bed washed out, isolating the old group campground and severing utility linkages. Although public camping had been abandoned at the Chalone Campground ever since the private Pinnacles Campground opened in 1979, the park continued to use these facilities for staff residence and maintenance operations. The development on the west side of the creek was abandoned altogether after the 1983 storm (though the site was not restored to natural conditions until many years later).²⁰ Superintendent Broyles complained to the Regional Director that the absence of a development plan had disqualified the monument from claiming federal highway funds to repair storm damage to the roadway. His complaint reflected the frustration that many small parks like Pinnacles were feeling toward the Regional Office at this time. As the overall Park Service budget continued to decline, the Regional Director was diverting much of the money intended for the Regional Office itself to the larger parks. While this seemed like an appropriate sacrifice to make during times of budgetary constraints, the smaller parks and monuments like Pinnacles actually suffered disproportionately, because they relied more heavily on Regional Office support than the larger parks did.²¹

On the west side, a similar pattern was repeated. The Chaparral Campground, which had also been constructed inside the seasonal floodplain, was heavily damaged by the rising waters in the 1983 storms, and a portion of the original campground had to be abandoned. The comfort station had already been closed in 1980 when another storm destroyed its septic system.²² (A chemical toilet was being used in place of the fresh water system.) The cumulative lesson of these events strengthened the monument's determination to close the Chaparral Area and relocate west side development outside the floodplain and closer to the western boundary. Congestion also remained a serious problem at Pinnacles, especially on the east side during peak visitation periods (spring and fall). Superintendent Broyles observed that, in some years, there were lines up to eighty cars long waiting for two hours to enter the monument. This problem had been anticipated by the 1976 Master Plan, and various solutions had been proposed, but their implementation awaited approval of the Development Concept Plan, and nothing could be done until the Regional Office took action.²³

The West Side DCP (1991)

In 1985, drafts of both DCPs were finally released for public comment. The west side DCP was the first to be completed and would prove to be the most contentious. It called for moving most west side development to the park boundaries and eliminating all overnight camping within

20. Landscape Architect David Geissinger, to Reg. Dir., April 4, 1983, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 1, PNM.

21. Pers. comm. with Gordon Chappell, Regional Historian, December 5, 2007.

22. *Salinas Californian*. September 14, 1985.

23. Broyles to reg. dir., April 1, 1986, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 1, PNM.

the monument. A shuttle bus would be provided to carry visitors from the new development area to west side trailheads. The only infrastructure that the plan proposed to leave in the existing Chaparral Area would be the comfort station (with upgraded utilities) and possibly a small ranger checking station. Minimal parking for no more than fifty cars would also be provided to accommodate off-season visitation. By far the most hotly debated issue in this plan was the proposal to close down the campground. The public continued to object to this idea, but the Park Service remained committed to its earlier decision to convert Pinnacles to day use only and decided not to budge.

The siting of the proposed new development area was another issue that attracted considerable attention and occasional disagreement, though this was confined mainly to the Park Service itself. All of the most suitable locations, judged from a practical point-of-view, proved to be less-than-suitable from an aesthetic one. Landscape Architect David Greissing from the regional planning division was greatly concerned that all development be kept out of view from hikers on the High Peaks Trail. Not only was this objective nearly impossible to accomplish, but it was not valued equally by the other planners on the team. Greissing's insistence on pursuing this aesthetics of concealment seems to have become a major source of frustration for many of Pinnacles' staff, as Superintendent Sleznick pointedly wrote:

The task will not be an easy one, but I feel we should not bury our developments in less than suitable locations because of potential viewshed concerns. As I have said to my staff in the past, "If I have to keep out of the viewshed, I'll end up with headquarters in Fresno." I find nothing wrong with the public seeing a bit of development from the High Peaks. The public that utilizes this park may just wish to have some reference point in their movement about the area.²⁴

Judging from the comments received, Sleznick's sense of public opinion was accurate, since most respondents who addressed the issue at all expressed greater concern with practical logistics than viewshed purity.

A final issue drawing some attention was access. This was connected to the Park Service's goal of shifting the principal orientation of the monument toward Monterey County, where the majority of future visitation was expected to originate. Several respondents criticized the NPS for over-estimating projected use from this direction, given the poor quality of the state road leading to the monument from Soledad. In response, the NPS retracted its proposal to concentrate development here and concluded instead that the "quiet character of the Chaparral area should be maintained." This was a surprising decision to reach at such a late date, given that the proposal to emphasize the west side had been a central point of the 1976 Master Plan. A DCP is meant to outline how the objectives of a Master Plan are to be implemented, not to challenge or reverse those objectives.²⁵

The final west side DCP was completed and approved at the beginning of 1991. It included construction of a new administrative area near the west boundary entrance. The proposed development would consist of a Visitor Center with staff office space, a maintenance building and fire cache, employee residences (three houses and one duplex), and parking for up to 150 cars with a shuttle turnaround. Drinking water and sewage would be developed and commercial power brought in from existing lines just outside the monument boundary. The Chaparral Area would be reduced to day use picnicking with parking for no more than thirty

24. Sleznick to Reg. Dir, December 17, 1987, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 17, f. 7, PNM.

25. Ibid.

cars. The existing comfort station would be retained and a small ranger station (visitor contact station) would be added to it. Shuttle service would operate during peak visitation periods. This plan was to be implemented in three stages: first, utilities would be developed at the west boundary administrative site; second, the buildings and other structures would be constructed here; and third, the old Chaparral development would be removed and the area restored.

The East Side DCP (1993)

The east side DCP proved far less contentious even though it included changes that were just as dramatic as those being considered for the west side. This plan proposed moving all administrative functions and most development out of Bear Gulch, leaving only a visitor contact station and trailhead picnic areas with passive interpretive exhibits. The most significant examples of rustic architecture in the area would be retained. These included the two comfort stations (Buildings #17 and #18), the Visitor Center (Building #1) and the remaining buildings in the old Condor Gulch utility area (Buildings #200 and #202). Building #1 would become the new Visitor Contact Station, while the buildings in Condor Gulch would be adaptively reused as picnic shelters and exhibits to interpret the Depression-era unemployment relief programs that had produced them. The comfort stations would remain as they were. All residences except that of the chief ranger in Building #2 and the superintendent in Building #19 would also be moved out of the area and consolidated in an NPS residential community on the site of the old Chalone Creek Campground. All other structures—the old tourist cabins and a residential trail—would be removed. The area previously utilized for administrative purposes would be re-landscaped and used for visitor picnicking. These substantial changes would leave Bear Gulch in a predominantly natural condition and help alleviate crowding, which had long been a problem in the confined area. Visitors would come here now only to picnic and to access the principal trailheads.

Park administration would be centered in a large, multi-purpose building that would contain both offices and a visitor center as well as comfort facilities. This building and an adjacent parking lot would be built in the meadow at the eastern boundary of the monument. A small picnic area would be established nearby in the oak grove on the Chalone Bench with a wheelchair-accessible interpretive trail running between the two. Although the DCP made no note of it, this had been the traditional site of many family picnics held by local ranchers from the late 1800s through the first few decades of the twentieth century.

All visitor facilities would be removed from the old Chalone Creek Campground—it was still being used as a picnic ground—and the area would be converted exclusively to staff residence. Existing residential trailers would be replaced with permanent structures, totaling ten single-family houses and two eight-person dormitories. Remaining maintenance facilities would also be removed and consolidated in a new location further downstream on the west bank of Chalone Creek. A new maintenance yard and warehouse had already been constructed here. This facility—commonly known as the YACC Area after the Young Adult Conservation Corps who originally occupied it—would become the principal maintenance yard for the entire monument. Also located at the YACC Area would be a shuttle terminal and parking for 125 vehicles. As on the west side, visitors would be shuttled in to the trailhead areas on crowded peak-season weekends. (This shuttle program had already been implemented on the east side as an informal emergency measure beginning in 1988.²⁶)

26. Sup. Narr. Reports, 1988, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 18, PNM; and James Sleznick, interviewed by author January 18, 2007. Superintendent Sleznick borrowed some buses from the Forest Service and had his staff

DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH AFTER MISSION 66

During the interval from the end of Mission 66 to the 1990s, probably the most important event was the establishment of the new planning framework for the monument, laboriously worked out in the long process described above. Little physical development could occur until this was completed and nothing could be done on a large or systematic scale. Most activity associated with buildings and utilities was confined to cyclic maintenance—keeping the existing infrastructure in working condition. But a number of small construction projects were initiated. Probably the most significant new construction occurred on Chalone Creek with the establishment of the YACC area. The importance of this project was not so much its size as the fact that it would soon be chosen as the location for all maintenance facilities on the east side of the monument.

The Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) was established by President Jimmy Carter in 1977 to provide employment and job training for young adults and to accomplish needed conservation work on public lands. It was modeled loosely after Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, making Pinnacles a historically fitting context for the new program. As many as sixty young men and women were employed at Pinnacles, mostly on trail work and light construction, during the few years the program lasted. It was largely eliminated as a result of federal budget cuts by 1981.²⁷ One of the first projects that the YACC enrollees undertook at Pinnacles was the construction of a maintenance warehouse to serve as program headquarters in 1978. This was built on a broad shelf excavated into the west bank of Chalone Creek just opposite the present Peaks View Turnout. (In fact, Peaks View is what remains of the original access road to the YACC facility.) A concrete, low-water crossing was laid across the bed of Chalone Creek from the east side entrance road.

With the demise of the YACC program a few years later, the warehouse was used for other purposes, primarily storage, although the sign shop occupied the front half of the building. The trails crew also located here, building a separate office and, in 1990, a pole barn and corral for livestock. The east side DCP, which was being drafted at that time, proposed consolidating all maintenance operations in this location. In 1991, a native plant nursery was established in the old YACC area as well. It was used to grow plants for revegetating the now-retired Chalone Creek Campground and for restoring erosion scars along heavily used trails.²⁸ A large visitor parking lot was also constructed here to accommodate overflow traffic during peak seasons. The east side DCP proposed making this a permanent feature and eventually constructing a shuttle terminal as well. By the mid-nineties, the YACC area had evolved into one of the principal developed areas in the monument, and further growth was planned.

A number of miscellaneous, small-scale projects were undertaken throughout these years on both sides of the monument. Little of this work was supported by an implementation plan,

drive them during sixteen of the busiest weekends that year. The experiment worked out so well that it was continued every year thereafter.

27. David Lah, *Youth Corps Profiles: The Young Adult Conservation Corps, the Wisconsin Conservation Corps, the Michigan Civilian Conservation Corps, the Texas Conservation Corps* (Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures, 1986).

28. Plants grown on an experimental basis during the first year of the nursery were chamise (*Adenostema fasciculatum*), buck brush (*Ceanothus cuneatus*), wild rose (*Rosa californica*), and California buckwheat (*Eriogonum fasciculatum*). Seeds from other species were also collected. This was the first native plant nursery at Pinnacles since Lange's experiments during the 1930s. The project was discontinued after the 1998 floods ["Resource Management Accomplishments for FY91," Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 16, f. 31, PNM.]

but at the same time, none of it departed significantly from the broader objectives of the Master Plan. On the west side, one of the largest projects was the rehabilitation of water and sewage systems in 1988. These had been damaged by the 1983 floods, forcing the closure of the Mission 66 comfort station (Building #518). The comfort station was reopened once the utilities were restored later that year. In 1993, a garage extension was built onto the Chaparral Maintenance Warehouse (Building #521) so that the fire truck and associated equipment could be kept indoors. This was considered important for safety reasons, since occasional freezing temperatures in the monument could render fire hoses inoperable if they were left outside.²⁹ The project also provided a valuable training opportunity for maintenance staff. In 1996, a photovoltaic power system was installed to replace the noisy diesel generators that had been used since 1966 to supply all electrical power on the west side. The monument had always intended the generators to be a temporary solution until they could be replaced by an extension from the county power grid, managed by Pacific Gas & Electric Company. This idea was abandoned only after it became apparent that there would not be enough users on the proposed extension to make it cost-effective for the power company to install. The diesel generators continued to be used until advances in technology made photovoltaic production a practical alternative.

On the east side, one of the last CCC projects was finally completed in 1977, when the final pieces of stone facing on the Bear Gulch Dam were installed. The CCC enrollees had quarried and stockpiled the stone back in 1940, but it had remained unused since their departure the following year. Other projects on the east side included a new visitor contact station, which was constructed in 1990 and placed at the east entrance on Highway 146. Plans were also made to widen the road around the contact station and build a parking area in the adjacent meadow. Although the latter proposal was never implemented, an archeological investigation of the site was made, which confirmed the existence of an extensive artifact scatter observed by Haversat and Breschini several years earlier.³⁰ Another small but important project undertaken on the east side was the construction of a residential duplex in the Chalone Creek area. Superintendent Sleznick observed that this was the first park housing project to be constructed at Pinnacles in nearly fifty years.³¹ The building housed two seasonal park rangers and represented the first installment of the proposed Chalone Creek residential compound.

Trails remained an active program during these decades. One of the most important of Pinnacles' later trails was constructed between 1974 and 1976 up Juniper Canyon on the west side of the High Peaks.³² After the Balconies Cliff Trail, this was the only formal connection

29. The maintenance warehouse was built in 1966 and originally located in Juniper Canyon. It was moved to its present location in 1975 when construction began on the Juniper Canyon Trail. The building also housed the diesel generators that supplied electrical power for the west side until 1996 a temporary building for the generator and maintenance shop was constructed in Juniper Canyon in 1966, then moved out of the canyon in 1975 when the Juniper Canyon Trail was started. [Development and Maintenance Reports, 1967–1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 9, ff. 15-17, PNM; Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1975, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 17, PNM; Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1996, Box 15, ff. 17 & 19, PNM; and Building Files, 1991–93, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 10, f. 2, PNM.]

30. Richard G. Ervin, *Report of Archeological Investigations Associated with Pinnacles East Entrance Station and Parking Lot, PINN 84B* (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1984). [Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f.13, PNM]. The earlier observations were made by Haversat and Breschini in 1981. [op. cit.]

31. Sup. Narr. Reports, 1991, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 19, PNM.

32. Ibid.

between the monument's principal east side development and its neglected west side. The Juniper Canyon Trail had originally been proposed by Herman Hermansen in his 1925 trail plan.³³ It had been proposed again in 1928 by NPS engineers during their initial reconnaissance for the High Peaks Trail.³⁴ These men had appreciated the route's inherent scenic quality but also recognized its value as a means to connect the east side trail system with the west side of the monument. The latter had also hoped to take advantage of Oak Tree Spring, which lies at the mouth of Juniper Canyon near the present Chaparral Ranger Station, but when it was discovered that the spring frequently dries up in the summer, plans for this extension of the High Peaks Trail system were temporarily abandoned. When the Park Service was once more able to initiate new construction after World War II with its Mission 66 program, the Juniper Canyon Trail was again proposed. Although work did not start for another ten years, the project was guided by the final Mission 66 Master Plan of 1965 and was probably the last project at Pinnacles to have any direct relationship to this program.³⁵

Shortly before the Juniper Canyon Trail was constructed, a much smaller—but still significant—trail project was completed in 1972. This was the Bear Gulch Trail, which follows lower Bear Gulch Creek from its confluence with Chalone Creek to Park Headquarters half way up the canyon. The trail was funded through a safety appropriations from the Regional Office and was justified as a means of getting visitors off the dangerously narrow Bear Gulch Entrance Road. This had become necessary after visitor facilities began to be moved out of Bear Gulch. By 1972, all overnight camping on the east side was located on Chalone Creek, and visitors who chose not to drive were forced to walk up the Bear Gulch Entrance Road to get from their camp site to the principal monument trailheads. The new trail made it possible to enjoy a much safer and more pleasant hike without being disturbed by passing cars. This was actually the second trail to be built up Bear Gulch, but the first one, built by Viggo Petersen and Herman Hermansen in 1922, had been obliterated in 1925 with the construction of the improved auto road up the canyon. Petersen's trail had been cut into the north side of the canyon about a third of the way up from the toe of the slope. The new trail followed the creek through the bottom of the canyon for most of its distance, climbing only slightly up the north wall to get around the falls where Bear Gulch Creek descends over an ancient landslide.³⁶

At the bottom of the canyon, the Bear Gulch Trail joined the Bench Trail, which runs along Chalone Creek. This trail went north from the mouth of Bear Gulch to the group campground at the Chalone Annex and was probably constructed sometime around 1962 when the campground first opened. In 1978, when the private Pinnacles Campground was established on Sandy Creek, the Bench Trail was extended south from Bear Gulch to provide access to the new facility. A portion of this trail lying between the present Peaks View parking area and the fire road on Chalone Bench was later widened and surfaced with decomposed granite to make it accessible in compliance with Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) standards. With the closure of the Chalone Creek Campgrounds in 1979, the northern segment of the Bench Trail was used far less than before but remained important for hikers as a link between the High Peaks Trailhead and Bear Gulch or the new Pinnacles Campground.³⁷

33. Hermansen to Director, January 5, 1925, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 6, Box 337, NARA II.

34. A.B. Lewellen, "Reconnaissance Survey and Study . . .," January 10, 1929, PINN Coll., RG 79, Entry 7, Box 607, NARA II.

35. Sup. Narr. Reports, 1972–1981, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 17, PNM.

36. Sup. Narr. Reports, 1972–1981, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 17, PNM.

37. *Ibid.*; Lisa Smith, Trails Supervisor, Pinnacles National Monument, pers. comm., 2008.

In 1976, a system of wilderness trails was proposed to bring hikers into some of the more remote areas of the monument. One of the principal interests driving this proposal was the hope that the ever-increasing number of visitors might be dispersed more evenly if the least-used parts of the monument were opened up. By this time, the majority of the monument's land area lay within designated wilderness and the only development that was permitted here under the conditions of the Wilderness Act was trail construction. These trails would not be constructed like other trails in the non-wilderness parts of the monument, however, but simply brushed in with occasional markers installed to indicate the route. Three such trails were planned, one through the North Wilderness area, another through the South Wilderness, and one up Frog Canyon to the saddle between North and South Chalone Peaks, but the last of these, the Frog Canyon Trail, was soon abandoned owing to the difficulty of the terrain. The other two trails were both completed. The North Wilderness Trail was put in during the latter half of the 1980s and remains one of the longest in the monument. It follows the east fork of Chalone Creek for most of its course, before turning south near the western boundary of the monument and descending to the Chaparral Ranger Station. This was roughly the same route that had only recently been considered for the cross-monument road, though the modern hiker might find it difficult to imagine a car bumping along these rugged canyons.³⁸

The South Wilderness Trail was also put in during the late 1980s.³⁹ It originates on the Chalone Bench and follows Chalone Creek for a little over three miles to a dead-end just south of Horse Valley at Little Sycamore Flat. This route was followed by one of the earliest roads in the area, once used by homesteaders to connect their settlements in Bear Valley with those in Dry Lake. The original road continued all the way to the Salinas Valley through the Topo Ranch, but successive floods had all but obliterated it by the 1920s. By the time this land was added to the monument in 1976, the road had ceased to be maintained and was no longer passable.⁴⁰ Little evidence of the road remains today or of the homesteads that once lay along it.

By the 1980s, habitat protection and restoration were becoming a significant part of the trails program. In many areas around the most popular trails, the land was being eroded and denuded of vegetation as a result of hikers cutting switchbacks. The park began installing temporary fences to protect these damaged areas and in the 1980s initiated a program of revegetation. The plant nursery established in 1991 near the trails office was used to grow native species for outplanting in these disturbed areas.⁴¹ Another major source of habitat degradation was rock climbing, which had become very popular by this time. Climbers were cutting random social paths to their favorite climbing walls and often trampled large areas where they congregated at the base of these cliffs. In 1988, monument staff began to prepare a management plan for the cliffs to address these problems. Disturbed areas were targeted for revegetation, but

38. *Ibid.*

39. It was constructed by laborers from the California Conservation Corps working under a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Park Service. [Sup. Narr. Reports, 1972–1981, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 17, PNM.]

40. The exception being the stretch from Highway 146 at the Chalone Bench to the mouth of Horse Valley, which was still maintained by the Schmidt family as an alternative access to their Horse Valley Ranch. Below the Schmidt Ranch, however, the road was essentially abandoned.

41. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1991–97, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 19, PNM; Tom Leatherman, "Pinnacles Nursery," unpublished field log and manual, Resources Management Division, Pinnacles National Monument. The plant nursery was destroyed in the 1998 flood.

to prevent further damage and to confine the impact to as small an area as possible, special access trails were constructed to the most popular walls, and climbers were asked to utilize only established routes. One historic trail was also realigned away from a heavily used climbing wall in order to separate hikers and climbers in the interest of safety. While these measures required the voluntary cooperation of climbers, they appear to have been largely successful. Periodic closures of some climbing walls were also introduced at this time to protect cliff-nesting raptors during their breeding season.⁴²

1998: A DRAMATIC AND DECISIVE YEAR

At the end of the 1990s, Pinnacles experienced a turning point in its history every bit as significant as the early 1970s. Nineteen ninety-eight was a year of unprecedented change resulting from several major events and management decisions that occurred in close succession. These would all have important and far-reaching implications for the future of the monument.

The first significant event to occur that year was one of the largest floods in the monument's history.⁴³ Over the course of one night—between February 2nd and the early morning of February 3rd—almost six inches of rain fell, causing Chalone Creek and its tributaries to overflow their banks. On the west side, the Chaparral Picnic Area and Campground were almost completely destroyed, buried under three feet of rock and gravel. Nearby building foundations were also undermined, and underground utilities were exposed and damaged. On the east side, nearly all utilities were rendered inoperable as pipes and conduits that had been laid across the stream channel were broken. Most of the buildings in the Bear Gulch and Chalone Creek development areas were threatened by the flooding waters and saved only through the diligent efforts of park staff, who built and maintained sand-bag barriers until the waters subsided three days later. The YACC warehouse and maintenance yard were on high enough ground to escape damage, but they were completely isolated when the concrete ford across Chalone Creek washed away. The Trails Office and pole barn were undermined by the flood waters and severely damaged. The greatest impact, however, was the loss of the 1934 Chalone Creek Bridge, which collapsed when the creek undercut its western abutment early on the morning of the 3rd. Trails, culverts and footbridges were also damaged or destroyed throughout the monument.

As staff set about repairing the damage, Pinnacles remained closed to the public for the next few months. Park headquarters was also closed, because staff could not get up Bear Gulch with the Chalone Creek Bridge washed out. (The maintenance yard in the YACC area was also inaccessible.) Superintendent Gary Candelaria was forced to move his base of operations to temporary quarters at the BLM office in Hollister. Park staff who could not return to their government housing assignments were put up in motels in nearby communities until utilities could be restored at the monument. Some semblance of normalcy finally began to return at the end of March when a temporary Bailey Bridge was erected across Chalone Creek, allowing vehicles to drive up to Bear Gulch headquarters again. The east side reopened to the public a week later on April 4th. The west side did not open for another month, on May 5th, after the heavily damaged entrance road had been repaired.

42. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1986–1990, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 18, PNM; Lisa Smith, Trails Supervisor, Pinnacles National Monument, pers. comm., 2008.

43. The flood of 1911 may have been larger and more destructive, but there were no staff in residence at that time to record it.

In the long term, the 1998 floods had their greatest impact on planning, as the Park Service began to reconsider past design decisions that had placed so much of the monument's infrastructure within vulnerable flood plains. As Superintendent Candelaria eloquently pointed out:

Chalone Creek Bridge failed because its abutments were in the streambed. The Chaparral housing and administrative sites were damaged because they are in the streambed. The Chaparral campground and picnic areas and utilities were destroyed because they are in the West Fork streambed. The low-water crossing failed because it is in the Chalone Creek streambed. The Bear Gulch waterline was destroyed because it was in the streambed. The Chalone Creek housing septic system failed because it is in the streambed. It is time to get out of the streambeds at Pinnacles.⁴⁴

It was hard to argue with this conclusion, and Candelaria's advice was eventually implemented wherever possible. The west side campground was closed for good, although the rest of the development in that area could not be removed until an alternative administrative center was built. East side development on Chalone Creek was also modified. In the old campground area, the remaining structures on the west bank of the creek (the Chalone Creek Annex) were removed, and the Old Pinnacles Road was later replaced with a trail and realigned in order to restore as much of the original channel width as possible, thus reducing the likelihood of further flooding in the residential area downstream.⁴⁵ The Chalone Creek Bridge was eventually replaced, and the abutments of the new structure were placed much further back than in the original, creating a wider span to accommodate movement of the creek channel and greater volumes of water. But probably the most significant change on the east side made in response to the 1998 floods was the complete retirement of the YACC facility. Although none of the structures themselves had been affected, the destruction of the low-water road crossing had convinced park planners to avoid locating essential facilities where they could be accessed only by crossing the streambed. This was an important decision, since the YACC facility was meant to accommodate all of the monument's maintenance operations, and no alternative site had been selected. For lack of a better solution, maintenance remained in the old CCC camp next to the new residential compound. The YACC facility was demolished—along with the horse stable and corral, plant nursery, and visitor parking lot—and the entire area was restored to natural conditions.⁴⁶

Several other major events occurred in 1998 that affected the administration of the monument. Already mentioned in the previous chapter was the burglary that occurred on the night of May 2nd. This incident strongly reinforced the Park Service's decision to manage Pinnacles for day use only, and the gates began closing shortly after dusk that year for the first time in the monument's history. The other major event of 1998 was the Stonewall Fire, which burned about 1,650 acres of the park between the 3rd and 12th of August.⁴⁷ This was one of the

44. Superintendent Gary Candelaria to Regional Director, February 26, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 8, f. 28, PNM.

45. During the 1930s, the CCC had built up and widened the Old Pinnacles Road on a raised berm, narrowing the bed of Chalone Creek and increasing the intensity of stream flow during flood events. This was a significant factor contributing to damage further downstream.

46. However, a dump that had been actively used since the 1930s was simply buried and continues to turn up rubbish with each new erosional event.

47. Janice Rea, *Stonewall Incident Fire Narrative BEU2661*, National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1998.

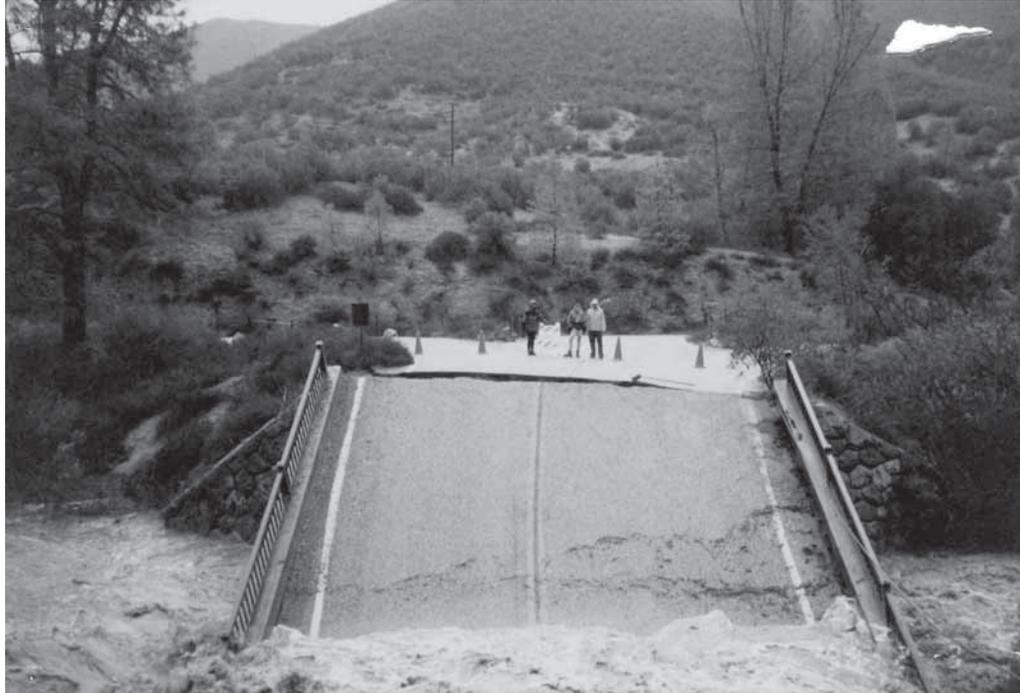


Figure 56. The original Chalone Creek Bridge on February 3, 1998, after floodwaters undermined the abutments. [Mus. Coll. PINN 4372, PNM.]

largest fires to burn inside the monument since 1931.⁴⁸ Although the Stonewall Fire could have been viewed as a natural catastrophe—and probably would have been only thirty years earlier—Superintendent Candelaria saw its impact as chiefly positive.⁴⁹ The fire consumed dense thickets of vegetation that were already scheduled for prescription burning and seemed to improve natural habitat. At the same time, it revealed new archeological resources without causing any significant damage to them.⁵⁰ The only resource destroyed by the fire was about three miles of recently completed pig fence. This positive estimation of the Stonewall Fire was itself a truly significant event, representing a profound change in attitude toward fire among park staff and resource managers since the days of active suppression. While suppression had ceased to be the unconditional policy of the National Park Service in 1968, the Stonewall Fire represented the first major test at Pinnacles of the agency's new philosophy. It also represented a test of the new wilderness ethic, since it was one of the first large fires to burn in the recently designated wilderness areas, and care was taken to utilize appropriate fire-fighting tactics—heavy machinery, for example, was avoided.⁵¹

48. Several other large fires (i.e., greater than five hundred acres) had crossed into the monument in recent years, most notably in 1974 when a controlled burn being conducted by the CDF jumped the fireline and burned part of South Chalone Peak. But the Stonewall Fire was the most significant wildfire in recent years. [National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, *Fire Management Plan*, June 2007, p. 32.]

49. Superintendent's Narrative Report, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 15, PNM.

50. Lisa Schub, *Stonewall Fire Cultural Resources Damage Assessment Project, Pinnacles National Monument*, National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, January 1998.

51. Bulldozers were used only on adjacent non-designated BLM lands to protect nearby private property when these resources appeared threatened.

Another important event associated with this watershed year was the study of a population of Townsend's Big-Eared Bat (*Corynorhinus townsendii*) that had been discovered in the Bear Gulch Caves the previous season. This bat has no legal status but is rare in California and considered a species of special concern. Between two hundred and four hundred bats were using the Bear Gulch Caves as a maternal roost. As soon as this was discovered in the summer of 1997, the caves were closed to the public and remained closed for the duration of 1998 as a result of the February floods. This initial study led to the preparation of a *Bear Gulch Cave Management Plan*, which established seasonal closures of portions of the caves to protect the bats during their breeding season.⁵² This policy is still in practice.

Finally, of all the events that occurred in 1998, the one that would have the most profound effect on the future of the monument was Superintendent Candelaria's decision to purchase the Pinnacles Ranch. The Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company had been interested in selling their two-thousand-acre ranch for several years now. In 1992, the company had cooperated with the Sierra Club to propose authorization for the Park Service to acquire it. State Senator Henry Mello had agreed to sponsor this proposal, but at that time the Park Service was not interested, because Superintendent James Sleznick believed the land was not appropriate for a national park.⁵³ The most he was willing to consider was a small parcel of a few acres or so for an administrative center outside the monument's boundaries.⁵⁴ Regional Director Stanley Albright agreed with Sleznick, arguing that the ranch was too large for the Park Service to purchase and recommended that a private party step in to preserve it instead.⁵⁵ Fortunately, the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company did not look for other buyers at that time, and the matter was temporarily forgotten.

Then in 1998 the proposal was brought up once more when the new superintendent, Gary Candelaria, who had a very different opinion of the value of the Pinnacles Ranch, renewed negotiations with the Pinnacles Land and Cattle Company.⁵⁶ To legally authorize the acquisition, Superintendent Candelaria requested Presidential approval to expand the monument's boundary. The proposed authorization would include some three thousand acres of private lands—approximately two-thirds of which was represented by Pinnacles Ranch—and more than eight thousand acres of adjacent BLM lands.⁵⁷ (These included the same lands that the BLM had intended to convey to the Park Service back in 1983, until an interagency dispute over the pig fence had soured the arrangement.) President Clinton signed the authorization in January of 2000, allowing Pinnacles to add as much as eleven thousand acres to its existing area. The BLM lands were conveyed that same year, while negotiations

52. Superintendent's Narrative Report, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 15, PNM; and National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, *Bear Gulch Caves Management Plan*, 2003.

53. Henry Mello, State Senator, to Stanley Albright, Western Regional Director, June 12, 1992, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 16, f. 31, PNM.

54. James Sleznick, interviewed by author January 18, 2007. Sleznick had expressed an active interest in this idea since at least 1987. [James Sleznick to Russ Butcher, October 1, 1987, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f. 1, PNM.]

55. Albright to Mello, July 1, 1992, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 22, f.1, PNM.

56. National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, *Preproposal: Acquisition of the Pinnacles Ranch*, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 35, f. 16, PNM.

57. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 15, PNM.

proceeded for the purchase of the remaining private lands.⁵⁸ Eventually, all but about seven hundred acres of these lands were purchased, with Pinnacles Ranch finally acquired on March 15, 2006.

In 1998, the regional office had just started preparing a new General Management Plan (GMP) for Pinnacles, but the unexpected decision to acquire the new lands abruptly postponed this process. Over the next eight years, most of the monument's attention would be devoted to the land acquisition, and the GMP would not be taken up again until 2007. By that time, the monument had changed so dramatically from what it had been in 1976 when the previous plan was approved that many of the existing management objectives and goals would have to be seriously reconsidered. In a few instances, this was due to the old objectives becoming irrelevant, but in most cases it was because new opportunities had been made available. The addition of Pinnacles Ranch—now referred to as the Bottomlands—would bring large areas of meadow, riparian, wetland, and oak savannah habitats into the monument. It would also bring many new cultural and ethnographic resources, as well as a large camping concession. All of these additions would present park staff with significant challenges as well as opportunities and require substantially new strategies for management.

58. On December 19, 2002, Public Law 107-370 designated as federal wilderness approximately 2,715 of these added public lands, bringing the total area of the Pinnacles Wilderness to just under 16,000 acres. About 5,500 acres of the added BLM lands had been listed as Wilderness Study Areas (WSAs) at the time of their conveyance to the NPS in 2000.

CONCLUSION: PINNACLES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

As discussed in the previous chapter, 1998 was a year of both endings and new beginnings. The dramatic floods caused damage to most of the monument's infrastructure and washed some of it entirely away. This raised important and unavoidable questions about the nature of the extensive building program that had begun all the way back in 1928 with Thomas Vint's original development outline. Although little actual construction had occurred in the last few decades, the pattern of development that had been established in the 1920s still prevailed and, in some cases, even guided new proposals. For example, the planned consolidation of maintenance facilities in the old YACC Area on Chalone Creek was consistent with these early development principles and reflected both the best and worst qualities of traditional Park Service design. On the one hand, the proposal aimed to bring all related operations together in a single facility. This would maximize working efficiency but also reduce the overall impact of the development on surrounding scenery by concentrating it in a single location. The visual impact would be further lessened by placing the facility on the far side of Chalone Creek, away from most visitor traffic and largely out-of-sight, though still relatively accessible by park staff. On the negative side, these design objectives largely ignored natural processes. The YACC site seemed ideal as far as aesthetics and operational logistics, but from an environmental point-of-view, it was a terrible choice. Not only was the facility vulnerable to flood damage, but it posed a potentially negative impact to one of the most sensitive habitat types in the monument.¹

The same was true of most other development in Pinnacles. The floods that rendered the YACC facility unusable revealed an essential flaw in traditional Park Service design values, and demonstrated the need for paying greater attention to natural processes in future development. Although in theory this had already become a priority with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 and the new planning protocols that were introduced in response to it, many design decisions still reflected earlier values or had already been made many years before. It would take a dramatic natural event to break the momentum of this tradition. The 1998 floods closed one chapter on Park Service planning at Pinnacles but opened another. Previously, aesthetics had been the leading force driving design. In the future, science would play an equal, if not greater, part.

1. The 1999 Resources Management Plan noted that "Pinnacles National Monument is not a static 'monument' to be improved and neutralized. Natural geomorphic processes must be given the right of way or negative ecological consequences will result. The mitigation of hazards will test the resolve of management more than any other facet of resource management." This includes fluvial geomorphology, and the RMP also noted, "The bed material [of Chalone Creek] is highly mobile. High turbulent flows over the streambed are likely to drastically change channel shape and slope, creating greater uncertainty in predicting high water limits and flood zones. Significant channel geometry changes can be expected with a ten-year flood event or larger." With respect to the vulnerability of Chalone Creek to development, the same report noted that "habitat is vital for the survival of amphibian species. The riparian corridors are constantly being encroached upon by development in the park. This encroachment destroys or degrades this essential habitat." [United States Department of the Interior, *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan* (Paines, CA: National Park Service, Pinnacles National Monument, 1999.)]

The Stonewall Fire, which occurred several months later, only reinforced these emerging reconceptions. It illustrated both the futility of complete suppression and the apparent benefit provided by allowing fires to burn in a vegetative habitat which was adapted to a fire regime. Superintendent Candelaria wrote enthusiastically about the ecological role of this natural event.² Less positive were the implications of the robberies that also occurred that year. Prior to this time, Pinnacles had experienced little of the problems associated with big cities, but now it seemed that these problems would play a part in the future management of the monument. Pinnacles was no longer an isolated rural park. Projected growth for Monterey County suggested that these developments were harbingers rather than anomalies, and the future could be expected to bring both greater crowds and increasing crime.³

NATURAL RESOURCES

Over the following decade, many substantial changes occurred at Pinnacles. Probably the most visible was the acquisition of the two-thousand-acre Pinnacles Ranch in 2006. Although a much larger area of land—eight thousand acres—had been acquired from the BLM in 2000, this went largely unnoticed by the general public and required little in the way of new management obligations from staff, because the BLM lands were mostly remote, chaparral-covered hills at the far northern and southern edges of the monument. Much of this land had already been classified as Wilderness Study Areas and would soon be designated part of an expanded Pinnacles Wilderness in 2002.⁴ By contrast, Pinnacles Ranch drew considerably more attention and posed many new challenges for Park staff. For example, it brought with it the responsibility of managing a large campground. This represented a reversal of the policy adopted with the 1976 Master Plan, which had proposed that Pinnacles be managed for day use only and directed the staff to retire or abandon all overnight facilities. But that decision had been made at least partly in response to the lack of sufficient land area appropriate for overnight camping. The extensive bottomlands in Pinnacles Ranch now allowed the Park Service to reconsider this earlier policy, and the decision was made to retain the existing campground. With this decision, a whole new set of questions and problems was raised. For example, how would the campground be managed—by the Park Service or by a private concessionaire under contract to the Park Service? Equally important was the question of maintenance. Many of the existing utilities had deteriorated and would have to be repaired or upgraded right away to bring them into compliance with federal standards so that the campground could even remain open. A larger but less immediate issue was the design of the campground. A substantial part of it had been built within the channel of Sandy Creek and included sensitive riparian and wetland habitat around the confluence of McCabe Creek. Simply retiring this poorly sited development would not be easy, since alternative sites would have to be found and developed to accommodate the large numbers of visitors who use the campground during peak seasons.

2. Superintendent's Narrative Reports, 1998, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 15, f. 15, PNM.

3. NPS regional planners expect the current pattern of significant population growth to continue: "Since the 1976 Master Plan was approved, the population of Hollister, San Benito County's largest community, has grown 248 % from 18,226 to 63,600. Projected growth by 2020 for this region is estimated at 35% overall and upwards of 50 % for the small communities such as Soledad that are gateways for Pinnacles." ["Project Agreement, Pinnacles National Monument General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement/Environmental Assessment; Draft," March 5, 2007, Park Files, Resources Library, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA.]

4. On December 19, 2002, President Clinton signed Public Law 107-370, which among other things increased the Pinnacles Wilderness Area by the addition of approximately 2,715 acres.

Pigs represented another challenge posed by the acquisition of Pinnacles Ranch. The pig fence had scarcely been finished and the last pig killed within the original exclusion area when the new lands were added to the monument. Since Pinnacles Ranch contains much valuable habitat that is especially vulnerable to pigs—including wetlands in McCabe Canyon, riparian woodland, and oak savannah—park managers realized that the pig fence would have to be extended around these areas as well, or some portion of them. The problem was especially acute here, because Pinnacles Ranch was popular with the pigs themselves, and large numbers congregated in it, especially at the campground and in McCabe Canyon.

McCabe Canyon was soon recognized to be one of the highest priorities for protection when the value of its natural (and possibly cultural) resources became apparent. Not only did it contain one of the few artesian springs in the area—which attracted the pigs—but it also possessed extensive beds of native deergrass (*Muhlenbergia rigens*) and white-root sedge (*Carex barbarae*), both of which are important fiber sources traditionally used by Native Californians. The unusual abundance of these plants occurring in an area that is naturally suited for seasonal, or even permanent, residence suggests that the site may have been utilized in prehistoric times by local tribes. Though this has yet to be demonstrated, the site remains valuable to contemporary Native Californians who still practice the traditional arts of basketweaving, and Park staff have approached representatives of the local Amah Mutsun people as well as representatives of the California Indian Basketweavers Association (CIBA) to discuss options for cooperating in the management of these resources.

One of these management options includes the reintroduction of fire, which Native Californians are believed to have used to manage species like deergrass.⁵ A new Fire Management Plan (FMP) was completed in 2007, which identified as its preferred alternative a prescribed burn program for oak woodlands and valley grasslands like those in McCabe Canyon.⁶ The purpose of this treatment would be the restoration of native herbaceous cover. The Fire Management Plan notes that these areas were probably burned intensively by Native Americans in pre-contact times in order to manage fiber sources like the deergrass and to improve the productivity of various food sources. The reintroduction of prescribed fire would therefore help preserve the ethnographic resources of local Native Americans at the same time as it served Park Service goals for natural resource management. One of the important natural resource objectives of burning valley grasslands is the control of invasive exotic species like yellow star thistle (*Centaurea solstitialis*), which has become widespread throughout Pinnacles Ranch as a result of ground disturbance from cultivation, poorly timed mowing, and cattle grazing in relatively recent times.

The new Fire Management Plan represents a reinvigoration of Pinnacles' prescribed burn program after some two decades of neglect. The original program, which was introduced with much enthusiasm at the end of the seventies, had begun to languish by the mid-eighties. The last year in which significant acreage was burned was 1982, though a handful of small prescription burns were conducted in the late eighties (1986 and 1987) and in the late nineties (1996, 1997, and 1999). All prescription burning was halted Agency-wide in 1999 as a result

5. Henry T. Lewis, "Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory," in *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*, ed. by Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1993); Jon Keeley, "Native American Impacts on Fire Regimes of the California Coastal Ranges," *Journal of Biogeography* 29 (2002): 303–320; M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005).

6. National Park Service, *Fire Management Plan, Pinnacles National Monument*, June 2007 (on file at Pinnacles National Monument).

of an escaped burn at Los Alamos (New Mexico), but at Pinnacles the decline of the program was due in even greater part to questions about the role of fire in chaparral vegetation. The original program, based on a proposal written by Harold Biswell in 1976, assumed that fire was necessary to preserve the health of chaparral. Biswell and other fire ecologists at that time believed that a relatively short fire return interval was normal in this ecosystem but that human intervention, dating from the early twentieth century, had successfully suppressed the natural fire regime and produced extensive, impenetrable thickets of senescent brush and excessive fuel loading. Biswell's plan had proposed introducing a regime of relatively frequent prescribed burns to create a more open mosaic of heterogeneously aged plants and to establish buffers with minimal fuel loading around developed areas. It was thought that this would not only improve safety by reducing the potential for intense crown fires but would also improve the overall health of the chaparral ecosystem.⁷

Later assessments of this program showed that, where it had been implemented, vegetation was being type-converted from chaparral to grassland, with exotic annual grasses dominating. At the same time, new research was beginning to challenge the Park Service's original theories about the relationship between fire and chaparral.⁸ Fire is no longer thought to be necessary to preserve stand vigor, and healthy populations of "old growth" chaparral have been discovered and found to be crucial habitat for a number of other plant and animal species.⁹ Chaparral is believed to be adapted to a fire regime in which intense fires occur, but only relatively infrequently. The natural fire return interval in California's coastal hills is now thought to be forty to one hundred years, and historic suppression activities are no longer believed to have been successful. In fact, the historic record at Pinnacles suggests that fires have occurred *more* frequently during the period of active suppression than before it.¹⁰ As a result of this reassessment, prescribed fire will no longer be applied to the chaparral except where type-conversion of the brushland is actually desired to create safety buffers. Instead, prescribed burning will largely be restricted to oak savannah and valley grasslands where it is believed that an intensive fire regime will benefit both ecological and ethnographic objectives. The possibility of prescribed burns in designated wilderness areas will be re-evaluated at a future date in a proposed Wilderness Management Plan.

A significant obstacle confronting the reintroduction of fire to the monument, however, will be the need to balance burn plans with air quality restrictions. Pinnacles was designated a Class I air quality zone under the Clean Air Act of 1977. This is the highest classification prescribed by the act and requires the monument to actively prevent impairment of its air quality. Particulate and ozone pollution from encroaching urbanization, especially within the Salinas Valley to the west, will make it increasingly difficult to maintain these legislatively mandated standards and to carry out an active fire management program at the same time. Another obstacle is reflected in the changing demographics of the region, as more urban-raised people settle in the growing suburbs near the monument. Unlike the rural population traditionally associated with the

7. Harold Biswell and James Agee, "The Fire Management Plan for Pinnacles National Monument," *Proceedings of the First Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks* (1979): 1231–1238.

8. Much of this research is being done through the Western Ecological Research Center in Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park under the direction of USGS scientist Jon Keeley.

9. Jon Keeley, "Chaparral and Fire" *Fremontia* 35.4 (2007): 16–21; Jon Keeley, "Fire Management of California Shrubland Landscapes" *Environmental Management* 29.3 (2002): 395–408.

10. Jon Keeley, *Ibid.* This interpretation is supported by the evidence presented in Jason Greenlee and Andrew Moldenke, *The History of Wildfires in the Region of the Gabilan Mountains of Central Coastal California*, 1981 (Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 39, f. 7), which is referenced in the 2007 Fire Management Plan.

area, these newcomers have little understanding or appreciation of the integral place of fire in the local ecology and often object to burning for aesthetic reasons.

Another important resources program to be implemented during the last decade was the reintroduction of the California condor (*Gymnogyps californianus*). This program already had considerable precedent in earlier attempts to reintroduce peregrine falcons as well as in ongoing raptor monitoring and protection efforts. Both the peregrine and condor had been extirpated from the monument decades earlier. The last condor nest to be documented in the Pinnacles dates to 1898, when local rancher Ben Bacon recalls taking an egg from the High Peaks.¹¹ By 1987, the California condor had gone extinct in the wild, and the species survived only as part of a captive breeding program. A tentative reintroduction began five years later when the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) released the first captive bred bird at Sespe Condor Sanctuary in Ventura County, and in 1997 the Ventana Wildlife Society (VWS) released nine birds at Big Sur on the coast not far from Pinnacles. By 2003, a total of eighty condors had been returned to the wild. That same year, Pinnacles entered into a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the Ventana Wildlife Society to assist in the recovery program. A temporary holding pen was constructed at a remote location in the southern end of the monument, and captive bred condors were brought here for release. The initial phase of this program proposed releasing between twenty and thirty condors over a period of fifteen years. During this time, program staff would provide lead-free carcasses to feed the birds. Another aspect of the program would focus on educating hunters about the danger of lead to condors—thought to be the chief factor in the decline of their population—and try to convince them to adopt lead-free ammunition. This public outreach would not begin in earnest, however, until 2006 after Pinnacles had overcome the more fundamental challenges of building essential infrastructure and staffing just to get the program going.¹²

The peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*) suffered a similar fate as the condor, coming close to extinction by the 1970s as a result of DDT poisoning. After this pesticide was banned in 1972, a captive breeding program resulted in a dramatic recovery of the species, and the peregrine falcon was removed from the federal endangered species list in 1999. Prior to the bird's species-wide collapse, Pinnacles once had a nesting population. These birds were first documented in the 1930s, and in 1939 a sanctuary was established in the Balconies Cliffs area to protect them and other resident cliff-nesting raptors like the prairie falcon (*Falco mexicanus*), but the effects of DDT began to show themselves soon afterward and the population went into decline over the next ten years. The last active nest to be seen inside the monument was documented in the early 1950s, and by 1962 the peregrine falcon had been extirpated from the region. With statewide recovery in full swing by the 1980s, however, the National Park Service entered into a cooperative agreement with the Santa Cruz Predatory Bird Research Group (SCPBRG) to reintroduce peregrines into the monument by cross-fostering peregrine chicks with prairie falcons, whose population at Pinnacles remained healthy. For each of three years beginning in 1989, two peregrine chicks were placed in a host prairie falcon nest in the hope that the

11. He reported this to Custodian Hawkins in 1933, who forwarded the information to wildlife biologist George Wright (Hawkins to Wright, March 22, 1933, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 1, f. 4, PNM).

12. Oakland Museum of California, "Bringing the Condors Home" exhibition presented by the Natural Sciences Department in cooperation with the Ventana Wilderness Society, December 16, 2006 to April 15, 2007, Oakland, CA; National Park Service, *California Condor Re-establishment in Pinnacles National Monument: Environmental Assessment, Finding of No Significant Impact*, 2003; Noel F.R. Snyder and Helen A. Snyder, *Introduction to the California Condor* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005).

mature birds would later return to Pinnacles on their own. At least one of the cross-fostered males has done so.¹³

In 1988, Pinnacles staff began conducting annual inventories of cliff-nesting raptors, an effort that provided valuable information to assist in the reintroduction efforts. The most numerous species found to nest here is the prairie falcon, but golden eagles, red-tailed hawks and American kestrels also regularly breed in the monument. Concern over the potential impact on these birds from human intrusion into their nesting habitat led to the implementation of these inventories. Particularly worrisome was the growing popularity of rock-climbing, a sport that brought humans into direct conflict with the nesting raptors. In order to mitigate this impact, Park staff have conducted outreach to the climbing community to educate climbers about these birds and to request their voluntary cooperation in avoiding certain areas of the monument during nesting season. The monument intends to address this issue more formally in a Cliff Management Plan, which will be part of a comprehensive Wilderness Management Plan. Both are currently postponed until the completion of the General Management Plan (GMP), now underway. The Cliff Management Plan will also address impacts to the rock itself (as a result of bolting and other climbing technologies) as well as erosion and denuding of vegetation around the base of popular climbing walls. Interim measures have already been taken to mitigate these impacts by constructing special access trails and by requesting the voluntary cooperation of climbers to use only designated climbing routes. Restoration of heavily disturbed areas has been undertaken through construction of erosion barriers and outplanting of native vegetation.

A resource program with relatively high public visibility has been the management of Townsend's big-eared bats (*Corynorhinus townsendii*) in the Bear Gulch Caves. As mentioned earlier, a maternal colony was discovered here in 1997, just prior to the 1998 floods. (Small numbers of Townsend's big-eared bats had been noticed in the caves as early as 1963.) A four-year study determined that the caves provided ideal habitat not only for maternity but also for hibernation and concluded that the caves were critical for the survival of the bat colony. Since this is a California species of special concern, the survival of the Bear Gulch Caves colony was considered to be important for the continued survival of the species as a whole. In response to this study, a Cave Management Plan was prepared and a management alternative chosen that would require closure of a portion of the cave system during most of the year. In order to isolate this section of the caves from the remainder of the system, which would remain open to visitors, gates were installed and a two-hundred-foot section of new trail constructed to provide access to an intermediate exit point. This work was completed in 2003.¹⁴

Other important resource programs that have continued from before 1998 include refining the vegetation map with ground truthing of remote imagery made in 1983. However, the addition of the new lands has created an urgent need for new vegetation mapping. In general, collection of comprehensive baseline data on nearly all biological resources at Pinnacles remains a high priority. Although some subjects have been studied more or less adequately, significant

13. R.M. Bond, "Special Report on the Proposed Peregrine Area in the Pinnacles National Monument" (1936) [internal report]; J.S. Dixon, "Special Report on Falcons Nesting at Pinnacles National Monument, California" (1940) [internal report]; M. Cymerys and B.J. Walton, "Raptors of the Pinnacles National Monument: Past and Present Nesting and Possible Impacts of Rock Climbers." Davis, CA: University of California, Cooperative National Park Resources Study Unit Technical Report No. 30, 1988).

14. National Park Service, *Bear Gulch Cave Management Plan, Pinnacles National Monument: Finding of No Significant Impact*, 2003 (on file at Pinnacles National Monument).

gaps remain in the knowledge of most of the monument's natural resources.¹⁵ Among those studies that have been made, one of the most comprehensive is the inventory of vascular plants, although even this remains an ongoing task with new species identified every year. In 2003, this knowledge base was significantly expanded into the non-vascular kingdoms with an inventory of lichens. As a result, the known list of ninety-three lichens was augmented by an additional two hundred. This new total is estimated to represent 85 percent of the monument's lichen resources.¹⁶ The larger wildlife species have been recorded from earliest times—formal wildlife inventories were initiated at Pinnacles during the 1950s—but they have received formal study in only a few instances (for example, Peter Bennett's deer browse study from 1963). Many smaller and less charismatic species—both vertebrate and invertebrate—have gone largely unnoticed until recent times. Some of the studies that have been done include a frog survey, a bee and wasp inventory, and an ongoing butterfly inventory. The bee and wasp inventory identified nearly four hundred individual species, one of the highest concentrations in the world, suggesting that Pinnacles is an important refugium for this family.

Although Pinnacles was originally set aside to protect the area's geologic resources, very little formal attention has been given to geology in recent times. The last serious study of the monument's geology was conducted by Vince Matthews in the 1970s, but little new research has occurred since. A Resource Evaluation is currently underway by the Geologic Resources Division of the National Park Service, but this does not represent new research. It will simply consolidate and summarize existing knowledge in one report with an accompanying digital geologic map.¹⁷

In addition to expanding its baseline knowledge of natural resources, the research and resource management division at Pinnacles also recognizes communication and education to be among its priorities. This includes in-service learning through sharing of results among different disciplines, but also includes public outreach, particularly around potentially sensitive issues where there are differing viewpoints and values, for example, with condor reintroduction and lead-free ammunition, cave closures to protect the Townsend's Big-Eared Bats, climbing closures to protect cliff-nesting raptors, and conflicting views about fire and chaparral management.¹⁸

CULTURAL RESOURCES

Until very recently, Pinnacle's principal cultural resources were almost all associated with the development of the monument itself. These included the rustic architecture and landscape design carried out by park staff and Depression-era unemployment relief workers during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1998, a Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) was prepared by the Pacific West Regional Office to document these resources, which were collectively inventoried

15. The 1999 Resource Management Plan stated, "There is a lack of basic data about many of the park's natural resources, its ecosystems and the effects of human activities on these ecosystems. At the same time, there is a wealth of knowledge available on resources that have been the subjects of research or monitoring."

16. Shelly Benson, *Lichen Inventory of Pinnacles National Monument*, unpublished report, December 12, 2003 (on file at Pinnacles National Monument).

17. Katie KellerLynn, *Geologic Resource Evaluation Scoping Summary, Pinnacles National Monument, California*, April 8, 2008.

18. Denise Louie, Chief of Research and Resource Management, Pinnacles National Monument, pers.comm. with author, April 10, 2008.

as the East Entrance Historic District.¹⁹ This district was determined eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places with concurrence of the California State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) in 2002. At the time this CLI was prepared, it was not possible to document the trails and associated backcountry features, which had been constructed during the same historic period and possessed similar significance. In 2008, a separate CLI was therefore undertaken to document these resources as a component of the original 1998 inventory.²⁰ Historic landscapes associated with early homesteading and mining also exist within the monument on the west side (in or near the Chaparral Area), but these have so far received only preliminary investigation.²¹

With the addition of Pinnacles Ranch in the bottomlands, the monument's historic cultural resources were increased substantially. Most of these new lands are part of an agricultural landscape that dates back to the earliest American homesteads in 1865. These resources provide the monument with an opportunity to manage and interpret the history of the surrounding region and to strengthen the relationship between Pinnacles and its immediate neighbors (many of whom are direct descendents of the same families who originally settled here). The historic homesteads of Pinnacles Ranch were documented through a CLI in 2008, resulting in designation of the Ben Bacon Ranch Historic District. This district was determined eligible for listing on the National Register by concurrence of the California SHPO in 2009.

Beginning in 2003, curatorial staff at Point Reyes National Seashore began providing assistance to improve and upgrade Pinnacles' museum collection. In 2005, a Museum Management Plan was developed in order to recommend actions needed to archive, preserve and curate the monument's various collections. In accordance with these recommendations, Pinnacles' central files and photographs were archived and an appropriate facility to permanently house them is currently being sought. During the interim, these archives have been made available to a Park Service historian at the Pacific West Regional Office to assist in the preparation of the present Administrative History, which was initiated at the beginning of 2007. Pinnacles' Museum Archives Building (Building #13) was also upgraded at this time to provide a safe and appropriate facility to house those objects that were to remain at the monument. Finally, a Curator-of-Record was designated, and a Scope of Collections Statement was prepared to guide future accessions.

Archeology

At present, there are thirty-three recorded archeological sites within Pinnacles National Monument. Five of these are historic, while the remainder are all associated with pre-contact Native American activities. One archeological district on the west side has also been listed on the National Register (and is currently the only listed cultural resource in Pinnacles). These documented archeological sites represent only a small percentage of the area within the monument that has been surveyed with any rigor.²² The remainder may contain more resources, but this has yet to be determined. With the addition of Pinnacles Ranch in 2006,

19. Provencher, Shaun, Kathleen Fitzgerald, and Len Warner. *Pinnacles East Entrance District: Cultural Landscape Inventory, Level II*, National Park Service, Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA., 2002.

20. The California SHPO concurred with this amendment in 2009.

21. For example, *Lyons Homestead, Pinnacles National Monument*, Level 0 Cultural Landscape Inventory, 1998 (on file at Pacific West Regional Office, Oakland, CA).

22. Only 6 percent before the addition of the new lands (NPS Systemwide Archeological Survey Program, Western Region Plan, 1994, Mus. Coll. PINN 3658, Box 19, f. 15, PNM).

several new areas known to possess historic archeology were included in the monument, and the potential for additional prehistoric sites was substantially increased. McCabe Canyon offers an especially rich opportunity for prehistoric archeology, given that it possesses abundant water, game species, and extensive stands of various plants known to be important to Native Americans. The nearly eight thousand acres of BLM lands added to the monument in 2000 also offer potential for new archeological resources, although these lands are less likely to have been occupied in either prehistoric or historic periods, given their rugged terrain and predominantly chaparral vegetation. The Park Service currently acknowledges the need for a more extensive inventory of archeological resources throughout the monument. The addition of the new lands has only made this need more imperative. Also needed is a new Archeological Overview and Assessment to replace the study done by John Fritz in 1978. A new overview should give the park a better appreciation for the comparative utilization of valley bottomlands and upland chaparral and crags by prehistoric inhabitants now that the monument includes substantial quantities of both types of landscape.²³

INTERPRETATION

In 2004, a new interpretive plan was developed for the monument. Although it acknowledged some of the dramatic changes that had been occurring around Pinnacles during the recent few decades—particularly, demographic growth in the gateway communities—this plan was still contingent upon the existing Master Plan, which dated back to 1976. Among other things, it assumed that visitor-related infrastructure would be moved to the periphery of the monument on both east and west sides, with new Visitor Centers built in both locations. On the west side, this would represent an entirely new level of development (while on the east, it would simply mean the relocation of existing infrastructure). A new administrative complex, with a Visitor Center at its core, had been recommended by the 1991 Development Concept Plan for the west side, and the 2004 Interpretive Plan presupposed the eventual existence of such a facility. The west side development was assumed to be necessary in order to accommodate the expected increase in visitation from the Salinas Valley, which was growing much faster than San Benito County. This proposed development remained an integral part of the planning discussion among most monument staff up until 2006, when funding was suddenly and unexpectedly cut from the line-item budget, and construction, which was ready to start at any time, was indefinitely postponed.

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

The 1998 floods, not surprisingly, had a very tangible impact on the facilities and maintenance division. Not only did the immediate damage have to be repaired but in some cases entirely new facilities would have to be constructed and others demolished. One of the highest priorities after the flood was to replace Chalone Creek Bridge. A temporary Bailey Bridge was installed within a few months of the event to restore access to Bear Gulch, while a permanent bridge

23. Such an expansion of the study area was actually recommended by John Fritz, who believed that the valley bottomlands would have been more extensively utilized by Native Americans than the more rugged and inaccessible terrain comprised by the original monument. This relationship was certainly evident among historic Americans, who occupied and cultivated the former terrain but only visited the latter on special occasions. [John M. Fritz and Charles Smith, *Archeological Overview of Pinnacles National Monument, San Benito County, California* (Tucson, AZ: National Park Service, Western Archeological Center, 1978).]

was completed within a year. Among those structures demolished were the warehouse and associated buildings in the old YACC Area.

The storms of that season had shown that siting structures within the floodplain was a bad idea and convinced park staff to locate future development on higher, more stable ground. In many instances, however, this would entail modifying existing planning concepts. The most noticeable example of this was on the east side at Chalone Creek, where the 1993 Development Concept Plan had proposed separating visitor use, staff residence and park operations by concentrating each type of use in different areas. Up to that time, all three uses overlapped in the Chalone Developed Area, site of the old CCC camp and later the Chalone Campground. Although camping had not occurred here since 1979, the site was still being used as a picnic ground, with visitors lunching practically on the doorsteps of staff residences. More troublesome, however, was the proximity of the maintenance yard at the north end of the complex, creating an incompatible juxtaposition with visitor use and staff residential areas. The development of a new maintenance yard at the old YACC facility would have eliminated this conflict, while retiring the picnic grounds and reserving the Chalone Area exclusively for staff residence would have solved the remainder of the problem, but the 1998 floods removed the option of using the YACC Area for park operations. With no apparent alternative, the maintenance yard remained in the Chalone Area and even grew in size as other functions that had previously been dispersed in other locations were now concentrated in a single facility. By 2004, a new fire cache and trails shop were constructed next to the existing buildings at the north side of the area. The trails shop was built to replace the facility that had been located in the YACC Area but was demolished in the aftermath of the floods.

Despite the persistence of conflicting or incompatible use, residential development in the Chalone Creek Area also went forward, more or less in accordance with pre-flood plans. Even as the new trails shop and fire cache were completed, a residential duplex (Building #103-4) and an eight-room dormitory (Building #105) were built at the south side of the developed area. These augmented existing residential capacity provided by a duplex built in 1991 (Building #101-2) and three temporary trailers (Buildings #204-6) from 1984. In 2005, the picnic grounds were finally removed and the area landscaped to create a natural commons in the midst of the residential compound. (The 1961 campground comfort station [Building #309] was retained though is no longer used for its original purpose.)

One of the most dramatic changes to be made in the Chalone Area after the 1998 floods was the removal of the Old Pinnacles Road. Although not used by vehicles since 1974, the road was essentially a short highway segment. It had been constructed by CCC enrollees in 1938 and ran along a raised viaduct that intersected the Chalone Creek floodplain for approximately three kilometers. Evidence from the flood itself, followed by a four year study of the area's fluvial geomorphology confirmed staff suspicions that this structure was having a detrimental impact on natural processes. This impact included reduction of habitat for the federally listed California red-legged frog (*Rana aurora draytonii*), whose population was substantially depressed on Chalone Creek in the aftermath of the 1998 flood. The decision to remove the road and restore the surrounding riparian habitat to natural conditions was made in response to these concerns. Work began in 2003 and continued for nearly three years. More than ten thousand cubic meters of aggregate material was removed. Much of this was used to fill quarries that had been used as borrow pits during construction of the road in the 1930s. (One of these quarries was also the source of the green lapilli tuff used in construction of the entrance pylons and Building #1 in Bear Gulch.) Native vegetation was also planted, and physical modifications were made to the stream channel to hasten recovery of natural

geomorphic processes. By the end of 2006, the Old Pinnacles Road had been replaced by a hiking trail that followed the natural contour of the floodplain.

Finally, a General Management Plan (GMP) was started in early 2007. Since the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 first mandated them, GMPs are normally prepared at least once every twenty years, and Pinnacles had already initiated a plan in 1998 to replace its existing 1976 Master Plan. But the acquisition of Pinnacles Ranch that was proposed that same year temporarily postponed the process, which resumed only after the land transfer had been completed. The new plan will have to address numerous changes that have occurred within and around the monument during the last few decades and can be expected to differ substantially from the previous Master Plan. The acquisition of Pinnacles Ranch (the Bottomlands), the 1998 floods, and evolving ideas about the role of fire in chaparral have all introduced new challenges to the policies that guided the monument three decades earlier, presenting both opportunities as well as greater responsibilities. The addition of many new cultural resources has also challenged the monument to interpret its mission far more broadly than ever before. As the future of Pinnacles is slowly being worked out in the planning process, important links to the monument's past are also being established. In 2006, a non-profit friends group—the Pinnacles Partnership—was created by a group of local citizens to support the monument and its programs. The Partnership reflects important elements of Pinnacles' history and its relationship to the surrounding community. Its current president is the grandson of Ernest Sevenman, one of the original homesteaders on Pinnacles Ranch, while members of the board include descendents of Schuyler Hain and W.I. Hawkins. The Partnership has already done much to help reinvigorate local interest in the monument and to improve cooperation with monument staff (many of whom are also members of the local community). This continues an old and important tradition at Pinnacles, which was originally established, and even managed, by local residents.

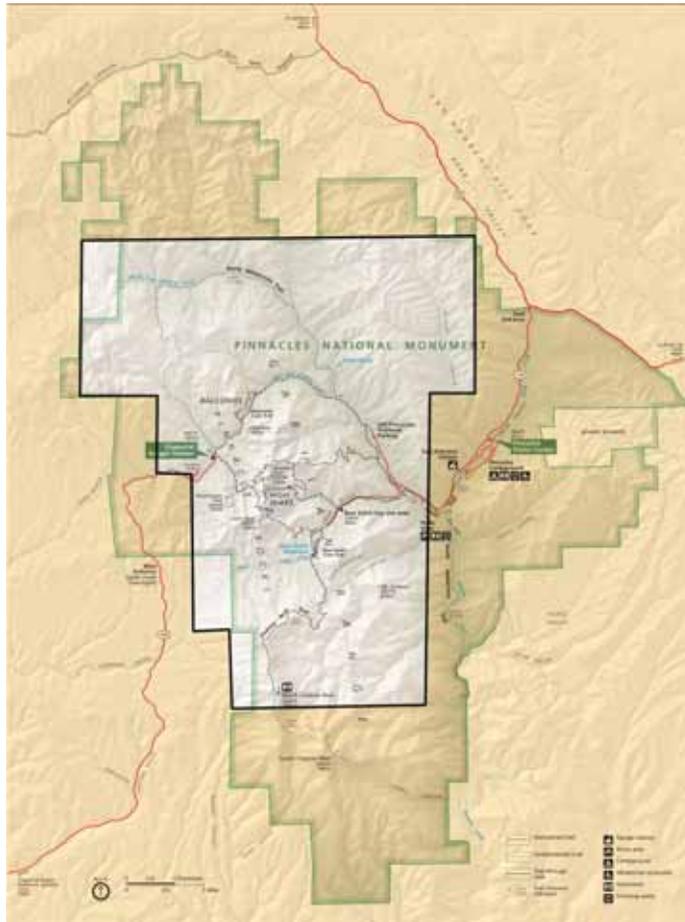
APPENDIX A

LIST OF CUSTODIANS AND SUPERINTENDENTS

Herman Hermansen (custodian)	1923–1925
Washington I. Hawkins (custodian)	1925–1945
Frank R. Givens (custodian)	1945–1947
William H. Gibbs (superintendent)	1947–1952
Ben C. Miller (superintendent)	1953–1953
L. Earl Jackson (superintendent)	1953–1955
Russell L. Mahan (superintendent)	1955–1958
Everett W. Bright (superintendent)	1958–1964
Delyle R. Stevens (superintendent)	1964–1968
Gordon K. Patterson (superintendent)	1968–1973
Rothwell P. Broyles (superintendent)	1974–1986
James Sleznick, Jr. (superintendent)	1986–1995
Gary Candelaria (superintendent)	1995–1999
Steve Shackelton (superintendent)	1999–2002
Cicely Muldoon (superintendent)	2002–2005
Eric Brunnemann (superintendent)	2005–present

APPENDIX B

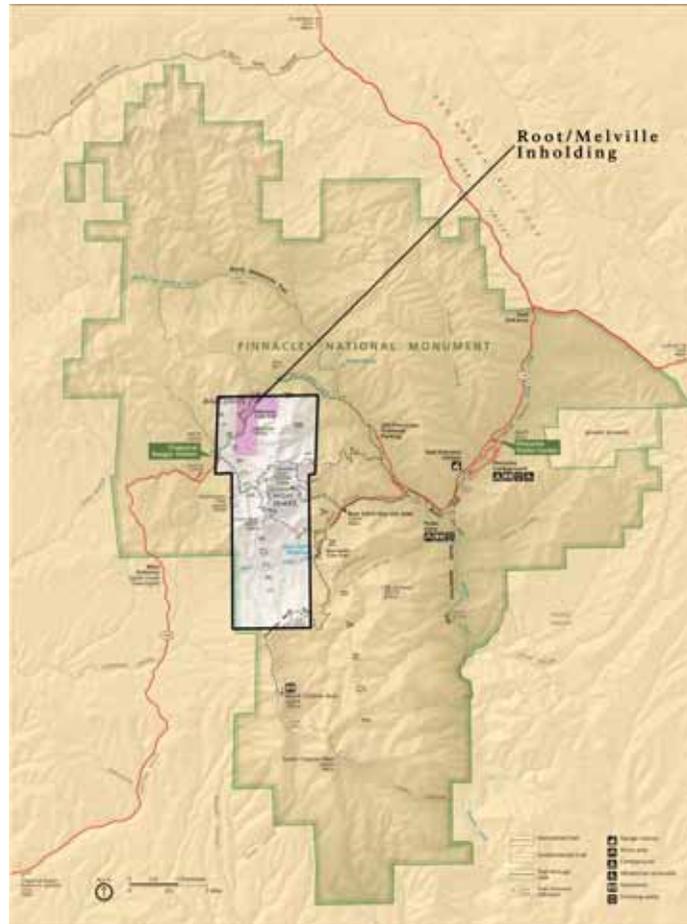
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY



1906

1. Proclamation of July 18, 1906

Established Pinnacles Forest Reserve, comprising 14,080 acres. The reserve was managed by the U.S. Forest Service. It was later abolished by Presidential Proclamation on December 12, 1910, following the establishment of Pinnacles National Monument.



1908

2. Proclamation No. 796, January 16, 1908 (35 Stat. 2177)

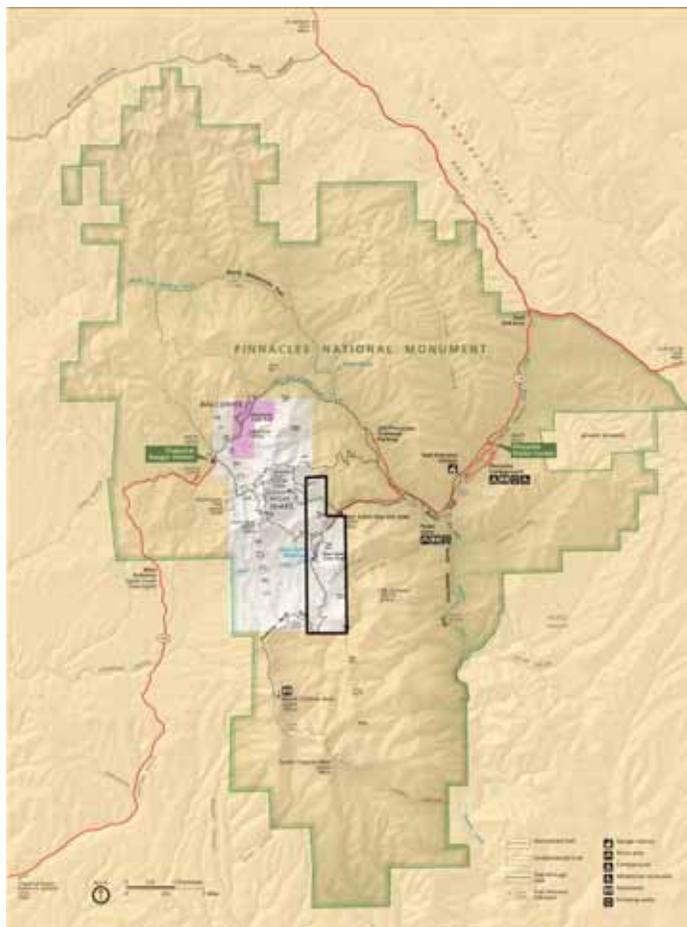
Established Pinnacles National Monument, comprising approximately 2,080 acres within existing Pinnacles Forest Reserve.

3. Pinnacles State Game Refuge, 1911.

Established at the urging of Schuyler Hain after the abolishment of the Pinnacles Forest Reserve. The game refuge comprised the same boundaries as the forest reserve (and so was considerably larger than the national monument), but it provided only limited protection, restricting only the hunting of animals.

4. Organic Act of August 25, 1916, to establish the National Park Service (39 Stat. 535)

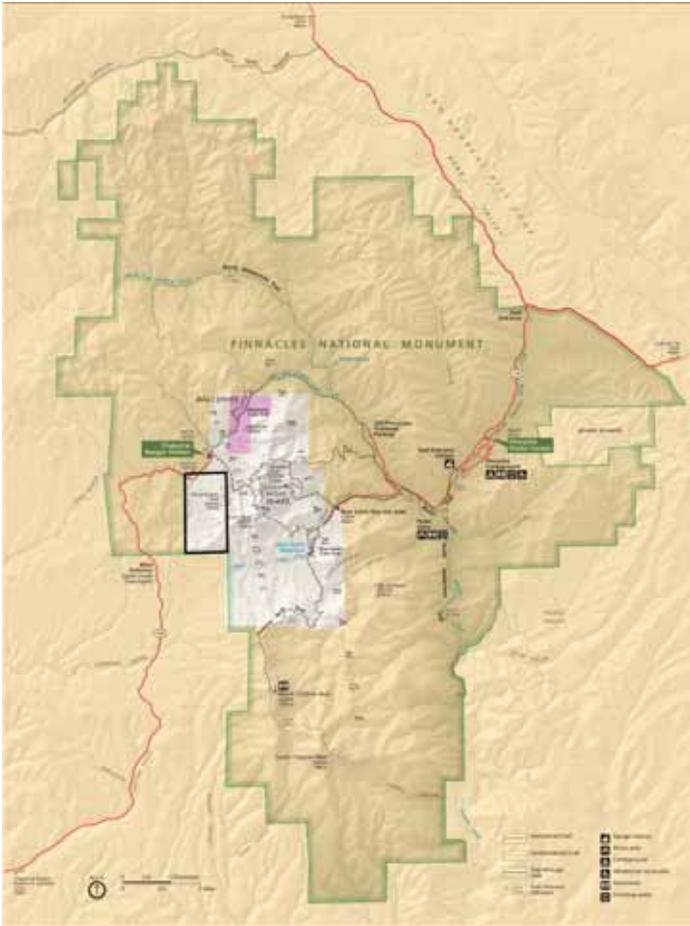
Congress assigned to this new agency the administration of all the national parks and most of the national monuments already in existence. The administration of Pinnacles National Monument was among these monuments transferred to the National Park Service.



1923

5. Proclamation No. 1660, May 7, 1923 (43 Stat. 1911)

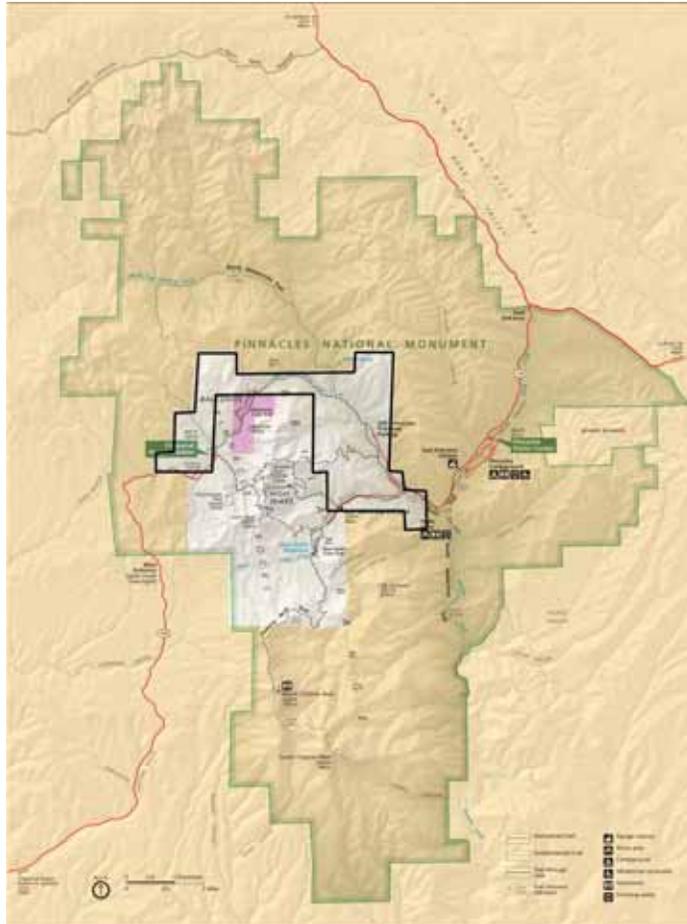
Added approximately 562 acres to Pinnacles National Monument. The monument now totals approximately 2,642 acres.



1924

6. Proclamation No. 1704, July 1924 (43 Stat. 1961)

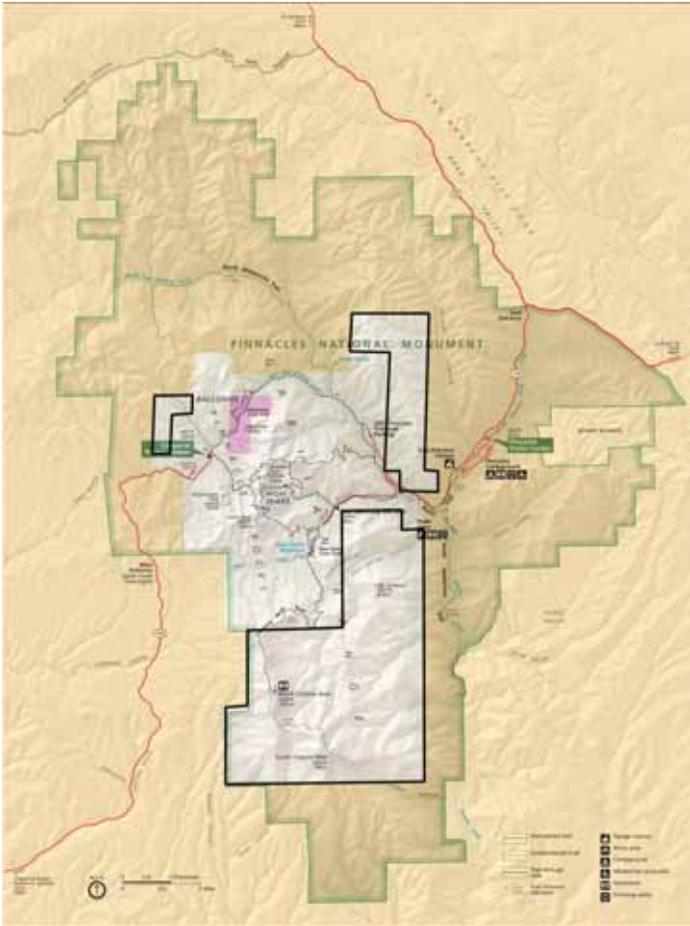
Added approximately 326 acres to Pinnacles National Monument. The monument now totals approximately 2,968 acres.



1931

7. Proclamation No. 1948, April 13, 1931 (47 Stat. 2451)

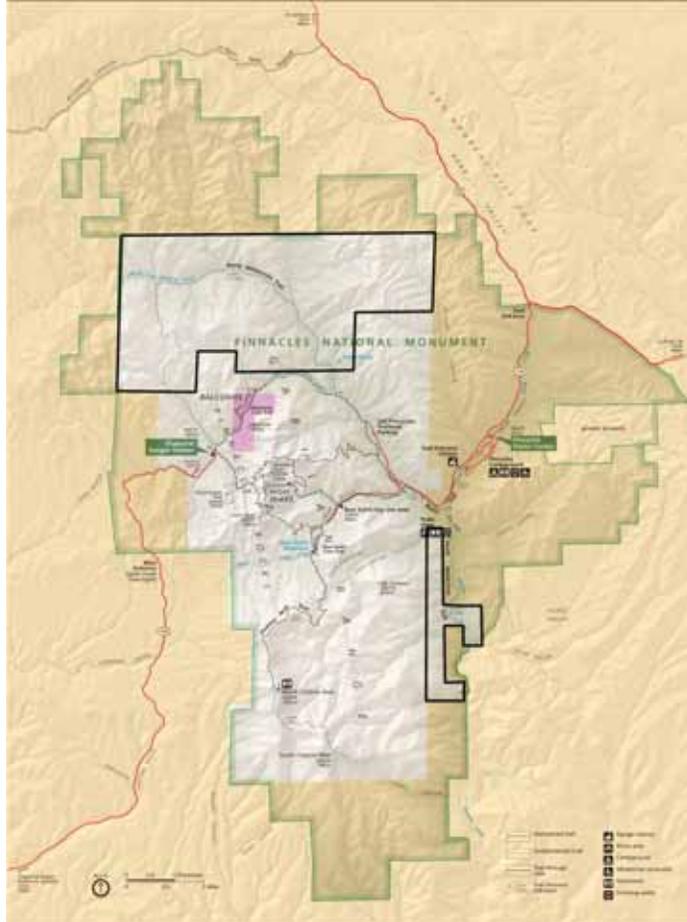
Added approximately 1,926 acres to Pinnacles National Monument. The monument now totals approximately 4,894 acres.



1933

8. Proclamation No. 2050, July 11, 1933 (48 Stat. 1701)

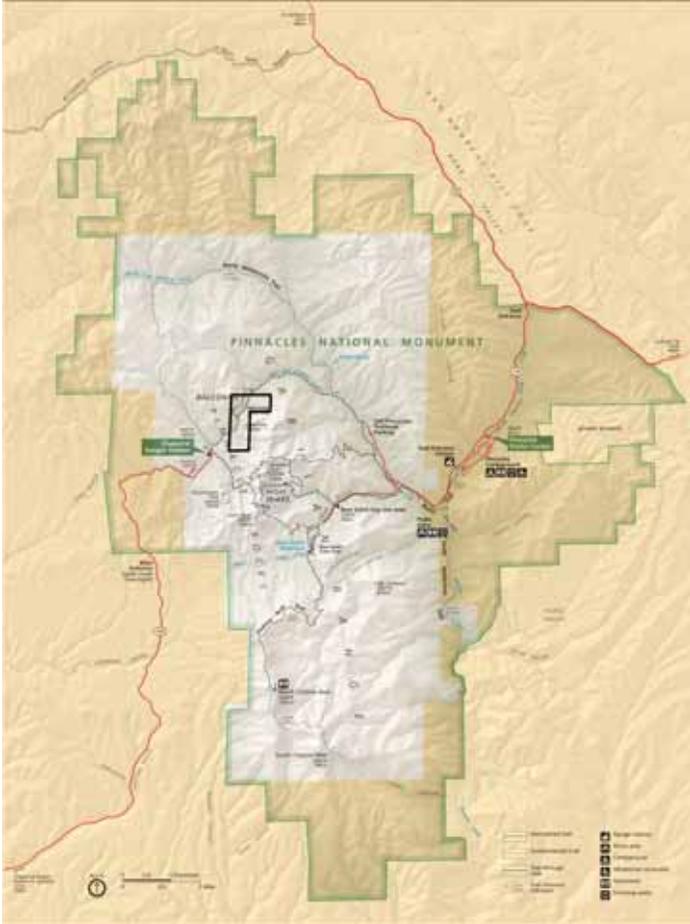
Added approximately 5,322 acres to Pinnacles National Monument. The monument now totals approximately 10,216 acres.



1941

9. Proclamation No. 2528, December 5, 1941 (55 Stat. 1709)

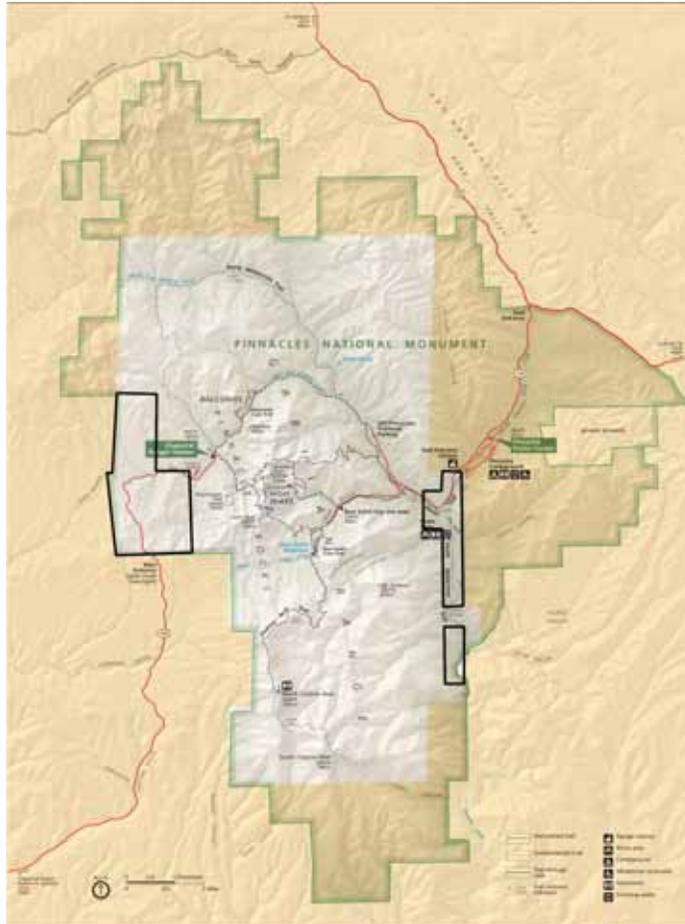
Added approximately 4,300 acres to Pinnacles National Monument. The monument now totals approximately 14,516 acres.



1958

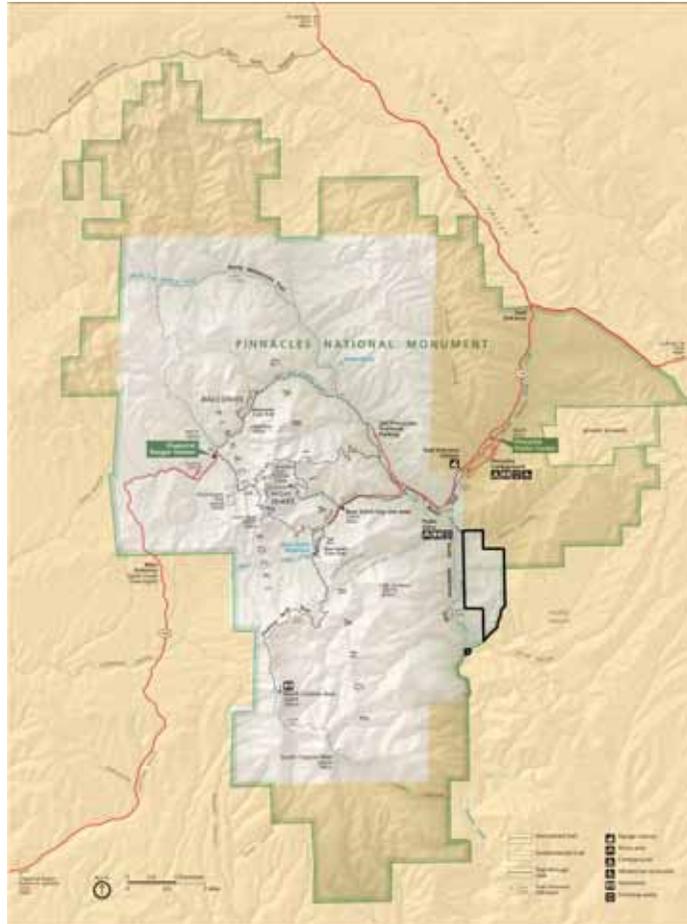
10. Addition of Root Homestead (approx. 160 ac.)

Donated to the National Park Service by San Benito County, which had acquired the parcel through condemnation in 1935. This property already lay within the legislative boundaries of the monument, so no further Congressional action was needed to accept it.

**1976**

11. Public Law 94-567, October 20, 1976 (90 Stat. 2692)

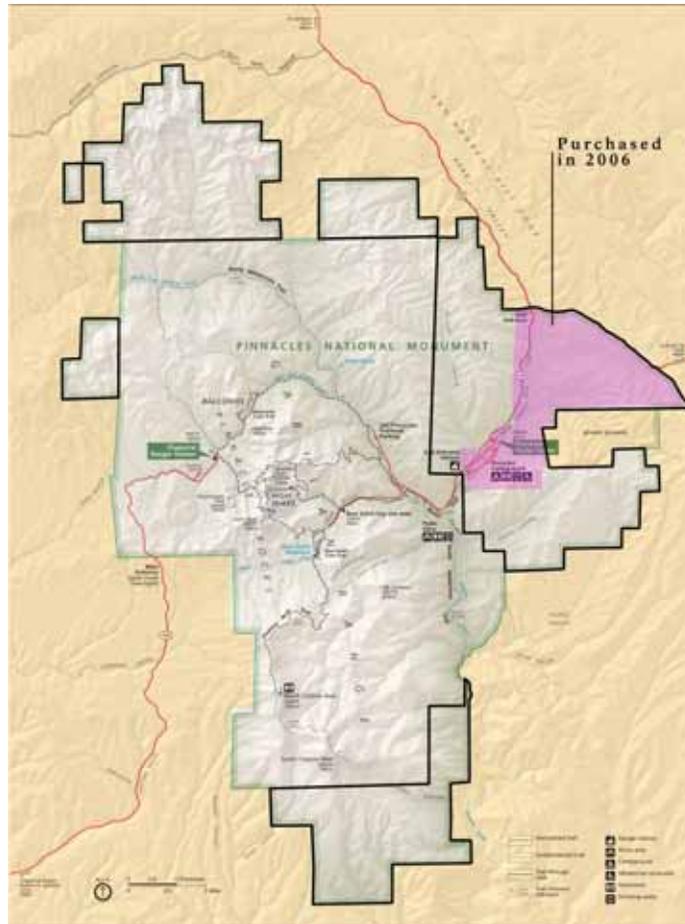
Designated 12,952 acres of land within Pinnacles National Monument as wilderness and 990 acres as potential wilderness. Also added approximately 1,717.9 acres to the monument and declared that the monument's total area shall not exceed 16,500 acres. The monument now totals approximately 16,234 acres.



1980

12. Public Law 96-344, September 8, 1980 (94 Stat. 1134)

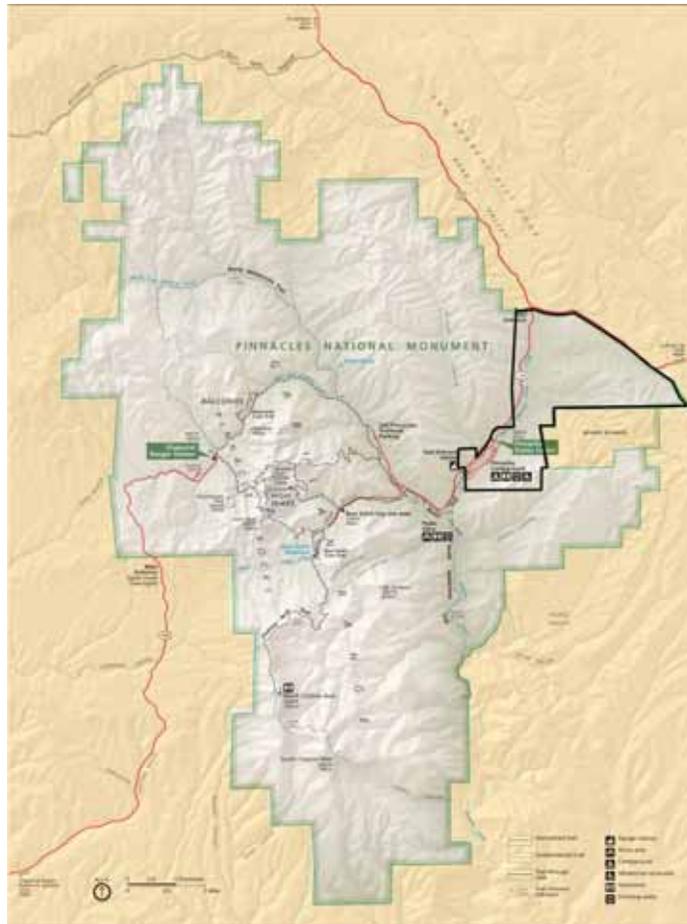
Authorized minor boundary change along southeast edge of monument to adjust fence line on Chalone Creek. Approximately 3.35 acres were removed from the monument, while approximately 44.02 acres were added. The monument now totals approximately 16,275 acres.



2000

13. Proclamation No. 7266, January 11, 2000 (65 F.R. 2831-32)

Authorized expansion of monument to include approximately 10,939 additional acres (thereby rendering moot the acreage limitation established by P.L. 94-567 in 1976). Approximately 8,008 acres were federal lands transferred from the Bureau of Land Management, while the remaining 2,931 acres were privately owned. The legislative boundaries of the monument now comprise approximately 27,214 acres, with 24,283 acres owned by the National Park Service.



2006

14. Acquisition of Pinnacles Ranch and Miscellaneous Private Parcels.

Pinnacles Ranch was purchased from Stu and Peggie Kingman by the Nature Conservancy and subsequently transferred to the National Park Service in 2006. Another private parcel within the bottomlands was also acquired from heirs of the Bacon family. Total additions to the monument by the end of this year amounted to approximately 2,251 acres. The monument now comprises approximately 26,534 acres under direct NPS ownership. An additional 680 acres remain in private ownership.

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Pinnacles National Monument
5000 Hwy 146
Paicines, CA 95043

Located in the Gabilan Mountains of California's central coast ranges, the Pinnacles are a dramatic and beautiful formation of weathered rhyolitic breccia from an extinct cluster of ancient volcanoes. Pinnacles National Monument, originally only 2,080 acres, was established in 1908 to preserve this scenic wonder that was then becoming popular with day-hikers and picnickers. Over the subsequent century, the monument has grown both in size and significance. It now comprises more than 26,000 acres, with nearly 13,000 acres of designated wilderness, and protects a diverse range of natural communities that include chaparral, blue oak woodland, native grasslands, seasonal and perennial wetlands, and riparian forest along Chalone Creek and its several tributaries. These provide habitat for a rich abundance of wildlife, including more than 400 different species of bees, one of the highest concentrations in the world. The endangered California condor, driven nearly to extinction in the last century, has been reintroduced here and can be seen soaring above the monument's rocky spires. Pinnacles also preserves the history of early homesteaders, dry-land farmers, and President Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, which established a camp within the monument and constructed many of the buildings and trails that visitors can see today. The monument lies within the ancestral homeland of the native Mutsun and Chalon peoples, many of whose descendents still reside in the area and value the Pinnacles for their spiritual and historical significance. This administrative history documents how the monument has grown to encompass such a diverse range of resources and how the National Park Service has managed them.

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