

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

INTRODUCTION

One hundred years ago the north woods region of the American heartland was largely in private hands. It was the center of a rich and prosperous lumber industry, an important component in the national economy. Immigrants from foreign lands were drawn to the developing region by its abundant jobs and readily available land. One of the most remarkable, if little appreciated transitions in the history of American public lands, was the repossession of this region by government land managers during the century which followed. The administrative history of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore can only be understood in the context of a trend which saw the evolution of county, state and federal parks, forest, and game reserves in the Great Lakes region and the transition of the area from a forest products economy to a tourist destination. [\[1\]](#)

The National Park Service was the last of the public agencies to turn its attention to the north woods and its problems of resource management and economic development. Isle Royale, the first national park in the north woods region, was established in 1941. Local efforts to establish parks at Indiana Dunes and Apostle Islands were frustrated by a federal establishment that failed to see the recreational potential of the inland seas. It was only with the Great Lakes Shoreline Survey in 1958 and the federal government's expansive approach to regional redevelopment in the early 1960s that the National Park Service became a force in the protection of Great Lakes landscapes.

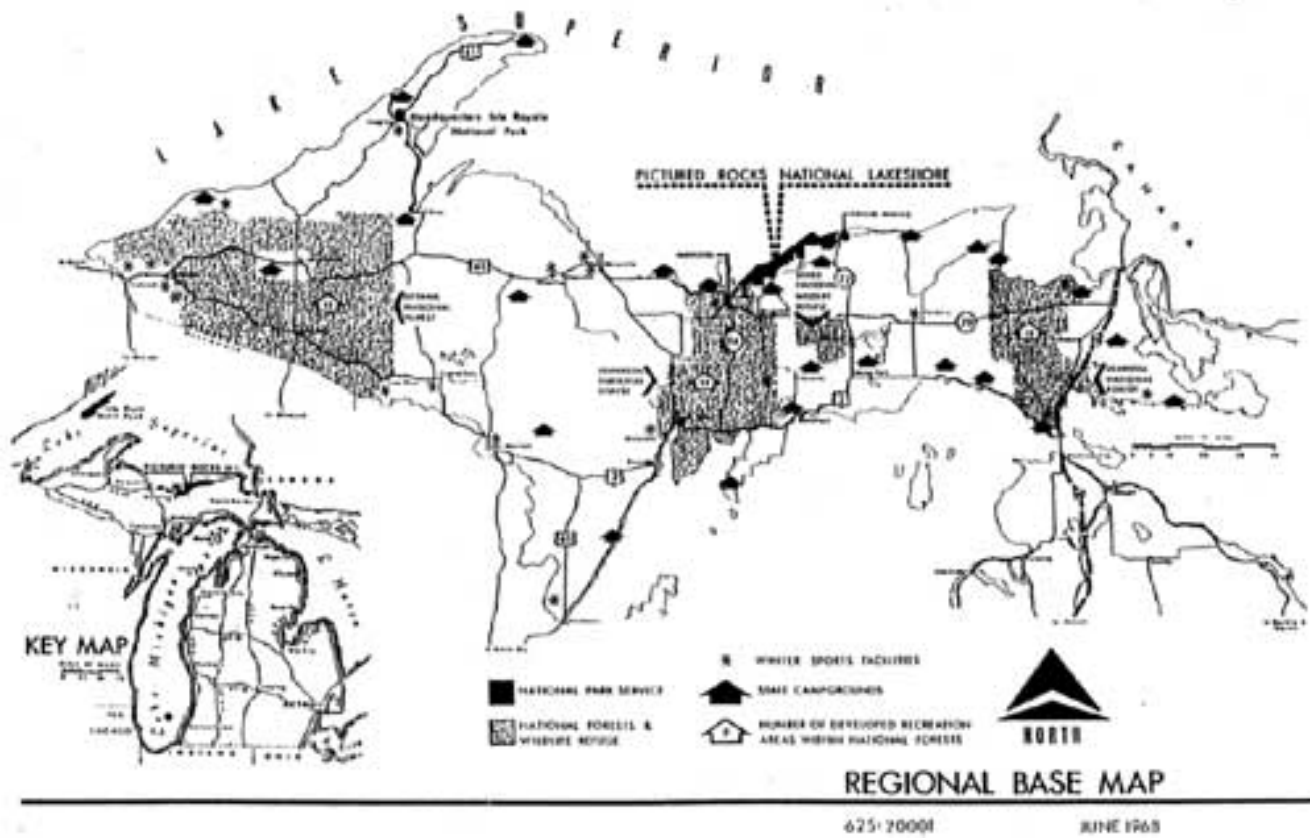
The national lakeshores of the Great Lakes have all had a challenging management history. In 1987 a Sierra Club spokesman referred to these units as the "orphans of the National Park Service." Pictured Rocks has shared with the other lakeshores the problem of being born in an era of inflated expectations and coming of age during an era of constrained federal budgets. Although Pictured Rocks, due to geography and politics, faced those problems in spades. [\[2\]](#)

Every national park is an artifact illustrative of the aspirations of the era in which it was created. Pictured Rocks, with a controversial "scenic shoreline drive" mandated in its organic legislation, is an example of the development-intensive, active-recreation oriented parks created in the era when "Mission-66" dominated Park Service planning and federal action was seen as the key to local economic development. The gap between the bold visions offered by the National Park Service to the economically hard pressed

communities of northern Michigan and the reality of the lakeshore's modest development played a significant role in the history of Pictured Rocks. But no park is imprisoned in its original vision. Within the bounds of the legislative mandate, a park grows and changes with the needs of the American people. The administrative history of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore is the story of the tension between the conception of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore as an recreation area and a economic development initiative, and the conception of the National Park Service as an environmental guardian. This tension was present in Public Law 89-668 and it became even more pronounced in the years since 1966.

The goal of this administrative history is to explore the unique management history of Pictured Rocks within the context of the evolution of National Park Service policy since 1966 and the history of the Upper Great Lakes region. The primary audience is the present and future administrators of the lakeshore and the National Park Service. "All good history, administrative and otherwise," Barry Mackintosh has noted, "describes and evaluates people, events, ideas, and actions in the context of their own times rather from a later perspective when definitions and other rules of the game may have changed." This volume will be a useful aid to park managers if it captures the context out of which emerged policy success or failure. From an understanding of context can come the most valuable insights of history, an understanding of why events happened the way they did. [3]

"The permanent Institutional Memory," said John Cook, Regional Director of the National Park Service's Rocky Mountain Region, "is the well-written administrative history." Yet the institutional memory of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore will function only if this volume is read by park managers--a group already over-taxed with conflicting mandates on their time. In preparing this volume the author has tried to balance the benefit of having within these pages a complete discussion of all major management issues faced by the lakeshore between 1966 and 1990, and the need to produce a volume brief enough to have some hope of being read in full. One Park Service veteran guaranteed that a good administrative history would provide "a few smiles and a collection of chuckles." This effort may fall short of that promise, but it will reward the reader with an understanding of how a remarkable part of northern Michigan was set aside and managed. It is a story of success and frustration, a narrow focused account of the limits and accomplishments of federal environmental policy. [4]



(click on map for an enlargement in a new window)

[<<< Previous](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Chapter 1 >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhi0.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

NOTES

Introduction

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Epilogue

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<<< [Contents](#) >>>

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Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

TABLE OF CONTENTS

[COVER](#)

[INTRODUCTION](#)

[I: IMAGES OF THE PICTURED ROCKS: SUBLIMITY AT "THE FAG END OF THE WORLD."](#)

[II: "THE NORTH WOODS' AND THE PICTURED ROCKS: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH PRESERVATION](#)

[III: CREATION OF PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL LAKESHORE](#)

[IV: A NEW PARK, A NEW VISION](#)

[V: MORE PLANS, MORE PROBLEMS: PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL LAKESHORE, 1974-1981](#)

[VI: "HOPES ADVANCED, HOPES DASHED AND NEW HOPES": PICTURED ROCKS, 1981-1991](#)

[EPILOGUE](#)

[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS](#)

[BIBLIOGRAPHY](#)

[APPENDIX](#)

LIST OF FIGURES*

[Figure 1](#). Pictured Rocks Cliffs

[Figure 2](#). East End of Miners Beach

[Figure 3](#). Miners Castle

[Figure 4](#). Walter Loope and Grand Sable Dunes Research Natural Area

[Figure 5](#). Recreational diving at Pictured Rocks

[Figure 6](#). Miners Castle Overlook platform

[Figure 7](#). Snowmobilers at the Munising Falls Interpretive Center

[Figure 8](#). Backpackers: Brian and Tammy Hoduski

[Figure 9](#). Peregrine falcon release, 1989

[Figure 10](#). Dedication of the Interagency visitor center in Munising, 1988

[Figure 11](#). Miners Falls

[Figure 12](#). H-58 main access road to the lakeshore

[Figure 13](#). Deer feeding during Beaver Basin controversy

[Figure 14](#). Grand Sable Light

[Figure 15](#). Vern Kirkens rehabbing windows for Au Sable Light Station

[Figure 16](#). Bill Mustatia, Twelvemile Beach campground

* All photographs from Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore photographic collection, Grand Marais Maritime Museum, Grand Marais, Michigan

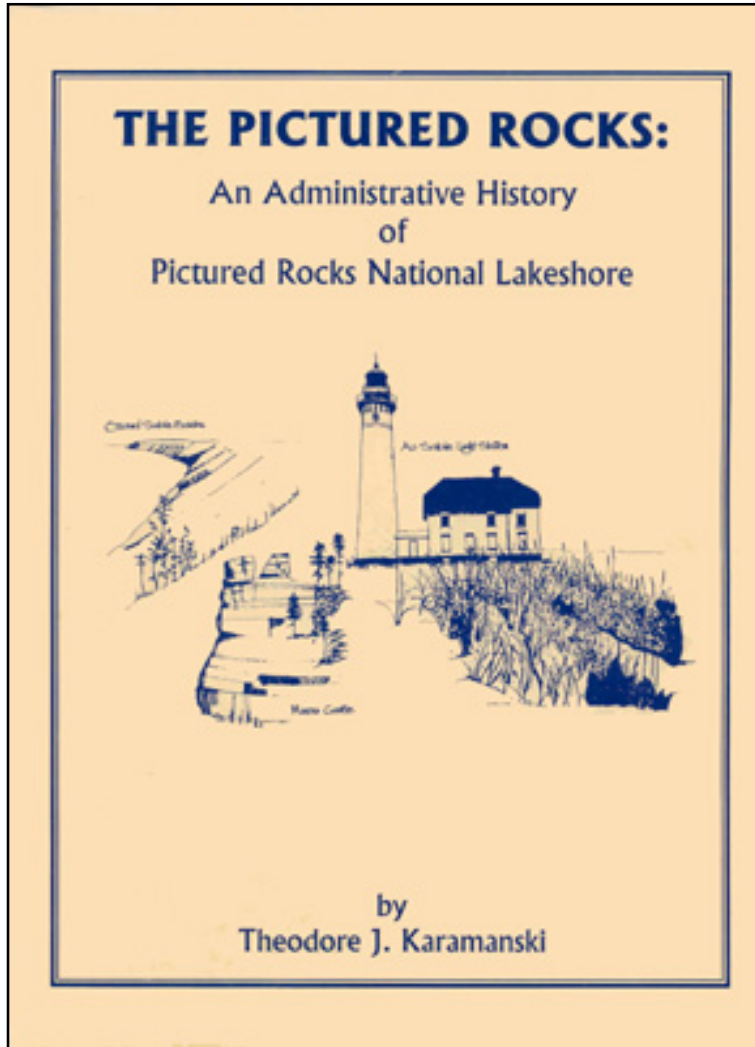
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Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History



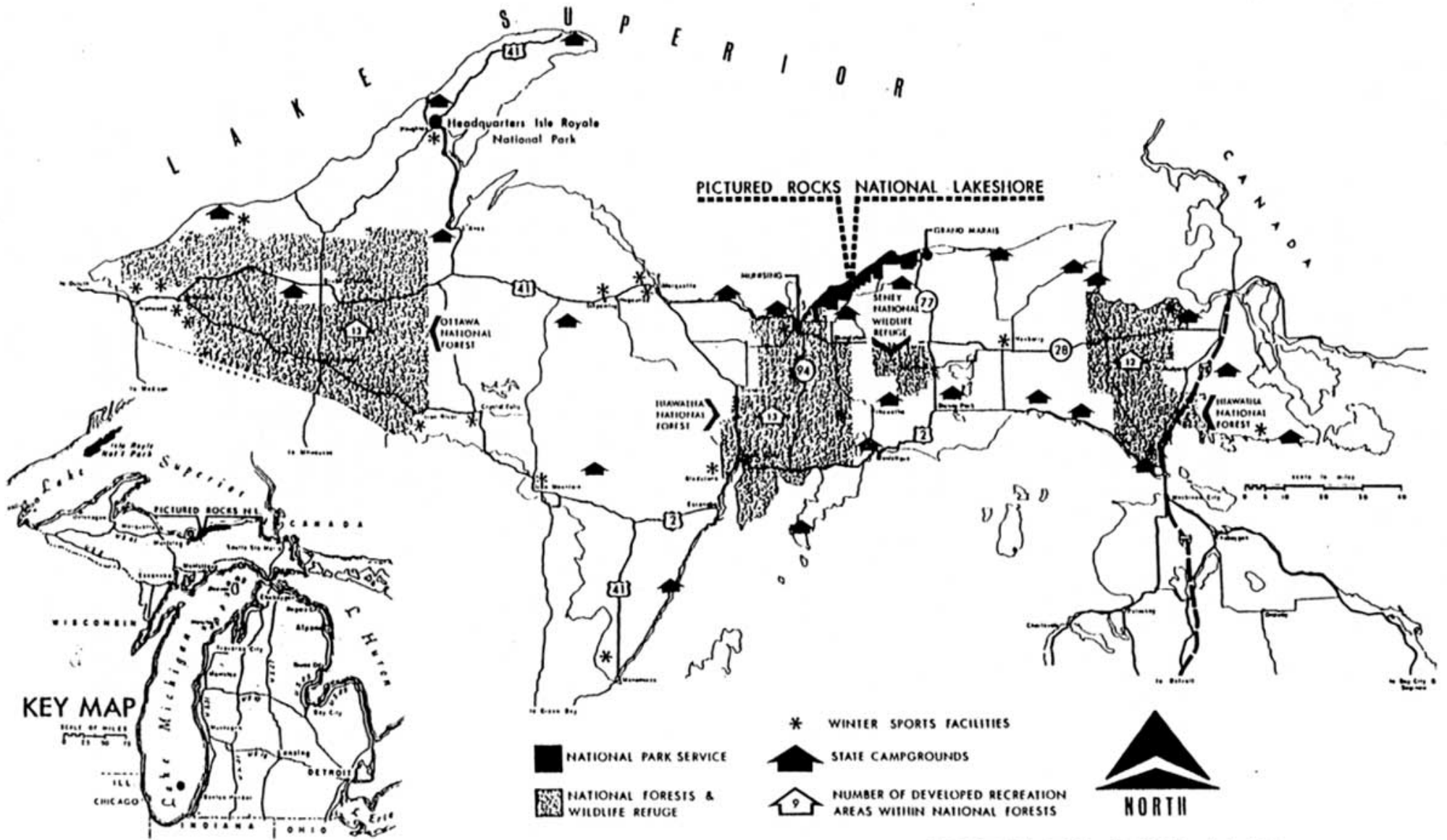
THE PICTURED ROCKS: An Administrative History of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore

Theodore J. Karamanski

1995

Midwest Regional Office
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Omaha

[TABLE OF CONTENTS](#)



REGIONAL BASE MAP

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JUNE 1968

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

CHAPTER 1:

IMAGES OF THE PICTURED ROCKS: SUBLIMITY AT "THE FAG END OF THE WORLD"

"We go along the coast, most delightful and wonderful," wrote fur trader Pierre Esprit Radisson, the first documented visitor to the Pictured Rocks. "Nature has made it pleasant to the eye, the spirit and the belly." The French adventurer penetrated the Lake Superior basin in 1658. Up to this time it has been largely unexplored by Europeans. Although he did not draft a written memoir of his journey until ten years after-the-fact the images of the region's rugged beauty remained vivid in Radisson's mind. Indeed, it is clear from his memoir that the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable Dune were the scenic highlights of his entire journey from Montreal to Lake Superior. It is both ironic and fortunate that even three hundred years after Radisson the Pictured Rocks would remain unheralded and unprotected. Radisson's visit underscores two central features of the history of the Pictured Rocks: its striking scenic vistas and its remote isolation. [5]

The Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable Banks are two of the most striking scenic features in eastern North America. The multicolored sandstone cliffs stretch for fifteen miles along Lake Superior's south shore. The Grand Sable Banks are a dramatic four square mile perched dune created 10,000 years ago by the last glaciation. Between these spectacular features is a landscape of inland lakes, spectacular waterfalls, and miles of sand-graced strand. Had this area been located near the early population centers of the United States it would have emerged at an early date as a major tourist destination. But geography assured Pictured Rocks region a very different history. While tourism and urbanization embraced and degraded Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave, and the Hudson River valley the Upper Peninsula of Michigan remained a remote resource frontier. The Pictured Rocks were little known and seldom seen by out of state visitors until after World War II.

History conspired with geography to keep the Pictured Rocks obscure and inviolate. The Pictured Rocks were visited by Europeans at a much earlier date than many other Great Lakes region locations. Radisson marveled at sites such as Chapel Rock fifteen years before Chicago would even be visited by Europeans and twenty years before the great falls of the Niagara were first described. Yet Radisson's account created no lasting image of the Lake Superior country. He was a fur trader seeking wealth, not a

scientific explorer. He wrote an account of his journey only when his English partners in the Hudson's Bay Company thought it might strengthen their commercial claims. That account was preserved only by the whimsy of the noted diarist Samuel Pepys, although it lay unappreciated by historians in Oxford's Bodleian Library for two hundred years. While Niagara Falls' discoverer, Father Louis Hennepin, published a graphic, illustrated account of what he found, Pictured Rocks remained in the shadows, a *Terra Incognita*. [6]

Radisson's brief account of the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable Banks does serve to suggest the mix of emotional responses the scenery engendered in the early French explorers. Seventeenth century Europeans were caught between the erosion of the medieval world and the birth of the modern. Fur traders such as Radisson and his partner Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, were even more precariously situated on the frontier between the Old World and the unexplored horizons of the New. Images of America as a magical, mystic place were balanced by fear of its remote vastness and dread of its exotic mysteries. Radisson was enthused by the scenery of the south shore of Lake Superior, which he called "most delightful and wonderful." Yet his brief account of the Pictured Rocks area is also tense and anxious. "That place is most dangerous when there is any storm", he described the Grand Sable Banks, "being no landing place so long as the sandy banks are under water, and when the wind blows that sand doth rise by a strange kind of whirling that are able to choke the passengers." He was awed by the "violence" with which Superior carved caves in the rocks. The sound of the waves on the cliffs was described as "a most horrible noise, most like the shooting of great guns." Dwarfed by the Pictured Rocks, Radisson observed "We must look to ourselves and take time with our small boats." Equally unsettling was the reaction of the Indians accompanying the fur traders. They called the rocks "Nautouchsinagoit," which Radisson took to mean "the likeness of the devil" and before the mottled cliffs they left an offering of tobacco to the spirit. [7]

The Pictured Rocks region was part of the land of the Ojibwa, a woodland Indian people who lived on the margins of Lake Superior. Radisson's account of their behavior toward the Pictured Rocks is consistent with the Ojibwa belief in a world shaped by a marvelous array of spirits. Rather than view natural objects as inanimate, the Ojibwa saw that they were alive with unseen spirits. Spectacular topographic features such as Doric Rock could alternately command dread or veneration. Prudence dictated paying respect to a powerful spirit, particularly when traveling a coast as hazardous as the Pictured Rocks. Grand Sable Dunes, known as Negouwatchi or the Sandy Mountain, likewise were honored with an offering of tobacco by Ojibwa travelers. Grand Island, locate just west of Pictured Rocks, was long the location of an Ojibwa village. Members of the village undoubtedly fished in the waters of the lakeshore, hunted in its forests, and harvested maple sugar from its groves. Although the Pictured Rocks area does not seem to have been heavily used by the Ojibwa for subsistence or habitation it did serve as a piece of burial (at Sand Point and Grand Sable Dunes) and frequently mentioned in Ojibwa lore. [8]

Radisson was followed by other fur traders, as well as missionaries and explorers, nonetheless, the Lake Superior country remained (to quote one French chronicler) "the fag end of the world." If anything, geographic knowledge of the region became more, not less, clouded. The amazingly accurate 1670 Jesuit map of Lake Superior was followed by a series of increasingly distorted depictions of the region. Bogus

islands and distended Peninsulas crowded most cartographic representations of the region. It was not until well into the nineteenth century that the world began to get a genuine representation of Lake Superior. Spearheading these efforts were United States government explorers. [9]

It is an axiom among historians of exploration that explorers are "programmed" by the society which sends them to the frontier. What they report, therefore, reflects as much on the values and perspectives of the society they left as it does on the lands they explore. This is particularly true of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the principal chronicler of the 1820 Lewis Cass expedition. Sponsored by the U.S. War Department, Cass was charged with extending peaceful relations between the Indians of the region and the federal government, as well as detailing the resources and potential of the Superior country. Schoolcraft was retained as the expedition's scientist. He later published Travels Through the Northwestern Regions of the United States which was the first extended description of the Pictured Rocks to appear in English. [10]

Schoolcraft and the other members of the Cass expedition approached the Pictured Rocks with a mixture of scientific curiosity and romantic imagination. Schoolcraft described the shoreline as boasting "some of the most sublime and commanding views in nature." To convey the beauty of the place Schoolcraft relied upon aesthetic concepts, such as the sublime, which were readily identifiable to readers familiar with English Romanticism. To romantic writers landscape was the embodiment of culture. By describing and exalting the landscape of the Lake Superior country, Schoolcraft was using the scenery of the frontier to build an American identity that would meet European standards of culture. [11]

The degree to which American landscapes such as the Pictured Rocks were described in terms of European aesthetics is most tellingly demonstrated in Schoolcraft's use of actual Old World locations as similes. "All that we have read of the natural physiognomy of the Hebrides--of Staffa,--the Doreholm, and the romantic Isles of the Sicilian coast, is forcibly recalled on viewing this scene, and it may be doubted whether, in the whole range of American scenery, there is to be found such an interesting assemblage of grand, picturesque, and pleasing objects." Although he was expedition's scientist, Schoolcraft could not restrain himself from penning a brief poem to the Pictured Rocks:

 Their rocky summits split and rent,
 Form'd turret, dome, or battlement,
 O seemed fantastically set
 With cupola or minaret,
 Wild crests as pagod ever decked,
 Or Mosque of eastern architect. [12]

The aesthetic conceits of Schoolcraft and other writers of his generation linger on in prominent place names within the National Lakeshore. Locations such as Miners Castle and Chapel Rock take their names from the inclination of European-American writers to subordinate the Lake Superior wilderness to Old World images of grandeur and beauty. "We were struck with their picturesque beauty, stratified as they were resembling more the crumbling ruins of some immense building---some huge castle wall---than the works of nature," wrote David Douglass, an Army engineer with the Cass expedition. Later he

observed, "Great blocks of sandstone lay heaped around and help of a tolerable fancy the whole might be conceived a truly elegant classic ruin." [13]

The publication of Schoolcraft's narrative of the expedition as a book, formal reports to Congress, and newspaper stories about the explorers all failed to raise public consciousness concerning the Pictured Rocks. The emphasis in all reports from the Cass expedition had been upon economic geology. In the America of the 1820s and 1830s, resource development easily took precedent over the picturesque. Lake Superior received increased attention due to Schoolcraft's report, but that emphasis was directed to evaluating copper deposits in the western Upper Peninsula. [14]

A succession of state and federal explorers did pass through the Pictured Rocks area in the 1840s and 1850s. Like Schoolcraft their depictions of the region were marked by an uneasy balance between romanticism and science. Bela Hubbard, an assistant geologist on the 1840 Douglas Houghton expedition, was particularly florid in his prose. He resorted to classical allusions to describe a ghost forest in the Grand Sable Dunes: "They look like the time-worn columns of some antique temple whose main structure has long since tumbled to the dust. They stand amid the waste like the ruins of Persepolis, the Tadmor of the desert." In describing the Pictured Rocks, Hubbard referenced the Parthenon, the Coliseum, the Pyramids, Pompeii, the paintings of Raphael, the writings of Sir Walter Scott, and the adventures of Sinbad from Th Arabian Nights. Yet while Hubbard and other scientists continued the practice of adapting the scenery of the Pictured Rocks to the aesthetics of European romanticism they also could draw on an increasingly sophisticated scientific vocabulary. [15]

What is remarkable is the consistency with which scientist-explorers described the Pictured Rocks. The descriptions of Douglas Houghton, Charles W. Penny, John W. Foster, and Josiah Whitney all portray the Pictured Rocks in colloquial, common, if sometimes florid language. The emerging technical language of the geologist was reserved for economic assets such as copper deposits. All of the scientist-explorers were also enthusiastic about the unique beauty of the area. David Douglass exulted: "I cannot think any scenery I ever visited--even including Niagara Falls and its vicinity--it to be compared to for grandeur and sublimity to the Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior." On Charles Penny described the cliffs and dunes "two of the greatest natural curiosities of the lake." Foster and Whitney regarded them as "among the most striking and beautiful features of scenery of the Northwest." [16]

The splendor of the Pictured Rocks was further trumpeted by the publication in 1855 of The Song of Hiawatha by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. This epic poem was based on the legends of the Ojibwa as related in the works of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. Longfellow located his story "By the shore of Gitche Gumee, By the Shining Big-Sea Water." The poem makes frequent allusion to Lake Superior's "rocky headlands" and at the "Pictured Rocks of sandstone, Looking over lake and landscape." Hiawatha destroys his enemy Pao-Puk-Keewis in an epic encounter at the rocks. The Song of Hiawatha went on to become one of the most popular English-language poems of the nineteenth century. As late as the 1940s a writer could confidently predict: "most Americans know at least a line or two of it." Remarkably, however, Longfellow did not inspire curiosity about the Lake Superior country. In fact the poet showed little direct interest in the region himself. Rather than make his own journey to Lake Superior

Longfellow simply relied upon the descriptions of others. [17]

Neither the lyrical descriptions of an epic poem nor the enthusiasm of explorers who actually visited the Pictured Rocks spawned a wider appreciation of its scenic values. Lake Superior was too remote for Longfellow or any of his admirers to visit the Pictured Rocks. This was the sad lesson of a rather elaborate, if poorly documented, attempt to build a tourist resort on Munising Bay. In 1850, a group of Philadelphia-based business men headed by Thomas Sparks formed the Munising Company. Their goal was to develop an iron furnace and a resort on the mainland, just opposite Grand Island. An impressive plat map of "Grand Island City" was prepared, a few lots were sold, and a dock was built. The investors did manage to erect a tourist hotel, described by one traveler as "built and furnished in grand style." A trail was hacked through the woods to link Munising with Lake Michigan and make the resort more accessible to travelers from Wisconsin or Illinois. The scheme came to naught after a single year. The furniture in the hotel was "all stored in heaps in one or two rooms" and a caretaker appointed to watch over the shuttered structure. After 1867 the hotel was reopened and for several years was operated on a much more modest scale. The property of the Company was eventually purchased by the Schoolcraft Iron Company, which used the abundant forests of the region to make charcoal iron. Iron production dominated the economy of the area throughout the rest of the century. A few isolated attempts to exploit the scenery for the tourist trade, such as the Hotel Hiawatha on Powell's Point, were not met with great success. [18]

After 1846, the Lake Superior country had to compete for attention with the vast and widely heralded vistas of the Mountain West. When Horace Greeley of the New York Herald editorialized "Go west, young man" he meant the Lake Superior country. Yet the Mexican War changed America's conception of its frontier to the far west. The mineral resources of northern Michigan continued to be developed, but by the 1850s, the northern lakes region ceased to attract much national attention. The strongly romantic images of the Pictured Rocks created by Schoolcraft and the other scientific explorers retreated from public consciousness. While the Keweenaw became famous for copper and the Marquette Range for iron ore, neither was an attraction for the genteel travelers of Victorian America. [19]

The handful of tourists who did visit the Pictured Rocks required heroic determination. Artist A. L. Rawson spent part of two summers exploring the area in the mid-1860s. In May 1867, Harper's New Monthly Magazine published his extended account of the Pictured Rocks illustrated by eighteen drawings. Rawson was not disappointed by the "fairy-like forms and colors" of the cliffs which he esteemed were "a truly grand procession of wonders, not equaled in its kind in all the world." Although Rawson strained to convince readers that the region was "a pleasant summer retreat" he had to admit to "some few disadvantages, the chief of which is the appalling fact that it is about two or three days' canoe journey, either way, to a beef-steak." [20]

The tourism which did develop in the Great Lakes region was initially focused on Mackinac Island. Located at the junction Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, the former fur trading center emerged as a picturesque watering hole for the well-to-do in the 1870s. The very fact that almost nothing happened on the island since it had been the scene of battle during the War of 1812 insured that the town was both quaint and historic. Railroads and shipping lines cooperated to promote and develop the site. The

building of the Grand Hotel in 1887 by the Michigan Central Railroad and the Cleveland Navigation Company gave Mackinac one of the largest and most luxurious resort hotels in the world. So popular was the island that in 1875 the federal government withdrew all public land from sale and declared a national park. Mackinac was only the second such park in America, although in 1895, the park and the site of old Fort Mackinac were turned over to the state of Michigan. The principal visitors to Mackinac were the residents of the rising metropolises of the Midwest. Steamship lines which already connected Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Cleveland Naturally converged on Mackinac. This unrivaled access allowed the island to develop tourism decades before more remote areas of the region. [21]

The rest of the Upper Peninsula lagged behind Mackinac Island for several reasons. Railroad connections with the cities of the region were delayed until 1872. Chicago was connected to San Francisco well before it had a direct rail line to Lake Superior. Rail links were not made to the eastern Upper Peninsula until 1881. While it is true that by the turn of the century the Upper Peninsula could boast fourteen common carriers the fact was that the principal emphasis of the railroads was carrying ore and lumber, not passengers. Railroads played a leading role in promoting and developing such major tourist sites as Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon, and Yellowstone National Park. But save for Mackinac Island, northern Michigan did not see any substantial investment in tourism by the railroads. The entire economy of the region was focused on natural resource exploitation. The high cost of developing extractive industries on the nation's northern frontier encouraged the concentration of a large percentage of real estate in the Upper Peninsula in the hands of a small number of very large corporations. These corporations Naturally were inclined to use their clout to emphasize natural resource development. [22]

Even people who lived in the growing lumber towns of Grand Marais and Munising found it difficult to visit the Pictured Rocks. Save for the rude routes of a few logging ice-roads there was no overland access to the cliffs. Nor were there any regular excursions by water. When a Marquette pharmacist in the 1890s wanted to show his young bride the famed Pictured Rocks, he was obliged to hire a tug-boat to make the trip. At a civic celebration in Munising in 1902, excursions were offered on the steamer Hunter for "the large number of visitors in the city who have never had an opportunity for viewing the Rocks." [23]

The moguls who controlled the region's resources were not immune to the scenic attractions of the Lake Superior region. Their method of developing recreational opportunities, however, was quite exclusive. The most popular model was to take a page from the wilderness retreats of the east coast "robber barons" who built elaborate "Great Camps" for themselves in the Adirondack Mountains. The pioneer of this type of recreation was the Huron Mountain Club founded in 1889. The exclusive club was initially established by the leading industrialists of Marquette, Michigan, although it rather quickly passed to the control of elite Detroit and Chicago families. Prominent men of business such as Henry Ford and distinguished members of the bar, notably Supreme Court Justice George Shiras, graced the list of members. Elaborate "camp" buildings were built in a rustic and romantic style. The success of the club spawned more ambitious private initiatives. Cyrus McCormick, heir to the farm equipment fortune, built a magnificent 17,000-acre estate known as White Deer Lake Camp. Industrialist Louis G. Kaufman developed a magnificent seventy room mansion on Lake Superior near Big Bay. Graced with sixty fireplaces, imaginative use of native wood and stone, and a white pine growing through the roof,

Kaufman's Granot Loma was a classic of rustic architecture. William G. Mather, heir to one iron mining fortune and founder of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, brought the "Great Camp" concept to the door step of the Pictured Rocks. [24]

In 1900, the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company purchased Grand Island. The acquisition was part of a series of purchases which made Cleveland-Cliffs one of the largest owners of forest lands in northern Michigan. Mather, however, did not want Grand Island turned over to commercial logging. Instead he made it the site of a conservation experiment and the setting of his wilderness retreat. A large log lodge, surrounded by a mock frontier stockade, complete with miniature blockhouse, was built on the west shore of the island. Later a second lodge and a boat house were built on an interior lake. For the use of guests Mather restored the structures remaining from the days when a trading post was located on Grand Island. Mather also devoted considerable sums to make the island a nationally renowned game preserve. [25]

Mather was an enthusiastic advocate of wildlife preservation. He added to the native white tailed deer population a wide array of other ungulates, including moose, woodland caribou, elk, pronghorn antelope and albino deer. Exotic game birds such as Chinese pheasants, Scotland black grouse, and Scandinavian grouse were stocked in the forests. Bass, salmon, and steelhead trout replaced the native pike in the interior lakes. Articles in Field and Stream and National Geographic lent notoriety to Mather's experiment. The Marquette Mining Journal, in a bit of hyperbole, referred to Grand Island as "A Second Yellowstone." Mather tried to defer the high costs of his hobby by live-trapping and selling surplus deer. Over a thirty year period of time, 1,800 deer and thirty elk were sold. [26]

Unlike most exercises in elite recreation Mather's ambitious plans for Grand Island paved the way for public tourist development in the Pictured Rocks area. Mather funded the development of the Hotel Williams on Munising Bay and cottages on Trout Bay. As early as 1902 promoters connected with Mackinac Island's famed Grand Hotel approached Mather with a plan to build an equally impressive resort on Grand Island. Mather, however, did not want to share his preserve with that many people. Acting on his own more modest plan, Mather ordered the building of a 150-person hotel in 1909. Attractive brochures promoted the resort as a place to fish, hike, ride horses, and of course, see the Pictured Rocks. [27]

The Hotel Williams found a ready market for its amenities. By the end of the nineteenth century, middle class midwesterners were being drawn northward in ever increasing numbers for summer vacations. The "cult of the strenuous life" and the search for relief by hay fever sufferers helped to stimulate the demand for north woods retreats. Hay fever was a vexing health problem one hundred years ago. Without antihistamines there was no relief from the asthma, red eyes, and wet noses caused by pollen. "Hay fever and Asthmatic sufferers," one railroad advertisement declared, "the climate of Northern Michigan offers speedy relief for your ailment." At resorts throughout the region informal "Achoo Clubs" congregated for a month at a time. [28]

In 1899, Theodore Roosevelt, a hero of the recently completed Spanish-American War, called upon

urban Americans to resist "flabbiness" and "slothful ease" and instead live the "life of strenuous endeavor." Roosevelt, who was also the founder of the Boone and Crockett Club, felt that the best way to do that was to cultivate the virtues of the vanishing frontier through outdoor sports. "There are no words," he wrote, "that can tell of the hidden spirit of the wilderness...there's delight in the hardy life of the open, in long rides rifle in hand, in the thrill of the fight with dangerous game." Transportation companies created advertisements to support Roosevelt's ideals and lure sportsmen north. According to a Chicago and Northwestern Railroad advertisement, the north woods were "almost untouched by the hand of man, and five-pound small mouth black bass are not uncommon while there are...hundreds of lakes within reach by canoe or portage." Another publicist promoted the region with imagery familiar to any weary urbanite: "Have you ever caught a muskellunge, one of those cruel, leaping savages that snatches your silver spoon with all the eagerness of a nocturnal housebreaker?" [29]

Mather's investment made Grand Island one of the finest resort attractions in northern Michigan. In its heyday during the 1920s the Hotel Williams catered to a upscale set of visitors for whom it was necessary to provide special accommodations for accompanying personal servants. A trail network provided hardy sportsmen access to the best fishing in the area. Less energetic guests could take advantage of a stagecoach that circuited the island. While Grand Island had the activities to be a destination in itself, the Hotel Williams benefited from its proximity to the Pictured Rock. Three motor launches and several sailing boats were available for chartered trips to the picturesque cliffs. During the 1920s the steel steamer Ottawa made regular weekend excursions to the Pictured Rocks. [30]

The fame of the Pictured Rocks spread slowly among midwestern tourists. Great Lakes cruise ships like the Noronic and the South America afforded guests a passing familiarity with the cliffs and dunes. Visitors with means more modest than the William Hotel could rent guest cabins in Munising, or stay in the town's new campground. Hundreds of young men unable to visit the area in person were introduced to the Pictured Rocks in G. Harvey Ralphson's 1913 novel Boy Scouts on Old Superior or The Tale of the Pictured Rocks. Written by a scout master and chock full of melodrama, the story followed the adventures of four middle class Chicago boy scouts among the Indian and woodsman of the north country. [31]

The Depression of the 1930s began the decline of the Hotel Williams. The early years of the decade were particularly hard on the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company forcing financial cutbacks across the board. William G. Mather resigned as president in 1933 to become the chairman of the board. When the hard times ended the Hotel William was not well positioned to recover its lost trade. It lacked amenities such as swimming pools which even other Upper Peninsula competitors such as Blaney Park were quick to install. Access to Grand Island also hurt the resort. During the more leisurely pre-World War II era guests might stay for several weeks or even a month; when shorter visits became more common a lengthy trip to Munising from Detroit or Chicago was less attractive. When William G. Mather retired from active control of Cleveland-Cliffs, the company quietly closed the resort and in 1950 began timber harvests on the island. [32]

One hundred years after pioneer scientists Foster and Whitney complained that "a full and accurate description of this extra-ordinary locality has not as yet been communicated to the public," the Pictured

Rocks and Grand Sable banks of Lake Superior remained a largely unappreciated recreational resource. The forests behind the cliffs had been carelessly logged and burned during the late nineteenth century. Amid the shoots of second growth timber were a scattering of hunting camps and summer homes. Tourist cabins were available in Munising and Grand Marais for the handful of motorists who braved the poor roads and lack of information to visit the area. "The region is not geared to make your visit painless," a writer observed in 1944. "Sometimes the absence of conveniences and the clannishness of the people are maddening to an outsider...A tourist should know what to expect in Upper Michigan. The truth is the Upper Peninsula is poised uneasily between past and future." [33]

The "grandeur and sublimity" which so struck the early explorers was harnessed during the first decades of the twentieth century to begin a tourist industry in northern Michigan. Yet, it was not until the post-World War II era that the industry was strong enough to remove the barrier of isolation and to pull the Superior region into a new era of economic prosperity. [34]

[<<< Introduction](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Chapter 2 >>>](#)

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Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

CHAPTER 2:

"THE NORTH WOODS" AND THE PICTURED ROCKS: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH PRESERVATION

The Pictured Rocks were finally accorded national recognition due to the reinvention of the Upper Great Lakes region. During the years after World War II, the northern portions of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan transformed themselves from a raw, resource-rich frontier for extractive industries into the "North Woods," a scenic, recreation destination for millions of Midwesterners. This remarkable metamorphosis was spurred by two related, if sometimes contradictory, forces: the desire to preserve the forests and waters of the region, and the desire to utilize those features as the basis for a thriving tourist industry. Like the ice and water which made the Pictured Rocks over the centuries, preservation and economic development would become the principal forces shaping the land during the second half of the twentieth century.

Inventing "The North Woods"

The Upper Great Lakes region is forest country. It was forest country when the glaciers retreated 10,000 years ago, it is forest country today. What has changed over time is the nature of the region's forests and the way people have perceived the deep, dark woods of the north. To Henry Rowe Schoolcraft the region was a menacing tangle of trees. He wrote of "dark hemlock forests" which were "dreary, and forbidding to the eye." To men of Schoolcraft's generation the dense ranks of trees, covering mile after mile of the landscape, were a stark and arresting contrast to the cleared, cultivated countryside of "civilized" America. "One cannot help fancying he has gone to the ends of the earth," Schoolcraft observed, "and beyond the boundaries appointed for the residence of man." Thirty years later lumbermen from New England saw the forests as a remarkable economic asset and set out to make the Upper Great Lakes "the greatest timber-producing region in America." In so doing, the first generation of lumber men skimmed the cream off the top, taking the tall stands of pine and reducing them to dimension lumber. The second generation, with the aid of more capital and technology, attacked the groves of hardwood trees. Between what the logging railroads removed and what the inevitable brush fires destroyed, whole tracts of the region were reduced to a cut-over wasteland over which, to quote one woodsman, "a wood-pecker would have to carry his lunch." [35]

Although the soils of the region were low in fertility and high in acid the cut-over lands were marketed to immigrant farmers. "Cloverland" was the phrase the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau used to lure potential dairy farmers to northern Michigan. Driven by a deep-rooted desire to own their own land immigrants took the bait. By 1911, more than 8,000 farms had been established in "Cloverland." The U. S. Department of Agriculture predicted, "The Upper Peninsula is destined to become one of the best dairy sections of the United States." But a slump in demand followed the end of World War I. This was followed by a decline in the logging industry in the region, which took away an important local market for cut-over farmers. Between 1920 and 1930, the amount of sheep and cattle on Upper Peninsula farms declined by eighty percent. The average farm in northern Michigan could only claim forty improved acres, not enough to sustain family during hard-times. Backwoods farmers fought not only indifferent soil and a short growing season but rising real-estate taxes. By the 1930s many farm-landowners were facing tax bills which had escalated eighty-five percent in twenty years. Hundreds of failed farms joined thousands of acres of other cut-over land as tax delinquencies and reverted to the control of the government. During 1925, the state of Michigan received on an average one hundred acres a day. [36]

The irregular topography of the Pictured Rocks region for the most part discourage agricultural operations. Axel Abrahamson was one of a handful of exceptions. In 1915, he received 160 acres of land at the east end of the lakeshore via the Homestead Act. Daniel Becker who had a farm at the far western end of the lakeshore was another successful agriculturalist in the area. Both farms owed their success less to crop raising and more to the production of dairy products for local markets. Becker built a rather unique fourteen-sided, wood and concrete barn for his dairy. The structure was torn down by the Park Service in 1975. [37]

The disaster created by "cut-and-get-out" logging and the fantasy of "Cloverland" was mitigated by the rise of government-sponsored conservation and the growth of tourism. The two developments are necessarily linked. Conservation efforts by the State of Michigan in the Upper Peninsula began in 1917 with the establishment of the Lake Superior State Forest. In 1931, the federal government recommended the establishment of the Ottawa National Forest in the western Upper Peninsula and the Hiawatha and Marquette forests in the devastated eastern region. Under the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps (C. C.C.) these government timber lands were extensively replanted. The Michigan Department of Conservation, the U.S. Forest Service, and the C.C.C. all played a heroic role in containing and then virtually eliminating the waves of forest fires which for almost fifty years had raged across the Peninsula each dry season. By the end of World War II, the north country was recovering its mantle of green. The forests were scraggy stands of aspen and jack-pine, what lumbermen disparaged as "weed-trees," but at least the scar tissue was forming. Besides to many urban tourists, a tree was a tree. [38]

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was an explosion of tourism in the states of the Upper Great Lakes region. The war delayed the impulses of many consumers while post-war prosperity produced increased leisure time and improved highways. By 1949, sixty-two percent of all Americans were taking vacations. For large numbers of urbanites from Detroit and the cities at the south end of Lake Michigan the forests and lakes of the Upper Peninsula and northern Wisconsin were possible destinations for the first time. For generations those Chicagoans of modest means who could afford a Michigan vacation

were directed to the near-by Lake Michigan resort towns of Union Pier, South Haven, and St. Joseph. Widespread automobile ownership gave Chicagoans a wider range of possible destinations. The opening of the Mackinac Bridge in 1958 made the region more accessible to motor tourists. A survey by the State of Michigan in 1952 indicated that high on a visitor's wish list of things to do were, fishing, camping, hiking, and general sightseeing. Television advertisements which described the area as the "land of sky-blue waters" indicated that tourist's desires could be met in the north country. [39]

The affluence of post-war America and the remarkable baby-boom which accompanied it served to direct some of the new flow of tourists to the purchase of summer vacation homes. Inland lakes and streams which previously had largely been valued for their use in transporting logs now became valued recreational assets. Thousands of urbanites became rooted in the northern lakes country and began to personally identify with its fate. The desire to enjoy a quality environment, at least for the summer, had long been restricted to the upper crust of society. Such an urge had been behind the "Great Camps" built at the turn of the century and the rise of the early conservation movement. But, during the 1950s, a broad cross-section of working America could afford summer homes in the Great Lakes states. The tourist boom had a distinctly egalitarian character. The image of northern Michigan and Wisconsin as "the North Woods" was created by urban Midwesterners resettling a reforested landscape. [40]

The first cottagers in the Pictured Rocks area were local people. As early as 1904 businessmen in Munising or Grand Marais began to build summer homes at some of the most picturesque locations in the area. Miners Beach and Grand Sable Lake were particularly popular nodes of development. During the 1920s the local cottagers were joined by a trickle of sojourners from Chicago and the cities of lower Michigan. William Donahey, a well-known cartoonist for the Chicago Tribune built a summer home on Grand Sable Lake. In 1929, industrialist William Boller of Chicago did likewise. George Hughes of Ithaca, Michigan built a cabin on the lake in 1932. All three of these families established deep, long-standing attachments to the Pictured Rocks area. [41]

While thousands of ordinary Midwesterners, from factory managers to the men on the shop floor, were building summer homes and spending vacations on the shores of northern lakes, an intellectual shift was taking place. The "North Woods" became a landscape valued not for what mines or mills could make of it but as something special in and of itself. A certain amount of this sentiment was turf protection by vacationers who used lake associations or sportsmen's clubs to influence local political decisions. But there was also a more profound appreciation of the environment that stirred sojourners who owned no lakeshore property. No one captured the voice of this sentiment better than nature writer Sigurd F. Olson. In The Singing Wilderness (1956) and The Listening Point (1958), Olson reflected on "North Woods" as a land of the imagination as well as a real, complex environment. In Olson's writing the North Country is a strong, vital, patient force capable of using time to heal itself. At one point he contemplates the logging of an island in northern Minnesota: "Though I knew that time heals scars and islands raped will be green again, that logging roads through fire and destruction would someday be charming runways through the woods and new vistas be as beautiful as the old, still I could not wait. All I knew was here and now." While trying to appreciate the north in an ecological-historical perspective Olson also emphasized the power of woods to restore the spirit and waters to encourage reflection. "I must leave it as beautiful as I found it," he wrote about the site of his cabin. "Nothing must ever happen there that might detract in the

slightest from what it now had. I would enjoy it and discover all that was to be found there and learn as time went on that here perhaps was all I might ever hope to know." [42]

The depth of emotion that summer cottagers began to attach to the north woods is illustrated by the memoir of James R. Bailey, a lower Michigan resident who grew-up spending his summers at a cabin on Grand Sable Lake. "When I was a child growing up in Ithaca, Michigan, it seemed that my whole life was consumed with my next visit to the Cabin. I found security in the fact that the Cabin was there, no matter what happened in my life I knew that the Cabin existed, in all its beauty, in the harsh Grand Marais winters, the grizzly Canadian winds and the unpredictable Spring rains. It was there alive, not only in my memory but in reality, I didn't have to actually be there, just knowing it was there added to the comfort level of my state of being." Ironically, in 1985 Bailey lost his family cottage to the Nation Park Service's land acquisition program. [43]

The invention of the "North Woods" resulted in emergence of the Upper Great Lakes region as a place of retreat and meditation rather than heavy natural resource exploitation. The works of Sigurd Olson as well as others such Helen Hoover's The Long Shadowed Forest (1963) and Edward Lueders' The Clam Lake Papers (1977) helped to cultivate a strong preservation ethic among the large population of summer, visitors to northern Michigan. For the people who lived in northern Michigan these developments brought much needed economic stimulation, yet at a familiar price-loss of control. Just as the region's old extractive economy had been managed from outside the Upper Peninsula, so would the tourist industry give the people of Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee a large voice over development issues. [44]

Early Efforts to Preserve the Pictured Rocks

The first efforts to set aside the Pictured Rocks as a special natural area began and ended with the community of Munising, Michigan. Located on the south shore of Munising Bay, the town thrived as a logging center from 1896 into the 1920s. In 1904 the Munising Paper Company was formed to take advantage of the considerable forest resources of the area. This manufacturing concern was later joined by the Munising Woodenware Company, which developed a national reputation for the quality of its wooden bowls. The town's success at attracting manufacturing, in part, insulated it from the economic hard times that rocked most of the Upper Peninsula. The area's long-term prospects were also buoyed by the careful management of 300,000 acres of Alger County forest lands by the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company. The company experimented with selective logging and for a short time sponsored a forestry school and a tree planting program. While the neighboring town of Grand Marais declined from 3,000 to 500 residents when the logging boom ended, Munising was able to sustain itself with a modest but stable manufacturing base.

During the winter of 1923, a group of Munising area sportsmen contacted P.J. Hoffmaster, the Superintendent of State Parks for Michigan. They proposed that the state Conservation Commission consider the establishment of a combined state park-wildlife preserve in the Pictured Rocks area. To promote and protect the Pictured Rocks was no doubt part of their agenda, but the principal emphasis of Munising's request was to protect white-tailed deer habitat. Beaver Basin, a low-land located east of the Pictured Rocks, offering forests, swamps and three inland lakes, was described as "an ideal game refuge

for it contains the three major essentials -- food, water and cover or protection." [45]

State officials were intrigued enough to visit the area in June of 1924. P.J. Hoffmaster viewed the Rocks from a tour boat. "A proper and just description," he noted in his report, "of this highly colored and fantastically carved rock formation requires the pen of a poet." But as Hoffmaster was a bureaucrat cognizant of the power of sportsmen in the conservation movement and not a poet, he did not devote much attention in his report to the Pictured Rocks. The prospect of a game refuge for deer was featured prominently in his favorable report to John Baird, the Director of the Department of Conservation. "To say the least about the project," Hoffmaster noted in summary, "it can be placed among the foremost for merit--both as a game refuge and state park." The Michigan Conservation Commission agreed and by a unanimous vote approved the creation of the park-refuge. [46]

While the state of Michigan entered into the task of creating a Pictured Rocks state park with enthusiasm, it also did so with little in the way of development funds. The state park scheme was the dream of the cash-strapped Conservation Commission, not the will of the legislature which controlled the purse strings. The creation of state parks was even a low priority for the agency, which was focused on fire prevention and the creation of economically viable state forests. Hoffmaster pushed the Pictured Rocks proposal so strongly because he was assured by the plan's Munising backers that a large part of the park area might be turned over to the state "by local persons and corporations." Just a year earlier the state received a large gift of Isle Royale real estate to create a park. Hoffmaster hoped for a similar "angel" to step forward for the Pictured Rocks. [47]

Initially, the Munising community rallied behind the state park idea. Alger County donated to Michigan twenty-seven acres of land around Miners Castle, one of the outstanding features of the Pictured Rocks. In 1926, the Tourist Committee of the Munising Development Club worked with township authorities to put a trail through the forest to Miners Castle, providing visitors for the first time with land access to the Pictured Rocks. That same year the Munising Development Club planned to show off the scenic highlights of their area to the Detroit Commercial Club's summer cruise. More than five hundred big-wigs arrived on the luxury steamer Noronic. But heavy fog not only prevented any Pictured Rocks vistas but actually kept the Noronic from even docking in Munising Bay. Weather robbed the town of a chance to influence the type of people who could rouse the state to take an aggressive role in the development of the park. By 1926, it was apparent that state funds were critical to the success of the plan. Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, one of the largest land owners in the area of the proposed park, had no intention of donating its holdings. Rather, the Company was investing heavily in building logging spurs in the Munising area. Maintaining timberlands was critical to their plans in Alger County. Perhaps for this reason the Munising Development Club seemed to have lost interest in the proposed park. [48]

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the state of Michigan did little to act upon its resolution to make the Pictured Rocks a state park. Alger County continued to "operate" the Miners Castle site for the State. Tax revisions gave Michigan control over 185 acres of additional land within the proposed park, but that was the only action taken. There was little attempt by Munising to use public or political pressure to urge more energetic development. This lack of pressure proved fatal to the proposed park.

The lack of support for the Pictured Rocks proposal was in stark contrast to that received by the Tahquamenon Falls State Park proposal. In 1926, the state first began to consider plans for a 6,340 acre park along the upper and lower falls of the Tahquamenon River in Luce and Chippewa counties. Local boosters backed the project with enthusiasm and built support for the project throughout Michigan. The Wolverine Conservation Association, a sportsmen's group based in the Upper Peninsula made the success of the Tahquamenon proposal their number one priority. The town of Newberry entertained Conservation Commission members when they visited the area in August of 1928. Luce County printed 10,000 promotional brochures in 1929. Such brochures were provided to Detroit publications and outdoors organizations. In 1931, over 40,000 brochures were distributed to Mackinac Island tourists. As a result Tahquamenon Falls became a major tourist destination and, in 1936, the state received the transfer of 2,284 acres of Cleveland-Cliffs land for park development. World War II stalled the Tahquamenon project, but local support remained strong. Finally, in 1947, Michigan opened a much expanded 40,000 acre state park. While the Pictured Rocks proposal remained hopelessly stalled and all but forgotten, Luce County pushed their park proposal through to completion. [49]

The tourist boom of the 1950s reawakened the Conservation Department's interest in the Pictured Rocks. Once more state officials trekked north to inspect the project area for themselves. Once more they were visibly impressed. A 1953 staff report described the area as "one of the most significant sites in Michigan." Maps were made and preliminary development plans were drafted for the state park. "Here in the region of the Pictured Rocks," the Conservation Department resolved, "is an area with all the attributes of an outstanding state park--superlative natural beauty that should be preserved for the lasting enjoyment of the people and to the economic benefit of the region." Yet, the project never progressed past the mapping stage. [50]

State resolutions in 1931 to develop Grand Sable Dunes as a state park were equally as ineffectual. The Grand Sable project had the illusion of some progress because more than 1,500 acres of dune land had reverted to the state for tax delinquency. There was no state money appropriated for the purchase of the dunes. The fact was that Michigan's state parks were in a state of crisis throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1953, the year the state renewed its interest in the Pictured Rocks, the existing state park system was swamped with more than 14 million visitors. Yet, the legislature appropriated to the Conservation Department little more than 10 cents per visitor to pay not only for all maintenance but to fund new facilities as well. The state tried to solve the revenue crisis in recreation by instituting an annual \$2.00 state park admission sticker for automobiles. But the need for funds outstripped that source of revenue. By 1959, the cash shortfall was effecting the entire state government. Democratic Governor G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams proposed a corporate profits tax as a way to reinvigorate state programs. Naturally the Republicans did not take kindly to this initiative and responded with a proposal to increase the sales tax. In the dispute that followed, Michigan became a financial shambles. A joke from that period claimed that the favorite drink in the state capital of Lansing was "Michigan on the rocks." [51]

In spite of Michigan's financial woes, the amount of state park acreage more than doubled between 1948 and 1972. That expansion took place elsewhere than the Pictured Rocks and Grand Sable Dunes because those areas remained remote from the masses of southern Michigan who frequented the state park system, there was no emergency threat to the scenic values of either the Rocks or the Dunes, and other

areas had greater political persistence and clout. The Porcupine Mountains were made into a state wilderness park ahead of the Pictured Rocks in part because the virgin hardwood forests of that area were threatened in the 1940s by logging companies. Yankee Springs State Park received development funds even during the worst years of the crisis because of its proximity to population centers such as Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids and Lansing. "What about the Rocks?" a Munising News editorial asked in 1954 when other acquisition and development projects were funded. The sad but true answer was that Alger County had neither the size nor strength to make a space for itself at the crowded trough of the state budget. [52]

The Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey

Federal involvement with the creation of a park at the Pictured Rocks began with the Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey. The project had its roots in New Deal recreation planning. The National Park Service was given a greater role in regional planning and additional funding through the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. In 1934 and 1935, the National Park Service embarked on a study of seashore conservation on the Atlantic, Gulf, and later the Pacific Coasts. The studies recommended fifteen possible sites for inclusion in the national park system. One of these sites, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, was actually pushed through to creation. Philanthropist and businessman Paul Mellon, son of the former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, played a critical role in making the land available to the National Park Service. The authorization of other shoreline parks was forestalled by the outbreak of World War II. But shoreline planning was reinvigorated and expanded to the Great Lakes region during the bold Mission 66 development program. [53]

Mission 66 was a ten year program begun in 1956. Its purpose was to expand and upgrade facilities within the national park system by 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the National Park Service. Conrad Wirth, the Park Service director who initiated the program, worked on the shoreline survey of the 1930s. He revived the survey idea and made it part of the Mission 66 program. Although Mission 66 was budgeted at \$786,545,600, the Park Service did not have funds to do the shoreline survey. That program was funded privately by Paul Mellon and Alisa Bruce as part of their on-going interest in conservation issues. The Mellon heirs would later fund the establishment of the White House Rose Garden, the landscaping of Lafayette Park, and the purchase of Cumberland Island, North Carolina, but the most important contribution they made to their country was the funding of the second shoreline survey. [54]

Paul Mellon had a strong personal interest in the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. He met frequently with Park Service planners and on occasion went into the field with them. Mellon did not have as strong an interest in the Great Lakes although Director Wirth ensured that the heartland shoreline, even though it had been ignored by the 1930s program, would be included in the new survey. The man who was charged with the Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey was Allen T. Edmunds, a twenty year veteran of the National Park Service. [55]

Allen Edmunds was an excellent choice for the task of assessing the shoreline features of the Great

Lakes region. He was a native of Michigan and a graduate of Michigan State University. His career in the agency, which began in 1937, had been built on working on state and regional planning. In 1954 and 1955 he spearheaded the Atlantic and Gulf Coast studies, during which time he won the confidence of Director Wirth and Paul Mellon. Edmunds based the survey in the Philadelphia office, as the Great Lakes were then regarded by bureaucratic geographers as being part of the Northeast region. As he began the survey, Director Wirth reminded Edmunds that it had taken fifteen years to make even one national park out of the original shoreline survey. If nothing came of the Great Lakes survey, the Director cautioned Edmunds, "don't be discouraged." [56]

Edmunds went at the Great Lakes project with enthusiasm and energy. Like the preservation by state and local authorities. Only very rare, outstanding quality sites were to be considered for national park status. E. Winton Perkins was the chief of party for the survey team which included Howard Chapman as recreational planner; Donald Humphrey, biologist; and James Sullivan, historian. In the spring of 1957, teams of Park Service planners undertook an aerial reconnaissance of the 5,480 miles of shoreline in the region. This was followed by an on the ground inspection. In August, Perkins and Chapman investigated the Pictured Rocks area. By use of an automobile they were able to visit Miners Castle, Au Sable Falls, Grand Sable Dunes, and Grand Island. Through the aid of the Coast Guard they were able to view the Pictured Rocks from the water. "Initial reactions to this 32-mile stretch of undeveloped shoreline is one of extreme importance," the reconnaissance team reported. "Its individual features are definitely of state park caliber and when combined into one unit they appear to have national significance." Edmunds immediately understood that the Pictured Rocks were one of the region's principal assets. He ordered "a concentrated effort should be made by every member of the Survey staff to examine this whole area in order to report on every aspect of its potential use." [57]

Edmunds and a larger survey team inspected the Pictured Rocks in May, 1958. A helicopter flight provided planners with an overview of the entire area. Perhaps they were inspired by what they saw because the initial plans for the park were bold and expansive. They recognized Twelve Mile Beach as an outstanding resource that could be used as a connecting link between the Pictured Rocks and Grand Sable areas. Grand Island, with its cliffs and forests, was recognized as a natural continuation of the Pictured Rocks environment. Their reports were also critical of the state of the few developed sites in the area. They found foot paths badly eroded, parking lots overflowing, camping facilities almost non-existent, and telephone poles strung across the dunes. While Edmunds could not let his team spend too much time on any one location, it was clear by the end of the second visit that the Pictured Rocks merited consideration for inclusion in the national park system. [58]

The final report of the Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey was completed in 1959. A year later a brief public document, titled Our Fourth Shore, was presented that summarized the survey's findings. Edmunds and his team made thirteen specific recommendations:

1. A minimum of 15 percent of the shoreline of the Great Lakes should be in public ownership, around urban areas the figure should be 20 percent.
2. Marshes and swamps may not be scenic but they require protection as a wildlife area.

3. As natural areas gradually disappear, examples of outstanding biotic communities become more important for preservation and study.
4. Historic sites along the shoreline also deserve to be protected and interpreted.
5. When military or Coast Guard facilities are decommissioned they should be dedicated to public recreation.
6. Great Lakes islands need to be protected as "unspoiled settings and biotic laboratories for the future."
7. Facilities for boat dockage on the Great Lakes should be a major public concern.
8. Except for a few outstanding, outlying sites recreational resources should be concentrated near major cities such as Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland.
9. Near urban areas consideration should be given for creation of additional shoreline recreation sites via landfills.
10. Port sites should not be developed in conflict with recreational values.
11. Development of existing scenic highways "should receive careful planning and controls to prevent unrestricted development which could adversely affect or destroy existing intrinsic values. Alignment of any future lakeshore highways should be carefully planned so as not to restrict ultimate development of existing and proposed areas.
12. Water pollution threatens recreation and biotic values. Legislation and enforcement are required.
13. In view of their possible national significance, further study should be given to Pigeon Point, the Huron Mountains, the Pictured Rocks, Sleeping Bear and Indiana Dunes to determine the best plan for preservation. [59]

Our Fourth Shore was in many ways a visionary document. Of the five specific areas recommended for possible federal protection, four would eventually make their way into the national park system. Edmunds and his team appreciated the links between cultural and natural resource protection as well as the need to balance environmental protection with the development of a tourist industry. The report marked the beginning of a major and rapid shift of the National Park Service into the Great Lakes region. Before the report there were only two existing national parks in the region, Isle Royale and Perry's Victory National Monument. In the two decades which followed the report six major new national parks were established in the Great Lakes region. Thereby, giving the National Park Service a chance to

directly serve the 40 million people of the region.

The weaknesses of the report reflect the era in which it was written. Our Fourth Shore over-projected the impact of the recently completed St. Lawrence Seaway on the Great Lakes. Although the Seaway did indirectly trigger a construction program that horribly scared the Indiana Dunes that process was not repeated elsewhere. The Edmunds team also over-projected the prospect of "urban sprawl" along the lakes. Although the growth of suburbs has been considerable, economic hard times in the 1970s and 1980s prevented "unrelieved urban areas...from Milwaukee along the Great Lakes to Buffalo." The report was also clearly hobbled by what one historian called "the conservative position" of the Eisenhower administration on conservation issues. Dwight D. Eisenhower had personally approved Mission 66 but he was not engaged in other conservation issues. Only two national parks, a recreation area and several historical sites, were created during Eisenhower's two terms, despite explosive population growth. His Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton, instructed Edmunds to recommend no more than three sites for national consideration from the combined surveys of the Atlantic, Gulf, Pacific and Great Lakes. Clearly Edmunds had not been given a mandate to make a grand plan. [60]

Secretary Seaton's narrow vision may in part account for the Shoreline Survey's somewhat cool response to the Apostle Islands. Local boosters had consistently urged the National Park Service to create a park among the islands and Lake Superior shoreline of the Bayfield Peninsula in northwest Wisconsin. The survey urged state development of beach parks on the mainland as well as the creation of a park unit on only one of the twenty Apostle Islands. While the Apostle Islands, thanks largely to the aggressive backing of Senator Gaylord Nelson, were eventually made into a national park, the Huron Mountains, which the survey did consider to be of national significance, never were seriously considered by the National Park Service. The granite domed Huron Mountains were a marvelously preserved slice of the North Woods with twenty two miles of undeveloped Lake Superior shoreline and picturesque upland lakes. The survey determined that the area offered "resources for public use and enjoyment of unusual variety and scope." But the private Huron Mountain Club had both the wealth and political connections to quietly ensure that no further studies were undertaken to develop a national park. [61]

Of all the areas visited by the survey the Pictured Rocks were the most highly rated by the survey team. "By virtue of its unique and spectacular scenery--unmatched elsewhere on the Great Lakes," the survey reported, Pictured Rocks merited further study by the National Park Service. "To preserve these extraordinary and unique features for public inspiration and enjoyment, it is recommended that prompt and progressive steps be taken to: (1) combine all of the primary features into one planning unit, (2) acquire the private holdings either by purchase or exchange and (3) develop a major park that will benefit not only the people of Michigan but the people of the entire country." [62]

While the members of the survey team were elated by the quality of recreational and scenic sites located by the project, they concluded their efforts with a sense of discouragement. There was little in the way of funds available for the creation of new parks. Yet, as one of the authors recalled, "our report gave a developer everything they needed to know to ruin the best areas in the region." In a preliminary evaluation of Pictured Rocks which was stamped "Not For Public Release," the team warned: "pressures for development are increasing. Visions of a chrome-plated, picture windowed lodge perched on top of

Grand Portal is distressing to contemplate....such intrusions are entirely within the realm of possibility." [63]

The state of Michigan had already demonstrated its inability to develop a preservation plan for the area. Yet, the lack of appreciation of the scenic qualities of the Pictured Rocks finally became an asset. There were no elite private interests, as was the case with the Huron Mountains, to preempt consideration of national park status. What remained to be seen was whether the Pictured Rocks could command the political support both in Michigan and in Washington to become a national park? [64]

<<< [Chapter 1](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Chapter 3](#) >>>

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Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

CHAPTER 3: THE CREATION OF PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL LAKESHORE

The Kennedy magic was working marvelously as a motorcade took the President of the United States through streets lined with more than 50,000 curious and enthusiastic people. Duluth, Minnesota, was enraptured with the visit of the handsome young President. The leader that television had made so familiar seemed nonetheless more interesting than his predecessors, in part because of his frequent appearances before the cameras. John F. Kennedy consciously cultivated a personalized leadership style that made people look to him as the key figure in bringing about change. During his brief administration the American people became accustomed to the image of the President mastering crisis after crisis through courage, grace, and wit. That evening in a packed basketball arena the President told the people of the Upper Great Lakes Region that he was turning the attention of his administration to their crisis. "The economy of a region that should be prospering has reflected instead a series of economic setbacks as mines and mills shut down." The goal of the President would be "full employment of both the natural and human resources which this area still possess in abundance." [65]

The President came to Duluth in September 1963, to address the "Land and People: Northern Great Lakes Regional Conference," which had been organized by Orville L. Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture. The goal of the program was to develop a coordinated plan of action to "restore and sustain a healthy regional economy." While Freeman emphasized that the creation of specific proposals was "for the people of the Region to decide," the inclination of the activist, "can do" Kennedy administration bureaucracy was to take the initiative. The charismatic style of the President himself encouraged the belief that the federal government, now that it was aware of the problem, would develop a solution. Yet, other than the vague idea of a multistate regional authority to develop an agenda, the Kennedy administration had no plan for the Upper Great Lakes region. In his speeches, both in Duluth and earlier in Wisconsin, the President linked economic development with conservation initiatives: "this Region is more and more a major recreation area within easy access to tens of millions of Americans." [66]

Kennedy's speech and the "Land and People" conference greatly reenforced the links which had been growing in the North Woods country between natural resource conservation and economic development. Yet while the linkage was natural and necessary, it could never be syncretistic. Pictured Rocks National

Lakeshore was created in a flexible, liberal political climate which did not emphasize the inevitable conflicts between use and preservation. The lakeshore developed amid a consensus that preservation would lead to economic growth. This consensus profoundly shaped the enabling legislation, mandating its two most controversial features: the inland buffer zone and the scenic drive. The consensus masked deep seated divisions and would later accentuate bitterness between the people of the Pictured Rocks area and the National Park Service. Less than two months after the Duluth speech, John F. Kennedy was assassinated, yet the influence of his personality and his appointees would continue to shape federal conservation policy in the Upper Great Lakes region.

S. 2152: The First Pictured Rocks Bill

At the time of President Kennedy's Duluth speech, legislative initiatives to act upon the Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey were stymied. Opposition to the creation of a Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore and a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore was much stronger and more effective than had been anticipated. The National Park Service and the Senate sponsor of the bills, Phillip A. Hart, made a number of mistakes which doomed their initial effort and squandered the momentum generated by the successful completion of the Shoreline Survey.

The press responded very favorably to the report Our Fourth Shore when it was released early in 1960. "A new warning has been sounded," the New York Times noted, "that the sands of time are running fast against the opportunities for establishing shoreline parks along this nation's dwindling vacation frontier." While the newspaper praised the report, it caustically observed that Congress had yet to take any action to preserve nationally significant sites identified in the Atlantic coast survey published five years before. Such comments were anticipated by the National Parks Advisory Board which resolved at its October 1959, meeting that "consideration be given to the establishment of the Pictured Rocks area, Michigan, as a unit of the National Park System." [67]

The National Park Service did what it could to promote the study. In consultation with Senator Philip Hart, the agency prepared a preliminary economic impact study of a lakeshore at Sleeping Bear Dunes. On May 5, 1961, Ben H. Thompson, Assistant Director of the Northeast Region, spoke to a conference of Michigan mayors about the benefits of national park status. While Thompson emphasized that "economic benefit is secondary," what the mayors heard loud and clear were the projections that "\$21.5 million would be infused into the regional economy if the proposed area is established." [68]

On June 27, 1961, Senator Hart introduced the first federal bill to preserve the Pictured Rocks. For the next five years discussion of the Pictured Rocks would be closely linked to efforts to save Sleeping Bear Dunes in the Grand Traverse area of lower Michigan. Senate Bill 2152 provided for the creation of a Pictured Rocks park while Senate Bill 2153 provided for a Sleeping Bear Dunes park. In introducing the bills Senator Hart stressed the scenic qualities of each location as well as the potential economic benefits of park status for the neighboring region. Like Alger County, the Sleeping Bear area experienced economic stagnation, population loss, and the awakening of commercial tourism. Unlike the Pictured Rocks, Sleeping Bear Dune was readily accessible to the growing population of southern and central Michigan. Senator Hart would work vigorously for the passage of both bills, but it was clear that his

preference was for Sleeping Bear. It was more immediately threatened by development and it had the potential to positively influence a greater number of constituents. Hart wanted "Sleeping Bear Dunes to be the first National Lakeshore and Pictured Rocks to be the second." [69]

Philip A. Hart was the legislator most responsible for the creation of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore. He was a Democratic Senator from Michigan from 1959 to 1976. At the time he introduced the first Pictured Rocks bill, Hart and his staff were still getting their feet on the ground in Washington. In time hard work, a talented staff, and reputation for sound judgement would win Hart a leading place in the Senate. In 1965, Lyndon Johnson handpicked Hart to shepherd the Voting Rights Act through the teeth of a southern filibuster. Through his leadership on every major civil rights bill of the 1960s and his advocacy of consumer protection legislation, the D-Day veteran became known as "the conscience of the Senate." Just before he was due to retire from the Senate in 1976, Hart died of cancer. [70]

The primary purpose of S.2152 was to get a Pictured Rocks bill into the legislative hopper. The bill would create a 67,000-acre park along the Lake Superior shore between Munising and Grand Marais. Significantly omitted from the proposal was Grand Island. Hunting and fishing in the area were left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. Rather than the term National Lakeshore that eventually would be used, the initial Hart bill used the term "National Recreation Area." [71]

"These dimensions are suggestions only," Senator Hart cautioned upon the introduction of his bills. "Not until we have had extensive public hearings should we settle on the areas." But such a qualification was little heard in the storm of criticism which swept over Michigan's junior senator when the terms of the bills became public. The sleeping Bear proposal was denounced as a "land grab" by a large and vocal group of property owners within the proposed area. The bill was labeled "precipitous and ill-advised" and Hart was censured by the charitable as a dupe of the National Park Service and by the incensed as a "socialist." While opposition to Sleeping Bear was noisily public, the critics of the Pictured Rocks emerged more slowly and with greater political skill. [72]

In the weeks that followed the introduction of S.2152, Munising was awash with rumors and speculation concerning the implications of the proposal. Although there were not a great many full-time residents living within the area of the proposed park, property owners were most anxious about Hart's initiative. Nonetheless, at a public meeting concerning the bill, Alger County's basic response seemed quite favorable. Allen Edmunds presented an overview of the Park Service's plans for the area and William B. Welsh, one of Hart's most able aides, reviewed the process by which the bill would become law. One question from the floor which caused little comment at the time would loom large later. Edmunds was asked about the possibility of a scenic drive along the Rocks. He responded critically of a road along the Rocks, but expressed the Park Service's willingness to work with the State of Michigan on any plans for a lakeshore highway. There was no further discussion of the point. Journalists covering the meeting were struck by the "sharp contrast to the bitter opposition the Park Service has encountered in the Sleeping Bear Dunes region." [73]

Many Munising residents embraced the Hart bill because of the recent closure of the Munising Wooden

Ware Company which took 300 jobs when the venerable old plant closed. That made Kimberly-Clark, whose paper mill employed about 600 workers, a mainstay of the local economy. In the minds of many of the younger men on the Chamber of Commerce the time had come for Munising to develop its tourist assets more aggressively. The people of Grand Marais were even more enthusiastic about the initial reports of a park near their town. That community was reeling from the loss of a U.S. Air Force radar station, the closing of an Air Canada emergency landing strip, and the loss to fire of a local forest products plant. Unable to attract new industry, the town invested its own funds and tried to bootstrap the Superior Wood Products Company into existence, but a lack of capital curtailed their efforts. "Grand Marais has to do something awfully quick, or die," concluded one civic leader. The president of the town Chamber of Commerce embraced Hart's bill as "the only futuristic out-look for Grand Marais." [74]

The first Pictured Rocks bill had the effect of pitting the growing tourist economy against the interests of the old economic stand-by, logging. Loggers and forest land owners within the 67,000-acre tract formed the core of the opposition to S.2152. Not only did they object to the prospect of being shut out of prime Alger County timberlands by the National Park Service, they were panicked by the spread of forest preservation across the Upper Peninsula. The creation of Porcupine Mountains State Park a decade before had led to a knock-down-drag-out fight between preservationists and loggers. When the Great Lakes Shoreline Recreational Area Survey released its recommendation to establish both a Pictured Rocks and a Huron Mountains park, the loggers objected, "you just can't make a natural area of everything!" The Timber Producers Association, which represented independent logging companies in the Upper Peninsula and northern Wisconsin, decided to respond with a full-scale counter-attack. The first blow in this campaign was actually directed to Porcupine Mountains State Park, where they tried to force the state to grant selective logging permits. The goal was to shift the debate from reservation to multiple-use, not just in the Porcupines but also at Pictured Rocks where the forest lands were more desirable. A Michigan conservationist warned Chief of National Park Planning Ben Thompson that "there is an opposition organizing to Pictured Rocks which if not handled now may just be as bad as the one at Sleeping Bear." [75]

While the Timber Producers Association was public in its opposition to the Pictured Rocks bill, a more significant player lurked off stage. The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company with thirty-nine percent of the land was the largest property owner affected by the proposed park. While the National Park Service was surveying the area for scenic and recreational resources, the iron company was planning to construct a \$1.75 million sawmill to harvest the forest. Cleveland-Cliffs was a powerful industrial concern with clout in both Michigan and Ohio. Confident of its political leverage it could afford to respond to the Pictured Rocks proposal with patient adroitness. Officially the company minded the press of its laudable conservation record, which had recently been reenforced by turning over land to make Fayette State Park on Lake Michigan an actuality. At the same time the company expressed its desire to retain logging rights within the Pictured Rocks area. Aware that it was in for a long fight the company moved to create an organization which could push the corporate line behind the veil of the broader public interest. [76]

On November 30, 1961, the Forum On Resources of Upper Michigan (FORUM) was created to promote the "conservation of the resources of the Upper Peninsula through wise use in the interests of the public at large, the residents of the Upper Peninsula and the resource owners." Joseph Rahilly, a twenty-seven-

year veteran of the Michigan Conservation Commission, was elected the chairman. The initial members of FORUM included an impressive list of executives from other major Upper Peninsula landowning corporations, some chamber of commerce representatives, and a smattering of academicians and journalists. That the real power behind the organization was Cleveland-Cliffs was not well hidden. Ogden Johnson, Director of Industrial Relations for the company organized the initial meeting which was held in the company's restaurant, the Mather Inn. While FORUM began as a front for Cleveland-Cliffs, it evolved into a membership organization which helped to rally a broader constituency opposed to the Pictured Rocks bill. In time FORUM would have a considerable influence on the evolution of the lakeshore. "The situation is a pretty hot potato here," Harold L. Dunklee, president of the Alger County Chamber of Commerce, warned Senator Hart, "there is going to be a lot of strong opposition." [77]

The plan proposed by the Northeast Region for the Pictured Rocks served to weaken Senator Hart's confidence in the National Park Service's projections for Pictured Rocks. According to the plan, the forest lands within the lakeshore would be managed to effect "the restoration of the cutover forests to a natural condition." While this seemed like a logical goal in the Philadelphia office, Hart knew it would have an incendiary effect in northern Michigan. To loggers this raised "many red flags." If reforestation was one of the goals of the lakeshore, then why not let the U.S.D.A. Forest Service take the lead in creating the park? "We would have no objection to the Forest Service operation of a park area," the Timber Producers Association wrote Senator Hart, "because we believe that this department has handled recreation and also conserved a wasting asset. We feel, however, that the policy of the Park Service, with their single purpose attitude toward lands, is a tremendous waste to an area." [78]

The preliminary plan also poorly projected the economic benefits of the proposed park. The plan suggested that the forest products industry would continue to decline and that developing recreational resources was the only viable economic use of the lands. Unfortunately, the United States Senate Committee on Public Works had recently commissioned a study of economic development options for the Upper Peninsula which offered a different prescription for the area's woes. The study noted major new sawmills opening near Munising and Newberry, Michigan, to demonstrate the continued viability of logging. Rather than predicting the end of logging in northern Michigan, the author, Michigan State University forestry professor Lee James, stressed the importance of tourism and forest products developing in tandem. "If recreationists reject, in general, the principle of multiple use," James warned, "and insist on large scale allocations to exclusive recreation use, they could cause a severe curtailment in other regional economic opportunities, particularly in the wood-using industries." [79]

By the fall of 1961 Senator Hart was feeling the heat from constituents on both sides of the Mackinac Bridge. With both S.2152 and S.2153 dead-on-arrival the Senator and the Park Service were sent scurrying back to the drawing board. Hart was guilty of following too closely the broad-stroke proposals of the Lakeshore Survey. For its part the National Park Service had not paid enough attention to the local situation in Michigan. "We made mistakes in Michigan and got off to a bad start," confided George A. Palmer Assistant Director of the Northeast Region. "We are reversing the trend now....[there] is no great hurry but we do need to make progress." [80]

Pointing the way to make progress in Michigan was the example of Cape Cod National Seashore, created

by act of Congress in the summer of 1961. It was the first addition to the shoreline protection program since the authorization of Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1937. Even more significant for the Pictured Rocks were the provisions of the Cape Cod bill. For the first time in an act authorizing a large natural park, Congress had authorized funds expressly for land acquisition. For almost fifty years the National Park Service had been limited to the "beg, borrow, or steal" approach to land acquisition. Cape Cod set another precedent when the seashore included numerous small towns within its boundaries. Outright purchase of these properties would have been financially and politically impossible. Instead, the National Park Service provided zoning guidelines for private property within the seashore. The Cape Cod bill was an example of how to work flexibly with the local community to protect their economic interests and still offer improved recreation to the general public. [81]

The patchwork of innovations and compromises that made Cape Cod a national park unit would never have occurred had it not been for that area's heavy political influence. From President Kennedy, who sailed the off-shore waters since boyhood, to the Massachusetts Congressional delegation, to the well-heeled cottagers of the Cape, the supporters of compromise had the clout to get their way. Underscoring President Kennedy's personal interest in Cape Cod was his commitment to provide improved recreational opportunities to the swelling population of Urban America. In December 1961, Kennedy met with Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Assistant Secretary of the Interior John Carver. The president stressed that the country needed "parks where there are people and the people are in the East." Like the Cape Cod solution, parks in the East and Midwest would not be like the "Museum Parks" of the Far West. "To do what the President wants," Carver remembered, "the NPS has to accommodate itself to the local situation." From the meeting with Kennedy came an emphasis on "new policies and practices." [82]

Park planners in the Northeast Regional Office quickly got word of the change in direction. Assistant Secretary Carver flattered the Philadelphia staff by describing them as the "intellectual" region, capable of "real thinking," before charging them with developing in Michigan "solutions in a new mold." He also admonished them for not working more closely with the Michigan Conservation Commission in preparing a proposal that reflected local realities. Philip Hart had already suggested a compromise with Cleveland-Cliffs and requested that the Park Service find a way to allow commercial logging within the Pictured Rocks. By the end of 1961 both, the Sleeping Bear Dunes and the Pictured Rocks proposals were back on the drawing boards. [83]

"Charting a New Course"

The objections of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company and the Timber Producers Association created an obstacle to the passage of a Pictured Rocks bill. The precedent of Cape Cod spawned a climate conducive to creative thinking within the bureaucracy and legislature. For the next five years Senator Hart and the National Park Service struggled to use the opportunities brought by the Cape Cod precedent to remove the obstacles logging interests had placed in their path. Neither within the agency nor on Hart's staff was there an inclination to force a choice between preservation and economic development. Their efforts were keyed to achieving both ends in a single park proposal.

For Philip Hart, in particular, the Cape Cod precedent opened a graceful line of retreat from his initial

positions on the Pictured Rocks and Sleeping Bear proposals. The proposed National Shoreline Recreation Area at Pictured Rocks is not intended to be developed as a traditional national park," Hart explained to the head of the Timber Producers Association. "The Department of Interior is looking to the long-term recreation needs of the nation, preserving the scenic areas of greatest beauty, permitting hunting and fishing, and encouraging other uses compatible with recreation objectives." Out of Hart's desire to accommodate those "other uses" were born the two most controversial features of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore: the inland buffer zone and the scenic drive. [84]

The inland buffer zone was the creature of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company. It was born in negotiation with Senator Hart over how to get around the traditional ban on commercial logging in a national park. The company proposed that the bulk of the timberlands within the park be left in private ownership so long as they were managed for sustained yield and left accessible for public recreation. In return the Company promised to sell the lands within the park which were essential for scenic and recreational development. Hart thought the suggestion could be the basis of a "new concept" national park. On May 29, 1962, Hart introduced S.3364 which included the Cleveland-Cliffs proposal and added to it the involvement of the U.S. Forest Service as the official arbiter of what constituted sustained yield forestry. The new bill would reduce the actual area preserved for park purposes from 67,000 acres to 26,000 acres and would bring the Park Service, private owners, and the U.S.D.A. Forest Service into a long-term cooperative management role on the remaining 41,000 acres. [85]

S.3364 also called for the development of "facilities to provide the benefits of public recreation, including a scenic shoreline drive." This provision was an attempt, made with little investigation, to enhance the economic development potential of the proposed lakeshore. Since the 1930s the Michigan Highway Department had discussed a scenic drive linking potential tourist sites in the eastern Upper Peninsula. The Great Lakes Shoreline Recreation Area Survey report in 1959 praised U.S. Highway No. 2 along the northern shore of Lake Michigan as an "outstanding" scenic highway but warned that any future construction "should be carefully planned so as not to restrict ultimate development of existing and proposed parks." By 1962, the Michigan Highway Department actually had plans for 650 miles of scenic shoreline drives in the entire state, including a plan for a stretch of road from Detour (on Lake Huron) to Munising. The plan was contingent on "when and if money is available," no small limitation since the 187 mile project carried a \$31.8 million price tag. At the October 1961, Pictured Rocks public meeting in Munising Harold Dunklee, President of the Alger County Chamber of Commerce, listed the free tolls on the Mackinac Bridge, a Pictured Rocks park, and a lakeshore highway as the elements needed to build the Upper Peninsula's tourist economy. The Tourist Industry Relations Committee of the Michigan House of Representatives and the Forum On Resources of Upper Michigan (FORUM) also called for such a road. [86]

Driving the call for a scenic shoreline drive was the rapid rise in tourism along the Province of Ontario's north shore of Lake Superior. In the late 1950s Ontario made a major investment in its recreation industry. The number of provincial parks rose from six to one hundred, the tourist promotion budget grew to more than four times that of Michigan, and an improved highway, the Superior North Shore Route, was opened. A drive along the rugged, almost wilderness north shore became a popular summer vacation. Upper Peninsula tourist businesses sat in helpless frustration as federal Interstate highway

construction in lower Michigan and the magnificent Mackinac Bridge were used to speed vacationers right past them and into Canada. [87]

It is likely that the provision for a scenic shoreline drive in the Pictured Rocks bill was due to the advocacy of FORUM. That economic development group conducted a brief study of a Detour to Munising road in the spring of 1962. Their report was sent to Philip Hart and it received a close reading by his staff. The study's goal was to report the feasibility of such a road "as an alternative to a Public Recreation Area at Pictured Rocks." FORUM condemned the National Park Service for planning a thirty mile gap "in a most scenic portion" of their proposed highway. The report was not a fair analysis, rather its purpose was to create a false dichotomy between a highway the state did not have a hoot-in-hell chance of building and a federal park: "The choice seems to be obvious 'Wilderness' in which a few can hike or 'Scenic Route' which will attract vacationers in large numbers." Nonetheless Hart was inclined to consider this objection for political reasons. He had met with the Michigan Highway Commission and learned that it was unlikely the state would obtain the funds to build the shoreline drive and if it did the road would not reach the lakeshore until 1980. Nonetheless Jean Worth, the editor of the Escanaba Daily Press and a member of FORUM, enthusiastically hyped the highway as a legitimate proposal. The inclusion of the scenic shoreline drive in S.3364 was in many ways an attempt to forestall a thinly veiled disinformation campaign. [88]

If Philip Hart was guilty of following the Park Service's projections too slavishly in his first bill, S.3364 was guilty of erring in the opposite direction. Park planners in Philadelphia were dismayed by Hart's involvement of the U.S. Forest Service in managing the inland buffer zone. Assistant Director of the National Park Service, William L. Bowan, tried diplomatically to convey that sentiment when he noted: "The National Park Service does not favor this type of arrangement since it is not in the best interests of managing and protecting the area for primary use of recreation and because it interjects another agency into the management machinery, thus making it more cumbersome than necessary." [89]

Nor was Hart's compromise warmly received by the timber interests or their "wise use" allies. The forest products industry was leery of the precedent of agreeing to Forest Service supervision of timber harvesting on private lands. Small-scale loggers were particularly uneasy about having the government looking over their shoulder, as many such operators were unfamiliar with sustained yield management. Cleveland-Cliffs liked the basic outlines of the bill but was frustrated and suspicious that it did not contain a detailed description of the boundary line between those lands where logging would be permitted and the inner park area. FORUM was pleased to see its scenic drive concept in the bill but was unimpressed by the bill's vague wording and the lack of a map showing the actual route of the road. [90]

Hart hoped to hold a hearing on S.3364 in the Upper Peninsula but was advised by the Department of the Interior that further study was needed before it could take a specific stand on the bill. More importantly Joseph Rahilly, the head of FORUM, opposed a public hearing in 1962. Rahilly wanted to see a master plan for the park as well as some economic impact studies. The people of the Upper Peninsula, he suggested, "can't buy a pig in a poke." With Rahilly's opposition, all plans for a hearing were dropped. [91]

In spite of the immediate opposition it engendered, S.3364 did advance the political objectives of its sponsor. Hart made it clear that he was willing to work with the timber interests and the local communities to draft a park bill that would meet their needs. The process of drafting the bill also pointed out the shortcomings of the Park Service's knowledge of the area. At Hart's urging the agency contracted for an economic impact study of the proposed park and the Philadelphia office began a restudy of the land protection requirements of a Pictured Rocks park. [92]

The policy implications raised by Hart's bill spurred Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to call on the newly created Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to take a leadership role in coordinating an evaluation of S.3364 and to recommend, if necessary, options to Hart's proposal. Conrad Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, took immediate exception to this directive. "I am afraid that confusion and duplication will result," was Wirth's specific objection but he also went on to voice the looming issue of bureaucratic turf. "I think that it is absolutely essential to the future of national park conservation that the Park Service be the Department's agency primarily responsible for the planning and recommendations concerning proposed parks and related areas of national significance for administration by this Service I think it is essential also to the vitality of the Service as a Government bureau." Wirth's appeal ensured the Park Service remained the lead agency in the development of the Pictured Rocks, yet from here on the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was also a player in the process. For the next two years the Pictured Rocks proposal was bogged down in a welter of bureaucratic meetings and a frustrating series of private negotiations. [93]

William Welsh, aide to Senator Hart, spearheaded a sustained effort to bring the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company into support of a Pictured Rocks park. Negotiations were based on a "Preliminary Development Plan" which protected 39,000 acres in the inner zone and allowed logging in an outer or buffer zone of 26,000 acres. In December 1962 Cleveland-Cliffs made a counter proposal increasing the size of the buffer zone. By the spring of 1963 it appeared that a deal had been struck and a 47,000-acre buffer zone would be open to sustained yield logging under Forest Service supervision. Senator Hart incorporated this boundary in a new bill, S.1143, which D. R. Forrest, president of Cleveland-Cliffs, described as "a satisfactory solution to the problems we have discussed." [94]

By the spring of 1963, Philip Hart was confident that two years after his first Pictured Rocks bill was introduced a viable piece of legislation had been crafted. "Th blows have fallen pretty fast and furious in the intervening months," he told a group of conservationists, but it was now clear "we are going to make it." His confidence was buoyed by the recent agreement with Cleveland-Cliffs and by an accord, in February 1963, between the departments of Interior and Agriculture. Stewart L. Udall and Orville L. Freeman agreed to a broad range of cooperative programs to advance recreation in America. National seashores and recreation areas would no longer be the province one department but would be administered cooperatively. The half-century-old rivalry between the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service was officially brought to an end. President Kennedy hailed the accord as a "milestone in conservation practice." From Hart's perspective it was a stirring endorsement of his plan to have inter-departmental management of the Pictured Rocks. [95]

But the bright promise of spring wilted under the summer sun in Northern Michigan as the difficulties of crafting a consensus among multiple agencies and between the private and public sectors unraveled Hart's Pictured Rocks agreement. Things first began to fray in June when the Michigan Department of Conservation hosted a meeting in Munising of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, the National Park Service the U.S. Forest Service, and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. The principal goal was to reconcile differences between the Park Service's understanding of the buffer zone boundary and that of Cleveland-Cliffs. With all of the interested parties together for the first time outside of Hart's office, it became clear how much actual disagreement existed with S.1143. On the other hand, the men meeting in Munising found ample common ground upon which to craft their own solution. [96]

Cleveland-Cliffs very effectively demonstrated their overriding concern for access to quality stands of hardwood forest by giving all of the conferees a tour of their recently completed Forest Center Sawmill and an on-the-ground inspection of forest lands involved. William Briggie of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation then suggested that the bill could be amended to permit Cleveland-Cliffs to exchange the hardwood lands they would lose in the recreation zone of the proposed park for government-owned hardwood lands outside the park. For its part Cleveland-Cliffs would be willing to accept the Park Service's boundary for a very large protected or recreation zone if the idea of a buffer zone could be dropped altogether. The Park Service did not like the idea of a smaller lakeshore park but the proposal did have the virtue of removing the Forest Service's supervisory role, something to which Cleveland-Cliffs also "heartily objects." The Forest Service and Michigan Department of Conservation agreed to consider making their lands available for exchange. "Everyone left the meeting with the feeling that it had been most helpful," recalled Allen Edmunds. Instead, they had just thrown a giant monkey wrench into the legislative process. [97]

The seeds of trouble planted in June bore fruit in August when it was determined to be a violation of Congressional mandate to exchange industrial forest lands for U.S. Forest Service holdings outside of the park. The Iron Company, however, was adamant that it wanted to be compensated with hardwood lands as valuable and as close to the mill as it lost to the proposed park. Hart rightly accused the company of backing down from its March 1963 agreement. The misunderstanding settled on the difference between Cleveland-Cliffs being compensated with lands within the buffer zone as opposed to Forest Service lands outside the buffer zone. Lengthy negotiations in November 1963 failed to resolve the impasse. After flirting with embracing Hart's bill the iron company went back into the ranks of the opposition. [98]

As if it was not enough that Hart's carefully crafted private-public partnership was coming apart, S.1143 next fell prey to the type of bureaucratic conflicts President Kennedy had tried to put to rest. In January 1964, Hart requested a legislative report from the Department of the Interior on S.1143. The newly established Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was created by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to take the lead in recreational and new area planning. It was Udall's often-stated goal to increase rapidly the amount of recreational and national park areas in the United States and he felt that only a new agency could handle the volume of studies necessary to meet that goal. In March 1963, the Bureau's Recreation Advisory Council issued its guidelines for selecting new areas. This was the standard that the bureau applied when it reviewed Hart's bill and the Park Service's proposed development plan. To the surprise of everyone involved the council voted to disapprove the Pictured Rocks because recreation was not the

paramount purpose of the plan. [99]

On one level the action was little more than an exercise in bureaucratic warfare, with the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation ensuring that the Park Service recognized the new agency's primary responsibility for new area studies. Yet there were some important long-term management issues lurking beneath the surface. The preliminary land use and development plan for the Pictured Rocks, which had been drafted by the Philadelphia office in August 1962, clearly indicated that the area would be managed not as a traditional national park but with a "heavy emphasis" on "scenic and interpretive enjoyment." By initially rejecting the Pictured Rocks plan, the council compelled the Park Service even more specifically address the primary criteria for recreation areas. These concerns included demonstrating that the area could support a high carrying capacity, that it would serve inter-state patrons, its primary purpose was recreation, and that it was located within a densely populated census division. Once the Park Service met these requirements, the council gave its approval, clearing the way for a positive opinion from the Department of the Interior. [100]

With the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation on board, Hart's bill was finally ready for a public hearing. There was no companion bill in the House of Representatives, so the hearings had to be held by the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Fortunately, fellow Democrat Gaylord Nelson, senator from Wisconsin, was on the public lands subcommittee. Nelson was an ardent conservationist and the author of a bill to create the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore. Nelson obligingly offered to try and arrange an early date for a hearing in the Upper Peninsula. [101]

The field hearing was held on July 20 1964, in Escanaba, Michigan. Gaylord Nelson presided with Senator Hart in attendance. Due to knowledgeable advice of E. Genevieve Gillette of the Michigan Parks Association the hearings successfully demonstrated the strong base of support in both lower Michigan as well as the Upper Peninsula. The town of Grand Marais led by Father Neil Smith, pastor of the local Catholic church and president of the Chamber of Commerce, and Frank Mead, supervisor of Burt Township, presented particularly compelling testimony in favor of the lakeshore. Munising was represented in force as well. Thirty-three businesses from the town and nineteen community organizations sent representatives to the hearing. The sentiment from the caravan of Alger county residents who drove to Escanaba was almost unanimously in favor of the lakeshore. [102]

A critical element in winning support for the lakeshore was the publication of the economic impact study prepared by Michigan State University's Institute for Community Development. The study was a sophisticated analysis of the likely economic result of the Park Service's development plan for Pictured Rocks. The report included an extended comparison of the future economic potential of both tourism and logging in Alger County. The study's careful projections included several different scenarios depending upon the scale of the eventual lakeshore and the aggressiveness of tourist promotion by area communities. In the main, the report predicted an increase in the number of jobs in Alger County due to the lakeshore with no substantial loss of jobs in the wood-processing industries. Because the report explored so many different economic scenarios, however, its judicious projections could be easily misinterpreted. In arguing for the lakeshore at the hearing, the Upper Peninsula Committee for Area

Development seized on one of the most positive scenarios to make the point: the lakeshore would provide jobs for 10 percent of Alger County. " We need it badly. We need it now. We hope we can depend upon it." [103]

The optimistic projections perceived in the economic study and the strongly supportive stands taken by the towns of Munising and Grand Marais disarmed the remaining critics of the lakeshore. Representatives of FORUM reported the results of two recent studies. One was a survey of small landowners likely to be affected by the proposed lakeshore. Not surprisingly they noted that seventy-two percent were opposed to Hart's bill. A second study critiqued the economic projections by observing that the Michigan State University team did not forecast "the income which might be realized by a vigorous development of the wood-using industries comparable to the suggested development of tourism." But such objections fell flat. When Senator Hart pressed the FORUM representatives for a "blunt statement for the record whether you do feel a national recreation lakeshore park should be established here." The chairman of the organization answered in the affirmative. The most important accomplishment of the Escanaba hearing was to establish that the Pictured Rocks proposal rested on a firm foundation of local support. [104]

"A Clear Mandate": Passage of the Pictured Rocks Bills

The Escanaba hearing also marked the emergence of Raymond Clevenger as a player in the Pictured Rocks legislative story. Clevenger was an ambitious Chicago-born attorney with a legal practice in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Clevenger had long been active in Democratic politics and had recently announced his candidacy for the eleventh district of Michigan's congressional seat. The district stretched from Ironwood in the western Upper Peninsula to Alpena in lower Michigan, one of the largest in the eastern United States. Clevenger hoped to make a dent in this traditionally Republican area by identifying his candidacy with former President Kennedy's and Lyndon Johnson's economic development initiatives. The Pictured Rocks proposal united conservation with economic stimulation and, in Clevenger's opinion, it could serve as a tangible example of how he would use his seat in Congress to help an impoverished district. Victor Knox, the Republican incumbent, handed Clevenger the issue by his steadfast refusal to submit a House bill to accompany Hart's Senate legislation. In testimony before the subcommittee Clevenger drew applause by announcing his intention, if elected, to push for the bill. "In my opinion the only objection to this project," he said, "is that no actual start has been made though more of our men are losing jobs and our employment problem is getting worse." [105]

Clevenger became involved in the Pictured Rocks project at a time when the bill was nearing approval. Nonetheless, he played an important role in bringing the legislation to a speedy resolution. By 1965, Senator Hart's talents were increasingly being directed to civil rights issues. He became the champion of the Voting Rights Act which faced an entrenched opposition in the Senate. While Clevenger brought his energy to the Pictured Rocks proposal, his principal political interests were not in the area of natural resource conservation. Clevenger's necessary commitment to antipoverty and other social programs helped to heighten public expectation further in northern Michigan that the Pictured Rocks project would be a development catalyst for the entire north country.

Following his election in the Johnson landslide of 1964, Clevenger and other newly elected Democratic representatives were brought to Washington by the party. Speaker-of-the-House John McCormick introduced the new members to the legislative aides of each cabinet department as well as members of the White House staff. Then each new representative was asked what his legislative priority was for his first term. The purpose of the meeting was to instill party discipline and to ensure that the new members had the full strength of both the executive and legislative branches working to make them successful representatives. McCormick stressed the importance of following the party line in their voting and indicated "You want to get along, you got to play along." When Clevenger was asked to name his priority he answered "Pictured Rocks park." In June 1965, Clevenger introduced H.R. 8678, a companion bill to Hart's Senate proposal. [\[106\]](#)

Clevenger's bill included a controversial agreement between the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company and the National Park Service which promised to remove the last obstacle to the creation of the lakeshore. The tortuous negotiations which led up to the new bill began in the summer of 1964, in the wake of the Escanaba field hearing. Cleveland-Cliffs presented its own plan for developing a park at the Pictured Rocks. The detailed plan touched on the size of the park, the location of the "scenic highway" and scenic vistas, and of course the management of the buffer zone. The plan itself was of less importance than the company's proposition that the two sides agree on the general principle: "a Federal recreation area and a scientifically managed industrial forest can both exist and prosper in close harmony in eastern Alger county." [\[107\]](#)

While both sides could agree on the general principle, there were two nagging issues which had prevented agreement: 1) The boundary between the inner or shoreline zone, which would be managed as a park, and the outer or inland buffer zone where sustained yield logging would be permitted; and 2) How would Cleveland-Cliffs be compensated for the prime forest lands lost to the creation of the lakeshore. The latter issue had been tentatively agreed to back in 1962 only to unravel over federal restrictions on land exchanges. Unable to find a more mutually acceptable solution, both sides decided to go back to this earlier agreement. National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service, and Cleveland-Cliffs closeted themselves away and hammered out a complex three-way exchange of lands. The National Park Service would purchase Cleveland-Cliffs' lands in the shoreline zone. Cleveland-Cliffs would then select comparable lands from National Forest holdings in Alger, Schoolcraft, and Luce counties. These lands would then be transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior and sold to the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company. Later the Michigan Conservation Department was brought into the agreement, giving the iron company access to be compensated from nearby state holdings. [\[108\]](#)

By making the land transfers a three-way exchange the proposed solution was a cloaked attempt to circumvent the rules of the House Committee on Government Operations. Those rules had been drafted to prevent lumber companies from holding up federal reservoir projects by demanding National Forest lands in exchange. Clearly the National Forests could not function properly if every federal land acquisition project empowered private interests to demand compensation with Forest Service lands. On the other hand, the goals of the Pictured Rocks compromise, recreation and wise use of timber resources, were consistent with the purpose of National Forests.

Not all supporters of a Pictured Rocks park were pleased with the compromise. The deal favored the interests of a large corporation like Cleveland-Cliffs at the expense of the independent logger. Forest Service timber lands made available to the iron company would otherwise have been opened to bids from small-scale loggers. More importantly supporters such as Grand Marais's Rev. B. Neil Smith predicted that the Congress as a whole would never approve of "raiding" the National Forests. Senator Hart received the brunt of this criticism. It was felt he was bending over backwards to please Cleveland-Cliffs because of the extreme opposition he faced from local forces over the Sleeping Bear Dunes proposal. Rather than continue to oppose Cleveland Cliffs on land exchanges, the cynics suggested, Hart would leave it up to Congress to say no. "In his obsession to make 'Sleeping Bear Dunes' the first National Lakeshore in Michigan," Smith wrote, "he has unconsciously allowed a situation to develop which would greatly impair the passage of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore." [109]

But Philip Hart was not the only one impatient with arguments about bureaucratic precedent. At House field hearings in Marquette, Michigan, Raymond Clevenger demonstrated his full support for the compromise. If national forest lands could be given to the Park Service to be part of the lakeshore, why not use national forest lands to make the lakeshore possible? "I suggest," he observed at a House field hearing, "that we have the Forest Service and Park Service join the Federal Government or else that we negotiate a separate peace treaty with them." The audience cheered Clevenger's no-nonsense approach but Representatives Ralph J. Rivers (D-Alaska) and John A. Race (R-Wisconsin) who held the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation hearing were less enthusiastic. After questioning both Cleveland-Cliffs officials and Clevenger, Subcommittee Chair Rivers warned, "I think this probably would establish precedent and I don't think the Forest Service is going to like or would allow that precedent." Fortunately, the rest of the Marquette hearing went off without a hitch. Congressman Race concluded by observing "I can't see with all the good will and cooperation of the persons of this area why this bill wasn't passed 2 years ago." [110]

Equally as vexing as the issue of the land exchanges was trying to determine the size and boundary for the protected shoreline zone. In March 1966, Allen T. Edmunds and Jay Bright of the Park Service were in the field with Cleveland-Cliffs officials trying to work out the problem on the ground. The company wanted a shoreline zone of 23,000 acres while the Park Service had already determined to have a shoreline zone of 28,000 acres or no park at all. The two areas of greatest difficulty were Beaver Basin, where Cleveland-Cliffs wanted to exclude several thousand acres of Superior timber lands from the protected zone, and Chapel Lake Basin, where the company's logging interests clashed with public enjoyment of Mosquito and Chapel Falls. The Beaver Basin lands were particularly important to the plans for the lakeshore. Every Park Service evaluation of the area had emphasized that the area was "the foremost natural and ecological unit in the proposed park." Numerous attempts by field-level personnel to work out an acceptable solution had failed. In May 1966, the executives of Cleveland-Cliffs were invited to Washington to negotiate a boundary with Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. [111]

Hartzog was an aggressive manager, hand picked by Secretary of the Interior Udall to preside over the expansion of the national park system. He blended the astuteness of a former attorney with the practical experience of a park superintendent. To break the deadlock, the Park Service proposed a 27,500-acre shoreline zone and a 39,500-acre inland buffer zone. Hartzog agreed to Cleveland-Cliffs request to log

selectively in the Chapel and Beaver basins, but culled the acreage down to two small demonstration forests. The company would engage in sustained-yield forestry on those tracts "in perpetuity" while the Park Service would use the tracts to interpret modern timber management. When Cleveland-Cliffs tried to argue for more boundary concessions Hartzog responded firmly. He reminded the company of how flexible the agency was being, how long the process had been going on, and the need to finalize an agreement. Robert W. Taber, Cleveland-Cliffs Vice President, appreciated the validity of the Director's arguments and signed the deal. [112]

"After almost ten years of studies, surveys, hearings and reports," the Marquette Mining Journal observed, "we feel any further delay would be a serious disservice to the entire project." But while northern Michigan was finally united in favor of the lakeshore, the park had a number of federal hurdles still in its path. The biggest of those obstacles appeared to be Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman. While he had signed a celebrated "peace treaty" with the Interior Department to speed the development of recreation areas, he was not willing to put the viability of the National Forests at risk to achieve that end. Secretary Freeman's report to the House Interior Committee on H.R.8678 recommended the removal of the critical land exchange compromise. Fortunately, neither the Forest Service nor Cleveland-Cliffs had forgotten the spirit of cooperation which inspired the earlier accord. On May 16, company executives met with officials of the Hiawatha National Forest and found a way around Secretary Freeman's precedent. [113]

Rather than follow the cumbersome and precedent-setting procedure of conveying Forest Service lands to the Department of the Interior to then be sold to Cleveland-Cliffs, the parties found a simpler and cleaner method to achieve the same effect. The lands Cleveland-Cliffs wanted from the Hiawatha National Forest were already adjacent to or intermingled with corporate holdings. Under the provisions of the 1911 Weeks Act, the Forest Service was empowered to exchange isolated parcels for lands which were needed to block in the Hiawatha purchase Unit. The deal gave the Forest Service holdings which were easier to manage and gave Cleveland-Cliffs timber resources as good as they lost in the lakeshore. When Forest Service and Cleveland-Cliffs officials were called before the House Subcommittee on National Parks Washington hearing they announced their deal and removed another obstacle to immediate passage of the bill. [114]

The Senate's Washington hearing proved to be a continuation of the love feast inaugurated in the House. As Interior and Insular Affairs chair Alan Bible (D. Nevada) commented, this bill "is completely noncontroversial I've never seen such a thing!" Bible requested some minor changes in the language of the bill but not enough in his opinion to require a conference committee meeting with the House. [115]

Avoiding a conference committee was critical if a Pictured Rocks bill were to become law in 1966. Ray Clevenger was using every bit of his freshman congressman's clout to get the bill approved before the November election. Clevenger had been a good "Great Society" soldier. But he realized that he needed something tangible to bring home to the voters if he was going to survive in his largely Republican district. "I had 'played along' just as President Johnson's team told us to when I first went to Washington, now I needed their help. I told them it was my turn to get," Clevenger later I remembered. A hasty meeting was arranged with National Park Service Director Hartzog to finalize the location of the road. "I

don't give a f__ where the road is," Clevenger exclaimed, and the final details were agreed upon. [116]

The last remaining problem was time. The Pictured Rocks bill was not on the calendar and the Congress was nearing its summer recess. The Democratic leadership in the House, however, was determined to give Clevenger his bill before the election. On September 19, H.R. 8678 was passed by the House, after being put on the consent calendar to ensure speedy consideration. Hart's Senate bill, with minor amendments, was passed on October 7 and three days later the House approved those changes. On October 15 1966, Lyndon Johnson, "in order to preserve for the benefit, inspiration, education, recreational use, and enjoyment of the public a significant portion of the diminishing shoreline of the United States," signed Public Law 89-668 creating the first National Lakeshore at the Pictured Rocks. [117]

For Allen Edmunds who had been working on Great Lakes park issues since 1958 the creation of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore was a rare moment of victory. Don't be "overly optimistic" Conrad Wirth had warned him when he began. In 1966, the proposal for Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore was nearing passage by the Congress, although similar proposals for Sleeping Bear and Apostle Islands, in spite of vigorous legislative support, remained bogged down in controversy. But at least the agency was taking the first step in preserving the pristine remnants of the late Great Lakes. "It has been a long struggle," Edmunds observed with pride. [118]

<<< [Chapter 2](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Chapter 4](#) >>>

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Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

CHAPTER 4: A NEW PARK, A NEW VISION

It was on a cloudless, crisp fall morning that Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore received its first superintendent. It was October 1967, Hugh P. Beattie and his family had driven up from the Sanford Recreation Area, leaving the hot autumn air of the Texas panhandle. The chilled atmosphere of northern Michigan and the collage of colors in the hardwood forest were a welcome relief. As the car swept down Highway M-28's steep descent into town the dark, blue waters of Munising Bay lay spread out before them. "Maybe this is really going to be something," Beattie said to himself. [\[119\]](#)

Hugh Beattie played a major role in making Pictured Rocks the type of park it would become. The vision of the area that first began to take shape in Beattie's imagination that October morning would join with the original concept of the national lakeshores embodied in Allen Edmunds' Great Lakes Shoreline Survey and the more modest concept outlined in the congressional enabling legislation and the fiscal constraints of a greatly altered political landscape to make Picture Rocks a wild sanctuary, not a major tourist attraction.

In equal measures, the forces of personality, bureaucratic policy, and politics combined to effect a major shift in the management of the Pictured Rocks. This shift was less the result of conscious design than historical contingency. Nonetheless, the individual decisions made between 1967 and 1969 were decisive in determining the character of America's first national lakeshore.

Beattie Takes Charge

Hugh Beattie was the choice of Allen T. Edmunds, head of the newly created Great Lakes Area Field Office in Lansing, Michigan, to be the Pictured Rocks superintendent. It was a hectic time for the National Park Service's Northeast Region. New parks in the Great Lakes were being created at a rapid rate. Pictured Rocks was followed in rapid succession by Indiana Dunes National lakeshore and Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. Two northern Wisconsin parks, Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway and Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, were in the legislative hopper. Beattie was selected from a list of eligible personnel. Although he had not previously served as a superintendent, Beattie's resume

boasted water recreation experience, new area development experience, and administrative background gained in stints as an acting superintendent. He was a thirty-nine-year-old graduate of the University of California, Los Angeles, with service experience at Yellowstone, Olympic, Coulee Dam, and White Sands. He would prove to be a shrewd and determined administrator, demanding of subordinates, and an effective liaison to the community.

The first task for Beattie was to see the park. Allen Edmunds came up from Lansing and together they toured the area by car and plane. Edmunds was an unabashed booster of the Pictured Rocks. "The area continues to be one of great pleasure to work in," he confided in August 1967. "The individual property owners, corporations, officials of towns and counties are most cooperative and helpful. The area itself has such great natural features and potential that all efforts are most rewarding." Beattie immediately responded to Edmunds' enthusiasm for the project and the beauties of the area. "I was sold," he later recalled, "it was just a beautiful, vest-pocket wilderness." [\[120\]](#)

Edmunds was relieved to finally have a superintendent on site in Munising. As head of the Great Lakes Area Field Office he had tried to ensure a smooth beginning to the Pictured Rocks project while also overseeing Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore created in 1966 and Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore created in 1967 as well as the service's other initiatives in the region. Under Edmunds' direction, the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Advisory Commission was appointed, an aerial survey of the lakeshore was executed, the Master Plan study was begun, and the land acquisition program was initiated. In July 1967, Governor George Romney of Michigan approved the transfer of state land to the National Park Service. The Park Service needed staff on site to prepare for the job of actually managing a new unit. [\[121\]](#)

The first official park headquarters was a set of rooms on the second floor of the First Bank Building in the Munising business district. Beattie and his chief ranger, Norman Davidson, shared this space with Brooks Hamilton and the Land Acquisition Office. The first weeks of park administration were spent in a hectic and sometimes frustrating attempt to locate housing, prepare a viable office space, and order vehicles and equipment through the General Services Administration.

What was not apparent in this busy, optimistic beginning for the lakeshore was the clash between the National Park Service's bold, grand plans for the Pictured Rocks and the looming crisis in the federal budget. The same year that Lyndon Johnson signed the Pictured Rocks organic legislation marked the rapid escalation of American troop commitments in the Republic of South Vietnam. "We are a rich nation," the President told Congress in his 1966 budget message, "and can afford to make progress at home while meeting obligations abroad. For this reason, I have not halted progress in the new and vital Great Society programs in order to finance the costs of our efforts in Southeast Asia." But Johnson seriously underestimated the expense of the war in Vietnam and failed to anticipate the inflationary impact of increased federal expenditures on the cost of his domestic initiatives. By March 1967, the gap between the administration's rhetoric and its financial resources was becoming apparent and a wide range of domestic programs were scaled back. [\[122\]](#)

Pictured Rocks, which was slated to receive \$81,500 to put a four-person management team in place by

July 1967, and \$28,100 for three maintenance staff, was cut to the hiring of a superintendent and chief ranger, with no support staff. Even this bare-bones allocation came only after considerable lobbying by Allen Edmunds. Fortunately, the Land and Water Conservation Fund was tapped to provide the Park Service with \$800,000 for land acquisition. This belt-tightening seemed temporary in 1967. But the growing war in Vietnam, inflation, and the demands of an expanded entitlement program all worked to curtail the resources available to Michigan's newest national park. [123]

In Munising, planning continued to go forward on a grand scale. On January 24, 1968, the Michigan State Extension Service and the Park Service organized a special day-long seminar on how to develop an inter-agency response to the coming flood of tourists. The representative of the Michigan Department of Conservation predicted the lakeshore would "draw an untold number of people here. This will require a lot of planning!" The need for a county-wide master plan was recognized. Superintendent Beattie chaired a steering committee to begin such a process. He held out the vision of "developing this into one of the major recreation areas in the country." He made a very good impression on the leaders of Alger County by avoiding what he called "the professional big-brother telling the grass roots what they needed." This cooperation led to the early adoption of zoning ordinances for the park fringe by Burt Township and the City of Munising. The new emphasis in all of this planning for Alger County, which had lost significant population in the last two censuses, was not planning for growth but trying to control the surge of growth which would inevitably wash over Alger County. "The real concern," the Munising News noted, "is with preventing 'honky-tonk' establishments and other types of undesirable developments from occurring in the area around the lakeshore boundaries..." [124]

The Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Advisory Commission and the Northeast Region Master Plan team also embraced the maxim "make no little plans." The commission held its first meeting in Washington, D.C., in February 1968. The five-man commission was made up of John P. Farrell, chairman, a geographer at Northern Michigan University; Glenn C. Gregg of the Michigan Department of Conservation; David C. West of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company; Leo R. Gariepy, former mayor of Munising; and Vino Nixon of Grand Marais. The commission's job was to give advice and make recommendations on lakeshore development and land acquisition. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall and Senator Philip A. Hart presided of the initial meeting. The bulk of the meeting was devoted to a preview of the Picture Rocks Master Plan. [125]

Carl Shriver, captain of the Master Plan team, presented the preliminary document. It called for development to accommodate 80,000 visitors per day. Shriver was quick to caution that this was a maximum estimate and that in the first year of full operation the lakeshore would only attract 1 million visitors, although after ten years that figure would rise to 1.5 million annual visitors. The draft plan called for 1, 270 campsites and over 700 picnic sites; a hard surface road running just behind the cliffs providing vehicle access to the Mosquito Falls and Chapel Rock areas; bathhouses and facilities for 2,000 swimmers as well as launching ramps and boat rental facilities for 760 boaters. Only 5,120 acres of the shoreline zone were to be classified as "primitive" and slated for no development activity. Shriver and his team were unapologetic about the intensive development called for in the plan: "This is a recreation area by law and it is intended that it will provide a variety of facilities and services to enable people to fully enjoy the area." That hundreds of thousands of visitors would flock to the Pictured Rocks

was accepted as a given. "They will come to the Pictured Rocks," the Master Plan predicted, "because it is a major national recreation area and because it has scenic features that all other areas do not have." [126]

Land Acquisition

It was in an atmosphere of optimism and expectation that the land acquisition program for Pictured Rocks began. Heading the effort was Brooks Hamilton, a veteran land buyer, with considerable enthusiasm for the recreation prospects of the lakeshore. Hamilton was, in the words of one former colleague, "the epitome of the old-fashioned gentlemen." He had a folksy, friendly personality which he hid behind delicate, round wire-rimmed spectacles and an immaculately groomed suit and tie. Just before coming to Pictured Rocks, he had pulled-off a major land acquisition coup at the Indiana Dunes by purchasing a crucial tract of land from under the nose of a railroad company determined to extend its marshalling yards into the dunes park. Behind Hamilton's gentle, country demeanor was a sharp real estate man. [127]

Since the arrival of Beattie at Pictured Rocks, he, Hamilton, and Edmunds had worked closely planning the strategy for the lands program. While purchases could not be made until the Master Plan was in place, it was possible to establish the priority of the purchases and begin the property appraisals. The decision was made to put a priority on the Munising end of the lakeshore, then undertake purchases in the Grand Marais area before finally moving to fill in the area in between. A color-coded map of the lakeshore highlighting the proposed sequence of acquisition was reviewed by the Northeast Regional Office and even by Assistant Director Edward A. Hummel in the Washington office. The Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission was also apprised of the priorities. This broad consultation in establishing the sequence of land acquisition gave the impression that the entire program for the lakeshore flowed from a broad-based consensus. [128]

In reality, the vital decisions of the program were worked out between Brooks Hamilton and Hugh Beattie in Munising. Beattie set a priority on establishing direct Park Service control over as much of the lakeshore as soon as possible. He and Hamilton agreed to manage the acquisition program so that private landowners were quickly moved out of the shoreline zone. The backing Hamilton received from the Washington Office during the controversy over the marshalling yards at Indiana Dunes convinced Beattie that "the time was right for a proactive land acquisition policy." Beattie felt that both resource management and community relations suffered in the long run when significant inholdings were allowed within park boundaries. He later referred to this approach as "checkerboard-mishmashed land acquisition." Beattie promised to give Hamilton a free hand in land acquisition, in return for the lands officer's commitment to fee purchase. "I won't buy any land," Beattie said, "but I don't want you managing any land or making any commitments that we are going to have to live with down the road." [129]

The way to achieve immediate direct Park Service control over a new area was to push strictly for fee simple acquisition. This strategy, of course, was contrary to the way the land acquisition phase had been portrayed by Senator Hart or Allen Edmunds during the legislative process. At that time, park planners

constantly held out the option of twenty-five-year leases to owners of improved property. As late as June 1968, Edmunds, who was the principal National Park Service spokesman in the Great Lakes area, soothed public concerns about the park by promising "all reasonableness" in negotiating with property owners and offering the prospect of long-term leases. But Edmunds was not privy to the significant policy decision Beattie and Hamilton had made that spring. Acting on the assumption that "some things are better done than discussed," the Pictured Rocks superintendent did not even discuss the matter with the regional office. [130]

Beattie and Hamilton based their "proactive acquisition" program on a careful reading of the enabling legislation. Public Law 89-668, which created the lakeshore, clearly stated that: "Any owner or owners of improved property on the date of its acquisition by the Secretary may, as a condition to such acquisition, retain, for a term not to exceed twenty five years the right of use and occupancy" Yet that section of the bill also contained an ambiguous clause which limited such rights to those properties which do "not impair the usefulness and attractiveness of the area designated for inclusion." Beattie decided to apply this clause to any properties at or adjacent to areas of public use. The Master Plan called for the intensive development of public use areas at scenic sites such as waterfalls and along Lake Superior and the inland lakes. Like everywhere else in the North Country, waterfront property in the Pictured Rocks area was the site of most private development. Park officials could be technically correct, yet quite misleading, therefore, when they announced they would offer long-term leases to home-owners or cottagers within the shoreline zone, if their property was not earmarked for public use, because virtually all such sites could be potentially defined as conflicting with the public's use.

Beattie's policy went unnoticed until complaints from property owners reached the Regional Office. William W. Redmond, the Regional Solicitor, was called in to give an opinion of Beattie's interpretation of the act. Redmond undertook a hasty review of the legislative history and determined that owners of improved properties had the right to twenty-five-year lease. Beattie felt Redmond's ruling made it an "utter impossibility" to achieve a "viable and workable park unit." He refused to accept an interpretation which was "to the overall detriment of our program and of the interests of the great majority of the American public." He asked Hamilton to suspend negotiations on all improved tracts while Beattie lobbied Associate Regional Director Edmunds to get the ruling reversed. Redmond, however, saw nothing legally wrong with his initial opinion. But rather than get in the way of a determined management team, he did agree to withdraw his memorandum. Land acquisition went forward as before, although the Pictured Rocks program was always at risk that a condemnation proceeding might lead the Justice Department to rule in favor of more long-term leases. The Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Advisory Commission fully supported Beattie's disinclination to allow twenty-five-year leases. [131]

The legacy of Superintendent Beattie's "proactive" approach to land acquisition was a tremendous asset to the long-term resource management of the Pictured Rocks. From a very early stage of its development, the Park Service had control of the shoreline zone. The long drawn-out acquisition history of Sleeping Bear Dunes was avoided as were the unsightly private dwellings that continue to detract from Isle Royale a half century after the park was created. Yet a reservoir of ill-will also was a legacy of the rapid displacement of property owners from the shoreline zone. This was particularly the case in the Grand Sable Lake area. A string of cottages and private homes along the lake were reluctantly sold. The

threat of condemnation and the promise of extensive public development of the area by the Park Service prodded the residents out. Yet, after the properties were demolished, little in the way of public development took place at the Grand Sable Lake. Home owners who originally felt they had received a fair price for their lands then felt cheated because their continued use of the property under a lease would not have conflicted with public development. Of course, Superintendent Beattie, when he ordered an aggressive acquisition program, did not know that development plans for the lakeshore would undergo a drastic reformation. [\[132\]](#)

Actual land purchases began in May 1968. Eventually condemnation proceedings had to be initiated on forty-eight properties, although most of these were settled via negotiations before final disposition by the U.S. District Court. The majority of these tracts were beach-front lands. Typical were the property owners along Miners Beach who objected to the government-appraised price of \$35 per foot. The cottagers argued that Lake Superior frontage was worth something closer to \$40 to \$100 per foot and that they were entitled to twenty-five-year leases. Hamilton initiated condemnation proceedings. The property owners hired a Grand Rapids attorney. But before the case went to U.S. District Court a negotiated settlement was reached. [\[133\]](#)

There was remarkably little in the way of public outcry over the land acquisition program. The communities of Munising and Grand Marais were so strongly behind the project that even many people displaced by the lakeshore felt that they were making a sacrifice that was clearly in the general good. The fact that the number of improved properties within the shoreline zone was not very large also insured that an organized opposition did not develop. [\[134\]](#)

The acquisition of the Munising Falls site, however, was a particularly tortuous transaction. The nineteen acres surrounding the splendid falls were among the most scenic on the western side of the lakeshore. The site was owned for many years by the Kolbus family. During the mid-1950s, Joseph and Phyllis Kolbus began to improve the property as a tourist site. Trails and walkways were added to give access to the falls. Later, a curio shop was added. The sale of souvenirs, refreshments and admission to the falls became an important second income for the family. During the legislative process the family lobbied unsuccessfully against the inclusion of the falls within the park boundary. Brooks Hamilton's initial offer for the site did not include any consideration of the special values of the falls and gorge and was rightly rejected. For the next two years Hamilton and the owners frequently but unsuccessfully tried to negotiate a sale. Mr. and Mrs. Kolbus felt that the site was worth at least \$250,000 while Hamilton would "ego no higher than \$95,000. The Munising City Commission, State Representative Dominic Jacobetti, and congressional representatives intervened to try to help them receive "adequate compensation." Congressman Ruppe embarrassed Director Hartzog with questions about the case during hearings for Voyageurs National Park. Finally, Richard Stanton, Chief of the Office of Land Acquisition, was dispatched to Munising for one final negotiation before beginning condemnation proceedings. Financial as well as health reasons made the Kolbus family reluctant to pursue legal action. In return for the right to operate the falls as a concession for two years, Kolbus sold the tract for a modest increase over the governments appraised value. [\[135\]](#)

The only outstanding example of popular agitation caused by the land acquisition program was in Grand

Marais. As Hamilton began to make land purchases, owners of 240 acres in the Grand Marais area were surprised to find that their homes were within the eastern boundary of the national lakeshore. Richard Berndt, chair of the Burt township board, called a public meeting on the subject on August 21, 1968. Philip E. Ruppe, the district's Republican Congressman, Allen Edmunds from the Great Lakes Area Field Office, and Superintendent Beattie were in attendance. About twenty property owners complained that they did not know their land was included in the park. In addition, there were some owners who complained that they were under the impression they would be able to live on their land for twenty five years. Considerable bitterness boiled to the surface as Allen Edmunds tried to explain the acquisition process. "We don't get a straight answer!" one complained, while another shouted, "They pass the buck." Some of the audience felt Superintendent Beattie tried to bully simple backwoods farmers into backing down. But even Congressman Ruppe expressed his pessimism about effecting a boundary change for such a recently created park, especially since the boundary was unaltered in legislative proposals since 1963 and the Grand Marais Chamber of Commerce had been the biggest supporter of the lakeshore at each of the public hearings on the bill. The boundary went unchanged and the affected owners sold their holding to Brooks Hamilton and his staff. The area involved in this dispute included the farm of Armas Abrahamson which today is the site of the Grand Sable Visitor Center. [\[136\]](#)

More in keeping with the cordial community relations between the Park Service and local government was the transfer of Sand Point to the lakeshore. Unlike Grand Marais, the City of Munising had very carefully followed the exact boundaries of the proposed park and in the summer of 1966, just as the bill was approaching final disposition, the city negotiated a number of minor amendments to the boundary. These deletions removed two small tracts from the Sand Point portion of the town. The remaining portion of Sand Point within the lakeshore boundary was transferred to the National Park Service in June 1968. There was a bit of last minute horse-trading in which Superintendent Beattie and Munising City Commissioner Robert Morrison engineered a complex four-way land swap. The Park Service agreed to help the city get permission for a new landfill on Forest Service land. Kimberly-Clark Paper Company, a major employer in Munising, agreed to foot forty percent of the bill for the landfill in exchange for a piece of city land needed to expand their plant parking lot. Kimberly Clark also gave a piece of lakeshore land to the city and footed the cost to build a ball field. This last provision persuaded several city commissioners who had reservations about immediately letting Sand Point go because the swap was too good a deal to pass up. [\[137\]](#)

The former U.S. Coast Guard station located at the site was rehabilitated as a "temporary" lakeshore headquarters complex. In September 1968, Superintendent Beattie moved his small staff out to Sand Point, bidding a not very fond farewell to the second floor of the First National Bank Building. [\[138\]](#) The new headquarters complex called for in the master Plan remained elusive. As of this writing the lakeshore remains housed in what was seen as a "temporary" arrangement.

Alger County and Burt Township were much less obliging than the City of Munising. Federal policy forbade the purchase of publicly held lands for national park projects. After both governmental bodies initially pledged to turn over their lands within the park, they tried to negotiate for in-kind compensation. Alger County's holdings included the Miners Castle area, perhaps the most popular scenic attraction in the lakeshore; while Burt Township's holdings embraced the north shore of Grand Sable Lake. Burt

Township drew concession income from the Grand Sable Lake property and in place of its loss the Township Supervisor let it be known that they would hold on their park lands as "trading stock." Eventually Burt Township pressed the National Park Service to support a boundary change which would allow the town to grow along the lakeshore's northeast border. Alger County refused to turn over Miners Castle and the road right-of-way at Grand Sable Dunes unless the lakeshore granted them gravel mining rights within the buffer zone. Eventually, Superintendent Beattie, with the help of the Land Acquisition staff, a willingness to compromise on issues such as the gravel pit, and the threat of holding back federal funds, worked out a solution to the problem. [\[139\]](#)

Although in 1967 Governor Romney of Michigan signed an order giving the state's shoreline zone lands to the Department of the Interior, the actual transfer of title to the National Park Service took almost three years of negotiation. In spite of the goodwill of the state's Department of Conservation, the transfer was held up by a little-known Michigan law which required that in such land transactions the state retained the right of reverter. In other words the donation would be conditional on the continued use of the land by the federal government for the purpose of operating a Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore. Certainly the Park Service had no other purpose in mind, but the Attorney General's guidelines on land title required that the federal government have unreserved title to all lands upon which permanent improvements were to be made. The 5,097 acres of Michigan land in the lakeshore were scattered throughout the park, including in several of the zones of intensive recreational development. For a time, it looked like the lakeshore would require new legislation from the State of Michigan to complete the transfer. Lemuel Garrison, the Northeast Regional Director, recommended a way around the Justice Department by negotiating a clause in the transfer in which the right of reverter was cancelled if the federal government undertook improvements on the land within a specific period of time after the transaction. Eventually, George Hartzog intervened and approved accepting the state lands with Michigan's reverter clause. [\[140\]](#)

U.S.D.A. Forest Service lands within the shoreline zone only totaled 465 acres. The transfer to Park Service control was negotiated by Brooks Hamilton in July 1970. [\[141\]](#)

Corporate land purchases were the most complex aspect of the land acquisition program. During the legislative process, the Park Service began a series of special negotiations with two of the largest corporate land owners, the Michigan-Wisconsin Pipeline Company and the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company. Only after years of effort was the agency able to take title to their holdings within the shoreline zone.

The Wisconsin-Michigan Pipeline Company owned nearly 2,000 acres of prime wild lands in the Beaver Basin. The tract was assembled in 1958 as a corporate employees' retreat. Over the years it was a popular summer and fall vacation site for the firm's top echelon executives. R.T. McElvenny, corporate president, was deeply interested in outdoor sports and wildlife management. Under his direction feeding stations for deer and bear and ponds for waterfowl, trout, and beaver were created. The core of the corporate retreat was a camp composed of cottages, a boat house, and service buildings located on the south shore of Beaver Lake. In July 1966, when it appeared likely that a lakeshore would be created at Pictured Rocks, the company approached the Park Service with a plan to retain limited use of their

retreat. The company offered to sell their 660 acres north of Beaver Lake in exchange for the right to use the area along the south shore of the lake. In July 1967, it was agreed to buy the northern lands for \$285,000 but to let the company occupy their camp for up to twenty five years, provided that at the end of that time the lands be donated to the lakeshore. However, by 1974 the company found the continued operation of the camp a burden and agreed to sell their entire holdings to the National Park Service. [142]

Cleveland-Cliffs agreed to sell their extensive holdings in the shoreline zone before the park was created. Agreeing to a proper price and transferring title turned out to be the major problem of the land acquisition program. Mineral rights were the source of the difficulty. The bulk of the company lands within the lakeshore were appraised as forest lands. The company, however, wanted to be sure it was not losing potentially valuable mineral deposits in such a transaction. Negotiations were suspended late in 1968 so that the company could complete test drilling for silica just east of San Point Cleveland-Cliffs had known of the deposits since the 1930s but had never bothered to assess their potential commercial value. The company had known since 1966 that the government was going to be buying the lakeshore lands. By waiting until they were contacted by agency lands officers to test for resources, Cleveland-Cliffs delayed the sale for a full year. For its part, the National Park Service contracted with Kiril Spiroff, a highly respected geologist from Northern Michigan University, to survey the entire shoreline zone for possible mineral values. His report concluded that the "mineral rights to these lands have very little if any value." [143]

Spiroff's report was only a partial solution. It established that the lands would be appraised as forest lands not mineral lands. But even Spiroff's formidable reputation in determining mineral values could not persuade Cleveland-Cliffs to part with the subsurface rights to possible deep mineral deposits. On December 5, 1969, corporate and agency officials met in Philadelphia to break the deadlock. R.G. Fountain made clear Cleveland-Cliffs would fight to retain subsurface rights even though their value was at best "hypothetical." As a matter of mining company policy, Cleveland-Cliffs executives did not want to go to their shareholders and say they had given away mineral rights. Privately they warned the National Park Service that if the government pressed for these rights they would bring in the best geologists in the world to prove that the subsurface rights might have value and then make the Park Service pay them for every penny of that value. As a compromise, the Park Service agreed to negotiate a side agreement in which the company could retain their subsurface rights in return for no mining activity within the shoreline zone and only limited mining activity within the buffer zone. [144]

The principal losers in the Cleveland-Cliffs negotiations were the small land owners within the lakeshore. Most of these owners had originally purchased their land from Cleveland-Cliffs, which even then insisted on retaining the mineral rights to the property. Many of these owners had negotiated options to sell their land to the Park Service. They expected to receive their payment imminently. Instead they were forced to wait as much as two years while the government tried to work out a solution to the mineral rights issue. Some of these people were forced into personal or financial hardship as they waited for their payment and tried to maintain their property until the option was closed. [145]

Beginning To Manage The Lakeshore

"It is an anachronism, surely, that the Act making the long-famed Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior part of the National Park System should have been passed ninety-four years after Yellowstone [was made the first national park]," said Assistant Secretary of the Interior Nathaniel Reed. As the keynote speaker at the dedication ceremonies for Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, Reed sounded an optimistic note, stressing the many obstacles surmounted to create a national park in the mid-twentieth century. Outside the weather was biting cold, the original ceremony at Bayshore Park had to be rescheduled for Mather High School, but for the politicians and 350 citizens packed into the auditorium the atmosphere was warmly enthusiastic. After speeches by Reed, Chester Brooks of the Northeast Region, and Michigan Governor William G. Milliken, the October, 1972 dedication ended with a symbolic ceremony. Sand from Grand Marais and water from Munising Bay were mixed in a giant brandy sniffer. The idea behind "the mixing of the sand and waters" was to symbolize the joining of the two towns through the creation of the lakeshore. Yet, when the pure sand and the clear waters were mixed and stirred the result was cloudy water. An inauspicious, but not altogether inappropriate indication of the disappointments, frustrations, and bitterness that would mark the early history of Pictured Rocks. [\[146\]](#)

By the time the dedication ceremony took place on October 6, 1972, the staff of the lakeshore were already well into the task of trying to manage the new unit. Like the first years at many new units, the early 1970s at Pictured Rocks were a period of excitement, even exploration, as the staff became acquainted with the resource and each other. But budget constraints also meant that it would be a time of making do without the means to implement a coherent plan for the lakeshore.

Among Superintendent Beattie's earliest management responsibilities were the establishment of cooperative relations with local and state agencies. Beattie and Chief Ranger Norman Davidson negotiated procedures regarding law enforcement and emergency services. Particularly celebrated by the community was the December 1969 agreement between the National Park Service and the Michigan Department of Natural Resources regulating relations between the state and the lakeshore. Under the terms of a "memorandum of understanding" the Park Service would have the responsibility to manage the habitat of the lakeshore, but hunting and fishing would be under state control. The lakeshore retained the power to prohibit hunting or fishing from certain high-use areas, but otherwise state licenses, bag limits, and seasons would apply. The lakeshore's enabling legislation authorized this arrangement but there had been considerable agitation among sportsmen leading up to the signing because Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall had publicly advocated that all federal lands, including the national forests, should be regulated by federal fish and game policies. But that approach was completely absent from the agreement, which included the Park Service's commitment to practice "those forms of resource management that will benefit fish and wildlife and enhance opportunities for their harvest by the public," a commitment that would come back to haunt the lakeshore. The lakeshore did retain the right to prevent hunting if, after consultation with the state Conservation Department, it was determined necessary for reasons of "administration, or public use and enjoyment." According to the agreement law enforcement was made a joint responsibility. [\[147\]](#)

On a day-to-day basis, among the biggest problems for the lakeshore was gaining control over visitor use of the lakeshore. Hundreds of old logging roads criss-crossed the area. These rough "two-tracks" provided vehicle access to many of the most remote reaches of the lakeshore. Hunters and fisherman

from Alger County knew these roads from long experience. Four-wheel-drive trucks and chainsaws allowed them to use this informal network to access favorite hunting and fishing grounds. As the land acquisition program was completed and structures were either removed or demolished, the Park Service moved to close some of these roads. Much to the displeasure of local sportsmen, the maintenance staff sunk wooden posts across the entrances to the roads. What to lakeshore officials seemed a sensible way to allow disturbed areas a chance to recover was often perceived by some in the community as an overt attempt to keep sportsmen out of the lakeshore. [148]

Off-road vehicles were another problem in the early days of the lakeshore. Snowmobiles were just beginning to emerge as a popular form of winter recreation when the lakeshore was created. By 1968, the City of Munising, with a population of 4,200 people, was reputed to have 500 to 700 snowmobiles. Four years later winter rallies complete with snow races presided over by a "Snowmobile Queen" were popular. The neighboring Hiawatha National Forest offered a network of sixty-eight miles of snowmobile trails in 1968. In March of that year the Michigan Department of Conservation opened a twenty-four-mile Pictured Rocks Snowmobile Trail. The trail was located on Cleveland-Cliffs and state land. Impending acquisition by the Park Service meant that Michigan did not devote a great deal of resources to trail development. Orange flagging tape marking the route was the extent of the state's trail improvements. When the Park Service assumed management of the lands, it did nothing to maintain the trail. Superintendent Beattie was concerned with the destructive impact of snow machines on fragile wild cover during melting conditions. He also was worried about search and rescue, and other potential back country management concerns. In the end the lakeshore decided not to encourage snowmobiles but as a "legitimate recreational activity" the machines could not be totally banned either. Like at most other national parks the snow machines were allowed on unplowed roads. In contrast to the lakeshore's cool response to the noisy snowmobiles, District Ranger Fred Young laid out special trails for cross-country skiers and snowshoers. [149]

A more serious, if more transitory, problem for the lakeshore were motorcycles and "dune buggies." Dune buggies were stripped-down light automobiles with oversized tires. The phenomenon of constructing special automobiles for riding up and down sand hills began on the seashores in the early 1960s. Dune buggies were the first wave of what would later become an invasion of the backcountry by off-road vehicles. Initially, the novelty of dune buggies obscured the potential danger posed by their widespread use. A concessionaire to Sable Dunes State Park actually offered several vehicles for rental use on the dunes. By the time the lakeshore was created state regulations stipulated that motor-driven vehicles (except for snowmobiles) were prohibited from operating on state lands, save on roads and parking lots. The closing of many of the favorite dune buggy haunts in lower Michigan, however, coincided with the discovery of the Grand Sable Dunes by dune buggies and motorcyclists. The legal "twilight-zone" of the dunes in the late 1960s and early 1970s, granted by the state legislature to the National Park Service but with the transfer unconsummated, and the inadequate staffing of the lakeshore, created a considerable law enforcement problem. By July 1969, organized groups from lower Michigan were tearing up and down the dunes in multivehicle "caravans." [150]

Superintendent Beattie urged Brooks Hamilton to push for an early acceptance of the state lands "in order that we may end this rapacious treatment of a prime natural resource." Besides being an obvious

danger to any hikers on the dunes, the off-road vehicles were playing havoc with the tenuous vegetation patterns on the sand hills. In going from one sandy area to another the dune buggies crushed grass, shrubs, and small trees under their wheels. Habitats for coyotes, bobcat, foxes, and deer were destroyed. Snowmobiles operating on the dunes in winter had the same negative impact. Unfortunately, the state had no staff detailed to monitor the dunes, while Pictured Rocks had only one regular ranger, Norman Davidson. Even during the summer when Davidson was aided by two seasonals, it was possible to patrol the dunes with only a moderate degree of effectiveness. In August 1970, the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission voted to request the assistance of Grand Marais law enforcement officials to keep buggies off the dunes. Burt Township Supervisor, John Boland, shot back that they hardly had the means to do so when they were trying to adjust to the loss of \$56,000 in taxes from lands now in the lakeshore. In fact, banning snowmobiles and dune buggies on the dunes hurt the fragile economy of Grand Marais, and was hardly a universally popular decision. In the end, Ranger Davidson and the seasonal staff did what they could emphasizing "education" more than active law enforcement to bring the problem gradually under control. [\[151\]](#)

Cultural resource management at the lakeshore began with an archeological survey in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Service Center contracted with the University of Michigan for what would be best termed a reconnaissance level survey. The two-man study team was sent to the park to gauge a rough estimate of the area's archeological potential for the master plan. Although the team was unable to verify several previously documented sites at Sands Point and Grand Sable Dunes, they did locate a small lithic scatter and evidence of an Indian encampment at the mouth of Miners River. The surveyors were also able to provide tangible documentation for remains of the old Schoolcraft Ironworks in the vicinity of the Munising Falls and log slide near Au Sable Point. "The archeological potential of the Pictured Rocks National lakeshore area," the report concluded, "has to be termed very poor." This conclusion in part reflected the thick vegetation and poor ground surface visibility within the lakeshore which frustrated the archeologists. While Pictured Rocks would never be a major archeological park, further studies in the 1980s would offer more tangible evidence of the lakeshore's prehistoric past. [\[152\]](#)

The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 created a Michigan State Historic Preservation Officer with the task to prepare a federally funded state-wide historic preservation plan. This law led to the recommendation in 1970 that the town at Grand Marais be made into a historical district on the National Register of Historic Places. Consideration of this proposal briefly awakened interest in Pictured Rocks' historic sites. The lakeshore Master Plan identified the Au Sable Lighthouse as a potential site for preservation and interpretation. In 1970, the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Advisory Commission urged the agency to study developing the complex as a historic site. But no agency action was taken until 1977. [\[153\]](#)

The lighthouse was projected to play a prominent role in the preliminary lakeshore interpretation program. Interpretive planning began at Pictured Rocks in August 1968 when Regional Naturalist Earl W. Estes made an initial visit to the new park. This orientation trip led to the creation of an interpretive planning team composed of lakeshore, regional office, and Harpers Ferry Center staff. George Robinson of the Harpers Ferry Center played the lead role in drafting the interpretive prospectus. Approved in April 1970, the plan is a curious blend of Earth Day era language and Mission 66 era development

concepts. After an introductory section highlighting the difference between the Indian's sense of harmony with nature and the white's view of wilderness as a barrier, the plan proceeds to advocate intensive development. Typical of this disjointed approach was the plan to install audio listening posts along Twelve Mile Beach so that visitors could tune-in and listen to Sigurd Olson muse about the values of wilderness. At campgrounds planned for Miners Basin, Beaver Basin and Grand Sable Lake, the plan called for the construction of amphitheaters complete with rear screen projectors. The Grand Sable amphitheaters alone would seat 1,000 visitors. Other visionary features included an underwater snorkel trail along the shore of Beaver Lake, the establishment of a snowmobile rental concession in the park, and the use of the rangers to lead winter "snowmobile safaris." [\[154\]](#)

Everything in the plan was on a grand scale. At Au Sable Point, for example, the plan called for the restoration of the structures and interiors to an historic appearance. The restored structures would then be interpreted by a seasonal interpreter and family, all in period dress. To interpret Beaver Basin as an "ecological area," the plan called for a motor trail through the swampy areas. [\[155\]](#)

The addition of Interpretive Specialist Robert Rothe to the lakeshore in 1972 ensured that interpretation would not be completely overshadowed during the internal competition for scarce resources. Beattie referred to Rothe as "a shot in the arm" to the staff because of the "initiative, energy and enthusiasm" he brought to the job. In February 1972, the lakeshore began its affiliation with the Eastern National Park and Monument Association. Rothe was also able to begin interpretation at Munising Falls of the blast furnace remains and of the log slide near Au Sable Point. [\[156\]](#)

One of the most important of the early resource studies undertaken at Pictured Rocks was a preliminary survey of the area's environmental quality. Contracted to Limnetics, Inc., a subsidiary of the Milwaukee-based environmental consulting firm Ecotonics, Inc., the project undertook to sample and analyze water and bottom sediment from the principal inland lakes and streams. The study looked for arsenic, mercury, pesticides, herbicides and heavy metals in the water and vegetation of the lakeshore. The 1970 report of the project confirmed the pristine quality of the area but offered a caution as well. Because of the shallow nature and slow draining quality of many of the inland lakes, they were not conducive to intensive development without suffering a decline in water quality. The most significant result of the Limnetics, Inc. study was to provide a statistical baseline from which to measure the impact of further development, both within and outside of the lakeshore. [\[157\]](#)

A significant resource management failure during this period was the removal of the Becker Barn in 1975. The local landmark was a fourteen sided barn built in 1912 by Daniel Becker on his dairy farm west of Sand Point. Built of concrete blocks and pine lumber, the structure had deteriorated considerably by the time the lakeshore acquired the property. Daniel Becker's role as a provider of dairy products to Munising residents between 1912 and 1960 assured the site of at least local historical significance. The lakeshore did nothing to either assess the integrity of the structure or stabilize its deterioration. To local residents the removal of the building as a safety hazard was proof of the Park Service's inability to carry out its plans for development and resource management. [\[158\]](#)

What was not happening at Pictured Rocks during the early 1970s was as significant as what was occurring. The most important thing which was not happening was development of visitor facilities. Even six years after the passage of the enabling legislation, there was little in the way of improvement at the principal visitor contact points. The sad situation at Miners Falls and Miners Castle is a case in point.

Alger County initially held back turning Miners Castle over to the lakeshore, in part, because it wanted assurance that the agency was ready to go ahead with development plans. As a result, in 1972, one of the most beautiful places in the Great Lakes region was still an undermanaged site, deteriorating from unregulated visitor use and a threat to the safety of those same tourists. "Cars could drive up almost all the way to the edge of the cliff," Ranger Fred Young recalled. "The area in front of Miners was a combination parking lot-campground-picnic area with a little hut selling hot dogs." With no interpretive platforms in place, visitors were allowed to scramble over the sandstone formations. This increased the erosion of the cliffs and was a major safety problem. In June 1968, an eleven-year-old boy was stranded on a ledge 100 feet above Lake Superior after he strayed from his parents. Only quick work by the bystanders and the state police saved his life. A week before fellow tourists were reputed to have saved another youth after he slipped fifteen feet to the edge of the cliff. [\[159\]](#)

Once Miners Castle was turned over to the agency in 1972, Superintendent Beattie repeatedly requested immediate funding for safety rehabilitation at the site. Even the death of a thirty-six-year-old man and six-year-old daughter in October of that year failed to shake loose funding. Although death was a result of drowning and not related to the safety problems on the cliff, it certainly was a reminder of the importance of managing recreation areas. By the spring of 1973, the lakeshore was finally getting a new parking lot and toilets in place at Miners Castle. Unfortunately, the funds for safety work were still being held back. In frustration, Beattie threatened to close visitor access to Miners Castle just as the new facilities were being completed. "We will have shot our entire limited construction budget on a meaningless project," the superintendent fumed." [\[160\]](#)

The lakeshore was able to move with only slightly more dispatch to improve the tawdry impression generated by commercial development at Miners Falls. The falls themselves were on state land, but access from the road to the falls required running the gauntlet of a pitiful wild animal zoo and paying a twenty five-cent fee to reach the falls "It was a typical Appalachian road-side zoo, just an awful mess," recalled one visitor. In wire mesh pens the proprietors kept deer, bear, buffalos, even a llama. After the creation of the park in 1966, the Park Service regularly received complaints about the zoo. But until the land could be acquired the most that Beattie and his staff could do is insist local officials acted on complaints about the sanitary condition of the zoo. By 1972, commercial development was removed from the site. [\[161\]](#)

Management of the Inland Buffer Zone was another issue where agency inaction was more significant than initiative in the early years. In July 1968, Superintendent Beattie was informed that Lawrence Boucher of Munising had begun construction on a single family house off the Carmody Road, within the lakeshore's inland buffer zone. Section nine of the enabling legislation had created an "inland buffer zone in order to stabilize and protect the existing character and uses of the land, waters...." Section ten of the act prohibited the use of condemnation for any properties built before December 31, 1964. Beattie

correctly interpreted the intent of Congress was to freeze development within the buffer zone at the 1964 level. He notified Boucher by certified mail that his construction was in violation of the act. Later Chief Ranger Norman Davidson visited the construction site and personally informed Boucher that he must cease construction or risk condemnation by the federal government. Boucher, however, was not easily deterred--no one was going to stop him from building a house on his own land. As Boucher began to raise the walls on the structure, Beattie consulted with the region on what action he could take. [162]

William W. Redmond, the Northeast Region solicitor, did not offer Superintendent Beattie an impressive array of weapons with which to defend the integrity of the buffer zone. There was no way to force Boucher to halt his construction. The only option was to initiate a formal "Declaration of Taking" in United States District Court, a lengthy process at best. Redmond warned Beattie that Boucher might be aware that "the Government will probably not have the necessary appropriations to acquire the property for some time." He also warned that to many observers it "might seem unfair that the Government should try to limit or restrict his [Boucher's] use of property on which he pays taxes and yet have no immediate intent or the wherewithal to actually acquire it." In other words, the buffer zone was a sanctuary protected by a paper tiger. It was created in careful consultation with the large corporate landowners in the area, but with little thought of how it would impact the roughly 5,000 acres owned by private citizens like Lawrence Boucher. [163]

After the Boucher case, Superintendent Beattie dutifully sent a certified letter of warning to every (and there were many) violator of the construction ban stating they risked having their property seized by the Department of the Interior. But he did not expect to be able to actually deter private development, "our Park Service naivete of how this might work was well soiled." Beattie did work with Alger and Munising officials to draft zoning safeguards for the Buffer Zone. He also planned an ambitious program of photographing and periodically monitoring every private tract in the buffer, although this effort was quickly undercut by severe personal shortages at the lakeshore. In the end it was the large amount of corporate land in the buffer zone, not condemnation power, which provided a protective cordon for the lakeshore. [164] Hugh Beattie's early disillusionment with the Inland Buffer Zone reenforced his natural inclination to protect the shoreline zone aggressively from development.

Goodbye To Grand Designs

"Because of the pressures of Vietnam," Congressman Philip E. Ruppe observed, "the budget is so tight that no money is available for Pictured Rocks National Park for the coming year." The freshman representative for northern Michigan announced the National Park Service's cut of \$83,000 in initial development funds in March 1967. Within the service, Allen Edmunds had unsuccessfully fought to protect the lakeshore, although he did get Director George Hartzog's assurance of Pictured Rocks funds for fiscal year 1968. Nonetheless, only five months after the lakeshore was created its development schedule was delayed. Further cuts in FY 1968 and 1969 would leave development of the original vision of the lakeshore permanently derailed. [165]

Hindsight lends a surrealistic perspective on the development of Pictured Rocks during the late 1960s. The newly completed master plan called for intensive recreational development. It called for

improvements which would have likely doubled the estimated total development costs of the lakeshore. Yet at the same time the Regional Office reduced the basic functions of the lakeshore, its staff and maintenance budgets to minimal levels. Whereas the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Preliminary Land Use and Development Plan (1964) called for the unit to have a staff of six the first year and a staff of thirteen in the second, Beattie was supported by only two staff in 1968 and three in 1969. While Pictured Rocks was starved for the funds to get started, Congress was preparing to approve two new Great Lakes parks: Apostle Islands National Lakeshore and Voyageurs National Park. The visions of a bold future and a mendicant contemporary reality at Pictured Rocks reflected the general schizophrenia of the American government at the end of the 1960s. The vision of a Great Society remained, the means to achieve it was being squandered on the war in Vietnam. [166]

Pictured Rocks was hit with a second wave of program cuts with the passage of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act in 1968. The federal budget was hit with \$6 billion overall reduction, with the National Park Service taking a particularly big decrease. Rather than prioritize the cuts, Director Hartzog "spread the pain" throughout the system. He wanted to make the impact felt across the country thereby making a case to increase the agency's budget in virtually every congressional district. "We are anticipating no significant appropriations for about three years," Beattie told the Mining Journal. "Meanwhile, we'll just be holding the line--attempting minimum maintenance and custodial care of existing facilities the Park Service will acquire within the lakeshore area from state, county, city, township and private owners." The lakeshore's small management and protection budget was cut from \$77,100 to \$51,640. The roads and trails program was cut from \$5,000 to \$3,531. The "emergency funds" requested for Miners Castle were cut completely. [167]

The land acquisition program was able to proceed, largely due to monies from the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Maintaining the momentum of land acquisition was critical from the perspective of the federal government. An interruption in the program could lead to real estate price increases invalidating all of the appraisals, thereby greatly escalating acquisition costs. From the perspective of Upper Peninsula residents, however, the completion of land acquisition with the virtual stoppage of all recreational development within the lakeshore was a nightmare. At the very time large blocks of private land were going off of the local tax rolls, the federal government was in control of the prime economic development asset in the region. It seemed to many a classic example of the infamous national park policy of "locking away resources."

Reinforcing the negative impression of the Park Service in the local area was the decision in January 1969 to eliminate a full-time superintendent from Pictured Rocks. Hugh P. Beattie was reassigned as superintendent of Isle Royale National Park. There was no way to remove the impression that Pictured Rocks was being put on the back burner. While sparked by financial considerations, the new administrative arrangements were part of a new management policy that was being implemented on an experimental basis in several regions within the park system. The idea was to streamline unit management by bringing two or more park units within a reasonable geographic proximity together in a single administrative cluster. The result was the creation of the Isle Royale--Pictured Rocks Group with Hugh Beattie as the General Superintendent based at Isle Royale and Norman Davidson moved into the ambiguous slot of Park Manager for Pictured Rocks. [168]

The removal of Beattie from Munising marked the beginning of the end of close and cordial relations between the local community and Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore. Angered by the slow pace of development and dismayed by the seeming demotion of the lakeshore within the Park Service, local leaders were stunned into political action. The Upper Peninsula Committee For Area Progress complained to Congressman Ruppe that under the Park Service the "Lakeshore is a burden, not an asset." The chairman of the Central Upper Peninsula Economic Development District wrote to the congressman that the agency had increased not lessened, "the problems that have brought Alger County to its present depressed state." The Munising News editorialized: "We do not agree with a policy that calls for buying up more and more land areas for federal parks, lakeshores or recreation areas and then letting it lay idle for 20, 30, or 40 years before being developed." At a special meeting of local and state planners the decision was made to launch a petition campaign for full lakeshore funding. Feeling the heat, Senator Hart arranged a meeting between his staff and Northeast Regional Director Lon Garrison to review the "slowdown" at Pictured Rocks. Director Hartzog's policy decision may be said to have worked because the message that came out of the meeting was that both Senator Hart and Congressman Ruppe said, in effect, "tell us how much you need, we'll get it from Congress." The cost of this approach, however, was to turn local partners into antagonists, and supporters into skeptics. [169]

Nor were the budgetary problems at Pictured Rocks easily resolved. No special supplemental appropriations were obtained for the lakeshore, and in spite of past promises from the office of the director to give the lakeshore a "high priority" when the budget crisis was resolved, as it was by 1970, major development funds were not forthcoming. The fact was that new projects in new parks were a low priority, particularly when a unit was located in a low population area. Historical parks were the crown jewels of the old Northeast Region. The new Great Lakes units were poorly understood and save by Allen Edmunds, not fully appreciated. "Pictured Rocks was the furthest element in the Northeast Region's empire....up in the hinterlands it was pretty, pretty slim," Hugh Beattie later recalled. Even among the Upper Great Lakes parks, Pictured Rocks was slighted. Senator Hart pushed harder for development of Sleeping Bear Dunes and Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin was a vigorous promoter of Apostle Islands. Pictured Rocks was a stepchild. [170]

The optimistic, if vague, regional context in which Pictured Rocks was originally planned also shifted during the 1970s. President John F. Kennedy's grand promise to renew the Upper Great Lakes region in his 1963 speech in Duluth eventually resulted in the creation of a federal commission, modeled on the Appalachian Regional Commission that spearheaded redevelopment in the upper South. Unfortunately, when "the Upper Great Lakes Commission was finally established in 1967, it too became a casualty of Vietnam-era budget cutting and the growing suspicion of federal solutions to local problems. Thomas Francis, the first co-chair of the commission, toured Pictured Rocks in 1968. Early talk of Pictured Rocks being developed as one of a series of federal "star attractions" in the north country--along with Apostle Islands, Sleeping Bear, and the Forest Service's Sylvania Tract, all linked by Interstate Highway--melted away in the more restrained atmosphere of the post-1960s era. [171]

Nor was the retreat from the development dreams of the mid-1960s restricted to the federal government. Plans for the State of Michigan to build a series of scenic highways lost all momentum after an October

1968 hearing in Marquette. Even with the federal government likely to pick up the tab for seventy-five percent of the cost, local officials balked at building new roads in the region. Much to the dismay of the Upper Michigan Tourist Association, which arranged for the hearing to push the scenic highways program, the mayor of Marquette, C. Fred Rydholm, and other local mayors called for improving the existing roads rather than building new scenic highways. Many of the same people who promoted the scenic highway plan to try and derail the lakeshore now turned around and said that such roads were unneeded "luxuries." [172]

The lack of development at Pictured Rocks in the years after the master plan was approved eroded support among the staff for the program of intensive recreational use of the lakeshore. Hugh Beattie initially pushed to implement the entire plan, including the controversial shoreline drive. Yet, he had personal reservations about such a policy. Faced with the need to cut costs he criticized the regional office's desire for management devices to ration expenditures. "We believe that a new park should consider designed-in rationing," he advised. Among the items he recommended for park planning were "Low standard roads, one-way roads, low standard campgrounds that would not attract large numbers of luxury seeking campers, limited number of access roads, no large luxurious concessions." All of these design options would reduce development costs but also reduce the human impact on the environment. The most extreme method to achieve this, he offered, would be to rely solely on boat tours for visitors to see the lakeshore. "It is conceivable," he concluded, "that the volume of the boat tours could be increased almost indefinitely without wearing out the natural resource." Beattie's speculations were indicative of a subtle shift in emphasis among Park Service personnel. The passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964 and the National Environmental Policy Act in 1969 encouraged a newer, less intrusive approach to park management. Because the lack of development funds forced Beattie to establish very strict priorities, facilities were put in only where the demand was most acute. "Let's provide for demands as they arise rather than in anticipation," Beattie later recalled. It was a shift away from the proactive development orientation of the master plan. [173]

The requirement of an environmental impact statement prior to any major federal undertaking was another restraining influence. Not only did the impact statement tend to prolong the time necessary to go from concept to construction, it also provided a greater degree of public participation in the planning process.

The dedication of the lakeshore in October 1972, masked the growing rift between the community and the National Park Service over the course of lakeshore development. There was a strong desire on everyone's part to believe that the lakeshore was beginning to turn a corner. Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Nat Reed, forecast that the dedication marked the "end of the beginning." Edward N. Locke, the Chair of the Advisory Commission, however, wanted more assurance than a rhetorical flourish. Both at the dedication and in the months that followed Locke lobbied hard for "timely realization" of the staffing and development authorizations for Pictured Rocks. In the end, he was left to ponder the credibility gap between the Department of the Interior's assurance that Pictured Rocks was a "high priority" and no actual new construction or rehabilitation in 1972 and 1973. What action did take place occurred because Senator Hart secured a supplemental appropriation of \$206,000 for the lakeshore. But even these funds did not lead directly to major improvements in the park. [174]

In June 1972, a contract was issued to Johnson, Johnson and Roy architectural and Engineering Firm of Ann Arbor, Michigan, to develop a concept plan, a comprehensive design, and working drawings for visitor and recreation facilities at Miners Basin and Miners Castle. The original development concept for the area had been prepared by the National Park Service and approved in December 1969. The passage of the National Environmental Policy Act, however, negated that plan because it required that an environmental impact review precede any project work. Johnson, Johnson, and Roy were also awarded the contract to prepare the environmental impact statement. For three years all development at Miners Castle, Pictured Rocks' most important site, was held hostage to this contract. The lakeshore finally had development funds but all money seemed to be spent on planning. The lack of visible progress on the ground was a minor scandal and a major source of irritation. [175]

Superintendent Beattie tried to prod the Northeast Region to speedy action, but to no avail. One year after the lakeshore had been approved for \$206,000 in development funds, only \$63,000 had been spent on planning. In fiscal year 1973, the agency was awarded an additional \$203,000 for development at the lakeshore. Of this, \$87,000 was spent on planning and the rest was uncontracted. In frustration, Beattie, complained that the bulk of the money seemed to have "disappeared down some planning and service center rathole." In lieu of results, Beattie demanded that the regional office provide him with some effective way to respond to the mounting criticism in Alger County of the "long deferred accomplishment of the many development promises which were made regarding the Pictured Rocks during the legislative stages of this project." [176]

Beattie never did get an answer, nor did the pace of development at the lakeshore increase. In 1975, after repeated failures by Johnson, Johnson, and Roy to prepare a draft impact statement for the Miners area, the Denver Service Center took up the task. The center did not meet its promise to have a comprehensive design ready and approved within a year. In fact, it was not until 1978 that the development plan for Miners Castle was finally implemented. It had taken more than ten years after the lakeshore was created by Congress for the agency to begin construction on its first major development project. It was ten years after the original master plan had been prepared that the first element in that plan was in place. [177]

Miners Castle was destined to be the only phase of the master plan to be implemented. The large black-top parking lot, the hardened walkways, and the oversized comfort stations that today lie perched atop the cliff are all that remains of the dream to develop the Pictured Rocks into a tourist attraction on the scale of the Great Smoky Mountains. By 1974, budget cuts brought by the Vietnam War ensured that the Kennedy administration dream of active federal recreation areas leading to regional economic development was superseded by new sensitivity to environmental protection.

<<< [Chapter 3](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Chapter 5](#) >>>

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Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

CHAPTER 5:

MORE PLANS, MORE PROBLEMS: PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL LAKESHORE, 1974-1981

If the first eight years of the history of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore could be described as an era of big plans and limited funds, the period from 1974 to 1981 was a time of neither grand development schemes nor lavish budgets. It was an interregnum during which the park promised by Park Service planners was slowly replaced by the hype of park that was sustainable by agency budgets and by the north woods-lakeshore environment. It was a time of coming to terms with the limits of development at Pictured Rocks. It was a low point for Park Service-community relations, but also a point of departure for planning a new, more realistic, recreation area.

Declustering the lakeshore

The most positive action taken by the Park Service during the period from 1974 to 1981 was the break-up of the Isle Royale-Pictured Rocks management cluster. The break-up was occasioned by an even bigger administrative shift, the transfer of jurisdiction for Pictured Rocks from the Northeast Regional Office in Philadelphia to the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska.

The regional shift was effective March 1974 and was part of a general reorganization of the federal government led by the Nixon Administration. In an effort to create compatible regional structures among all federal agencies, the Park Service's system of regional offices was overhauled. The old Northeast Region was restructured. Its empire was divided among the newly created Mid-Atlantic Region with headquarters in Philadelphia, and the North Atlantic Region with offices in Boston. The Great Lakes parks in Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio were detailed to the Midwest Region as compensation for the loss of crown jewels such as Yellowstone National Park to the new Rocky Mountain Region. The idea was to create smaller, more cohesive regions which would be responsive to the needs of their units. By and large the plan worked to the betterment of management at Pictured Rocks, Although a headquarters in Chicago rather than Omaha, prevented by heavy lobbying from the Nebraska congressional delegation, would have made for more efficient intra-regional communication.

[178]

The timing of the shift was fortuitous for the new Great Lakes parks. History already "ruled the roost" in the old Northeast Region and with the Bicentennial of American Independence approaching, the new lakeshores would have remained low priorities. Within the newly configured Midwest Region, the Great Lakes parks moved from the periphery to the center of the regional office's concern.

The regional reorganization was the appropriate time to restore Pictured Rocks' managerial independence. Clustering the lakeshore with Isle Royale had been driven by the need to save money by reducing Pictured Rocks' personnel ceiling by one: the superintendent. The idea was that the staff of Isle Royale would be able to perform an additional service function for the shorthanded personnel of the lakeshore. The only result, however, was to create another layer between Pictured Rocks and the region. General Superintendent Hugh Beattie split time between both units, but it was inevitable that a park as large and complex as Isle Royale soon took up the lion's share of his time. Beattie spent frequent nights driving between Houghton and Munising, but was never fully engaged with Pictured Rocks issues after the cluster was established.

The cluster was based on faulty logic of geographic proximity. Certainly Pictured Rocks and the Isle Royale headquarters in Houghton, Michigan, were close to each other. But Isle Royale itself remains to this day one of the most remote parks in the lower forty-eight states. It is separated by more than fifty miles of Lake Superior waters from Houghton. The task of opening the island each spring and closing it every fall was a major undertaking requiring close supervision by the superintendent. With extreme weather conditions compounding inter-park travel, Beattie estimated that between "20 to 25% of his efforts are inefficient or nonproductive." With Pictured Rocks struggling for even basic operational funding, Beattie put an emphasis on maintaining a high level of operations at Isle Royale. In 1971, he transferred Pictured Rocks' highly competent Chief of Maintenance to Isle Royale in order to make full use of his talents. [\[179\]](#)

Chief Ranger Norman Davidson operated as the "Park Manager" when Beattie was at Isle Royale. This gave him the responsibility for day to day management, but no authority to speak for the lakeshore to either the public or the region or to establish and carry out management priorities. In 1971, Beattie complained to Lon Garrison, the regional director, that the ambiguous relationship between the General Superintendent and the Park Manager was "an impediment to the development of a complete and responsible on-site management team which could be fully conversant with day-to-day situations and also take, quick, decisive and forceful action." Beattie advocated either elevating Davidson to the position of superintendent or bringing in a new GS-12 superintendent. This later recommendation was rejected in 1971, and again in 1972, but with the reorganization of the old Northeast Regional office the agency finally accepted Beattie's plan and a new superintendent was assigned to the lakeshore. [\[180\]](#)

The choice was Robert L. Burns, public affairs officer for the former Northeast Regional Office. Pictured Rocks became available for a Superintendent because of the departure of George B. Hartzog from the directorship of the National Park Service. Hartzog had blocked all previous efforts to decluster the Isle Royale and Pictured Rocks. But on December 31, 1972, Hartzog was forced to resign. With his opposition removed and the position ceiling at the lakeshore lifted, the way was cleared to offer Burns

the post. Burns was a likeable World War II veteran who had put in thirty varied years working for the agency. He had been a successful superintendent at Nez Pierce National Historical Park and at Perry's Victory. The bulk of his management experience had been at small historic parks. [181]

Burns and Pictured Rocks were an unhappy fit. The lakeshore needed savvy, aggressive leadership to make up for its stunted beginnings and to fight for the lakeshore's place at the table of the newly reconstituted Midwest Region. Burns, on the other hand, was nearing the end of his career and was not looking for a reconstruction job. Yet the situation he inherited in Munising was far from comfortable. His Chief Ranger, Norman Davidson, was very disappointed that he had not been given the superintendent's position, after having labored for years in the difficult role of Park Manager. Burns also inherited a community relations problem. Alger County residents were disillusioned and bitter about the lakeshore after eight years of minimal park development. And finally, Burns found himself trying to manage a perennially underfunded park. Burns would have a rocky tenure at Pictured Rocks trying to address these and other issues. [182]

The new superintendent learned how difficult his job was by trying to tackle the lakeshore's budget problems head-on. Within days of arriving in Munising Burns was on the phone with the new regional office, trying to get his budget increased. He was aided by the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission which had prepared a comparison of staff and funding between Pictured Rocks and the other lakeshores. Apostle Islands, for example, was created in 1970, four years after Pictured Rocks, yet it had a larger and more experienced staff than Pictured Rocks. Whereas Burns was assisted by a single GS 5 administrative clerk, the superintendent of the neighboring Wisconsin lakeshore was aided by a GS 11 administrative officer and a GS 4 clerk. While Burns made do with a single GS 9 Ranger, Apostle Islands had two as well as a GS 7 Ranger. The obvious conclusion was that "Pictured Rocks lags far behind Apostle Islands in both quantity and quality." Comparisons with Sleeping Bear and Indiana Dunes were even more unflattering. [183]

Yet Burns was advised that due to an agency-wide fiscal crunch and the cost of the looming Bicentennial of American Independence no adjustments could be made in favor of Pictured Rocks. Even the superintendent's insistence on an additional \$25,000 for emergency construction work was refused. On the contrary, Burns was barely able to fend off a move to cut his full-time staff from five to four. An aggressive superintendent would have taken this rebuff as merely an opening round in a long-term fight to improve his park. But Superintendent Burns took pride in being a team player; he would not "rock the boat" with incessant demands. He would make do with what he had. [184]

One of the features of Superintendent Burns's tenure at the lakeshore was a general disengagement from Omaha and the inauguration of a detached management style. At its best, this resulted in an entrepreneurial approach to development, with the lakeshore learning how to make do on its own, rather than wait for action from the region. With only minimal funds, for example, the maintenance division succeeded in cleaning up and improving visitor access at Munising Falls and removing extraneous facilities at Miners Falls. In later years Burns's independent style went so far as to refuse offers of assistance. After one meeting with Associate Regional Director John Kawamoto Burns was asked "what do you need?" The answer was nothing. The downside of this approach was a lack of attention to agency

procedures such as Section 106 review prior to construction projects in known areas with known cultural resources. Burns became hostile to suggestions that seemed to impinge on the lakeshore's freedom of action. This was extended to the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission, which could have been a partner in building the management team in Munising, but was instead held at arm's length by Burns. Its meetings were infrequent and seldom focused on solving genuine problems. [185]

The Bicentennial Living History Program at Sand Point was a good example of the strengths and weaknesses of Superintendent Burns's independent style. A mock "pioneer village" was built near the old Coast Guard buildings. Park interpreters and the wives of several of the staff donned period costumes and manned the exhibit for six weeks. They demonstrated early American crafts and folkways. The local press and park visitors alike praised the quality of the program. There was considerable sentiment in Munising that the program continue after the bicentennial. The regional office congratulated Burns on a "stimulating and rewarding exhibit," but could not countenance its continuation as it did not represent a scene "typical of the history of the Michigan Northwoods." Rather than recreate a colonial village, the lakeshore with better planning might have presented a "valid historic scene such as voyageurs, fishermen, iron smelter, or other bona fide, Pictured Rocks-oriented historical activity." [186]

Under Superintendent Burns, the staff of the lakeshore did not receive adequate supervision and direction. An operations evaluation described the lakeshore's general administration as "delegation by abdication." Many on the small staff complained of "the lack of SOP's [standard operating procedures]" and "established routines." Fiscal controls were weak, with blanket purchase orders issued on a regular basis. The superintendent's management style was described as "fly-by-the-seat-of-the-pants." [187]

One publicly obvious sign of administrative drift at the lakeshore were three exhibits installed at Munising Falls by lakeshore ranger/interpreter Bruce Peterson. The purpose of the text was environmental education, yet the message was couched in biblical terms more in keeping with the ranger's personal religious beliefs than generally accepted scientific theories. Hugh Beattie, who headed the 1976 operations evaluation team, described the exhibits as presenting "a view of nature which is not entirely shared by the various religious peoples of the world and is not shared at all by the nonreligious." Ranger Peterson reported many favorable visitor comments on the text. Beattie deemed the text "inappropriate" and strongly urged it be changed. Burns found the whole issue a "matter of opinion" but agreed to change the text. In Munising one critic commented that the lakeshore appeared to be run by "religious zealots." [188]

The lakeshore also suffered because Superintendent Burns was disengaged from the community. Unlike Beattie and Davidson before him, Burns did not purchase a house in Munising. Instead he settled on an isolated farm near Rock, Michigan, where he and his wife raised sheep. Although Burns joined the Rotary Club in Munising, he was not an active member. Burns's reserved and gentlemanly personality was misperceived as aloofness by Alger County residents. To the superintendent, the people of Munising seemed to form a closed society. As individuals, he found them "hard to get close to." The result was that while Pictured Rocks finally had its own Superintendent, the lakeshore did not have a higher profile in the community. The Superintendent's manner often put people off as officious. Burns once responded to an editorial critical of the Park Service in the Munising News by writing: "Thanks...I hope your next

editorial will at least have the spelling accurate." Burns could have been better supported by his deputy, Chief Ranger Davidson. Unfortunately, public affairs was not his strong suit either. Perhaps out of resentment for being passed over for promotion, Davidson took little initiative under the Burns regime. The impression created in 1968, when Beattie was removed, that the lakeshore had been downgraded by the Park Service, continued through most of Burns's tenure. In the Alger County community there was little warmth left in the reservoir of good-will toward the Park Service when the Beaver Basin controversy erupted. [189]

The Beaver Basin Controversy

In 1974, the Wisconsin-Michigan Pipeline Company transferred its 1,308 acre corporate retreat to the control of the lakeshore. According to the 1966 agreement between the agency and the company, Wisconsin-Michigan had the right to operate the Big Beaver Lake property for another nineteen years. The company's sudden change of heart gave the lakeshore control over the entirety of the Beaver Basin, a self-contained ecological unit that had been part of every Pictured Rocks park proposal since 1924. The basin was prized as Class V, Primitive, due to its wild, largely undeveloped character. The master plan called for the eventual removal of the corporate complex and the establishment of a campground and boat landing in the area. The master plan, however, could not prepare Burns and his staff for the ecological issues raised by the unexpected acquisition of the Wisconsin-Michigan camp. [190]

Beginning in 1959, pipeline president R.T. McElvenny ordered the staff at the camp to provide feed for the basin's large white-tail deer population. Up to eighty tons of commercial deer feed were distributed each year in an effort to ensure superior hunting conditions for the guests of the corporate resort. When the lakeshore assumed management of the tract in 1974, Burns was forced to deal with the results of fourteen years of environmental manipulation. It was against Park Service policy to maintain feeding programs. To commit public funds to support a species as Naturally numerous as the white-tailed deer made no public policy sense. Yet to allow hundreds of deer to go without any feeding could result in a large number of carcass littering the forest floor and trees damaged by over-browsing. [191]

Both the lakeshore and the regional office approached the problem as a simple resource management issue. It was decided to manage the die-off gradually by eliminating the majority of the feed. Twenty tons of feed were scheduled for distribution. Lloyd Fanter of Northern Michigan University was contracted to monitor the process. He was to estimate the winter mortality, determine the availability of natural browse, and estimate the overall size of the area's deer population. For two winters, 1974-75 and 1975-76 the lakeshore provided twenty tons of feed. Unfortunately Fanter's research indicated no reduction in the Beaver Basin deer herd. What was clear, however, was that over 600 deer were occupying an area naturally suited to no more than 150 white-tails. [192]

Many Alger County sportsman were critical of the lakeshore for trying to reduce the herd. A smaller element of the public protested in the name of animal cruelty. Wild rumors about deer being driven off the cliffs to their death or being strangled by automatic tagging devices reduced the credibility of the agency in Alger County. In the face of this, the agency made a mis-step when it announced in November 1976 that a special deer hunt would be held in Beaver Basin. The Michigan Department of Natural

Resources, which shared the job of regulating fish and game within the lakeshore, initially concurred with the plan. The plan was to allow thirty-five hunters access to the area for a three-day period. Each hunter would be allowed to harvest a single deer. At the end of the three days another thirty-five hunters would be granted special permission to hunt. The proposed special season was to run from mid-January to the first day of March, or until three hundred deer were taken. Public reaction was adverse, in part due to press accounts which made the hunt sound like a turkey-shoot for lower Michiganders. The Alger County Board and the Munising-Alger County Sportsman's Club strongly opposed the plan of a one-time hunt. To them it seemed like the lakeshore was acting to remove a long-term recreational resource in a manner which would have limited benefit to the community. Upper Peninsula representatives in the Michigan legislature shared that concern. On December 15, 1976, they passed a resolution condemning the special deer season at Pictured Rocks and directing the Department of Natural Resources to devise an alternative proposal. Of more immediate impact was a court action by the club which led to Delta County Circuit Judge Clair Hoehn issuing an injunction against the hunt. [193]

The Park Service argued the hunt was a necessity because it had cut the amount of deer feed in the basin from twenty to thirteen tons. Judge Hoehn's injunction was provisional, providing the Alger County Commissioners secure supplementary feed for the deer, to prevent a massive deer die-off while the court considered the suit. With the assistance of the Sportsman's Club, the county took on the task of feeding the deer. The Alger County groups also commissioned their own study of the deer population, under the direction of Raymond Reilly of Lake Superior State College. [194]

That winter, Beaver Basin was the scene of intense snowmobile activity as the sportsman hauled in deer feed and curious citizens caravaned in to see the much studied deer for themselves. In an effort to regain control over the area, the lakeshore began, in March 1977, to issue citations against feeding the deer. That action sparked a lot of loose talk of challenging the park rangers in a direct confrontation. Charles Wilderspin, president of the Sportsman's club and another member were eventually convicted and fined by a federal district judge for violating national park policy. This action succeeded in reducing the sportsman's feeding activities.

The most important result of the sorry mess was a much-heightened level of bitterness between the lakeshore and the community. Alger County and the Sportsman's Club ended up engaged in their own court battle over who was required to pay the \$27,000 allegedly spent feeding the deer. The deer suffered through a devastating winter as nature, ignorant of injunctions, solved the problem its own way. Researchers hypothesized that the die-off was much higher than if the hunt had actually been held because over-population led to a further reduction in the area's natural food supplies. The small herd of one hundred or so survivors avoided the site of the unfortunate feedings. Within two years the Beaver Basin deer population was back to a sustainably low level, marking an end to a sad affair. [195]

Origins of the Alger County/Pictured Rocks Task Force

The Beaver Basin controversy marked the low point in the history of the lakeshore. The fate of the deer herd became a vent by which Alger County residents could at last let loose their frustration over the lack of development at Pictured Rocks. But once brought to the surface, that bitterness and mistrust was slow

to dissipate. A virtual cold war followed. The strongly independent streak in the character of upper Peninsula residents became aroused and the routine regulatory tasks of lakeshore rangers became more difficult. A simple citation frequently led to verbal confrontations. Superintendent Burns adopted the peculiar habit of changing out of his class A uniform and into civilian clothes before leaving the office. Even if he was just going to pick up mail or have lunch he changed out of his uniform before going into town. "There's no advantage or need for me to wear my uniform when I go to town," Burns said when he was criticized for doing this by the regional office. "Everybody there knows that I work for the Park Service." Rangers endured cold shoulders, hostile stares, and not infrequent harangues in the course of everyday duties in both Munising and Grand Marais. As one veteran ranger recalled, "We got used to taking a lot of flak." [196]

The volume of complaints about the lakeshore were eventually heard by Congressman Philip E. Ruppe, the Republican representative for northern Michigan. He had been a less-than-enthusiastic supporter of the lakeshore in particular, and federal activism in general. The creation of Pictured Rocks had been the last act of Raymond Clevenger's brief congressional career. As his successor, and a member of the Republican minority in the House, Ruppe was not personally committed to the lakeshore. The agency's uncertain beginnings at Pictured Rocks did little to engage his attention. In 1973, when the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission was pushing hard for park development, Ruppe "let the chance pass" to go before the House Appropriations Committee, much to the frustration of Senator Philip Hart's staff which had been trying to increase the lakeshore's appropriation. In 1974 and 1975, successful liaison between Hart and Ruppe's offices succeeded in adding to the budget the money needed to complete the development of Miners Castle. In late 1976, just as the Beaver Basin controversy was reaching a pitch, Senator Philip Hart died of cancer. With Hart gone and Alger County complaining loudly, Ruppe became more involved in Pictured Rocks affairs. [197]

Ruppe went directly to National Park Service Director Gary Everhardt to try and speed development at Miners Castle. The director admitted "our record is dismal" and promised not to allow "any more slippage to occur." Ruppe remained a critic of the lakeshore, if only because he continued to get complaints from Alger County. A public meeting in Munising in October 1976, gave Ruppe a clear idea of the depth of hostility that had been building over the lakeshore. In November 1976, while the Beaver Basin crisis smoldered under the surface, Director Everhardt instructed the Washington and regional offices to meet with the congressman to explain the status of the project. At the meeting Ruppe expressed little interest in the Park Service's actual plans. His complaint was that his constituents were complaining. He offered no specifics of what citizens wanted but he was insistent that "the locals didn't feel they were being heard." He accused the agency of failing to "open up planning and decision making to suggestions and discussion by local residents." The solution he suggested was to prepare a new master plan for the park. He shrugged off the suggestion that a new plan would further slow the pace of development with the politically expedient observation that if a new plan was developed "at least something would be happening." [198]

The agency was able to dodge Ruppe's initial call for a new master plan. But the firestorm over the Beaver Basin special deer season gave Ruppe evidence that the agency had a major public relations problem at the lakeshore. Ruppe again went to Everhardt, this time sharing his request for a new master

plan for the park. Ruppe demanded a forum which would "involve heavy participation on the part of the local citizens in the planning and decision-making process." [199]

The Midwest Regional Office was coming to the same conclusion as Congressman Ruppe, but via a different route. Regional planners had been rather slow to involve themselves in the development of Pictured Rocks. They were aware that there might be problems with the master plan because a similar development-intensive master plan for Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore had aroused a firestorm of local criticism. Because of that crisis, Indiana Dunes (to the expense of some of the other lakeshores) received considerable attention during the mid-1970s. While this was going on the staff of Pictured Rocks were voicing their uneasiness with the environmental consequences of the master plan. As early as 1973 Norman Davidson had advocated a major overhaul in the Pictured Rocks plan. Certainly before the lakeshore could proceed with building the scenic drive, a feasibility study and an environmental impact statement would be needed. [200]

The idea that this process should be folded into an effort for broader public impact made sense after the 1976 operations evaluation of the lakeshore. The inspection had been led by former Pictured Rocks superintendent Hugh Beattie. In the course of the evaluation visit, he accompanied Burns to a meeting called by Munising city manager James L. Williams to try and get area and federal governments to develop interagency plans. Eight years before Beattie had been involved in a similar effort. He was shocked to see how little communication now existed between the lakeshore and local government. The meeting was a graphic demonstration of how the former climate of cooperation had degenerated into an adversarial relationship. Beattie strongly recommended that the lakeshore, under the leadership of John Kawamoto, the Associate Director of Planning and Resource Preservation in the Midwest office, reengage the park in regional planning. [201]

At the June 1977 meeting of the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission D. Gregory Main of the Central Upper Peninsula Planning and Development Region (CUPPAD), who led the initial planning effort in 1968, submitted a detailed proposal for the creation of a task force of representative officials and citizens to undertake a "systematic examination of the issues, problems, and opportunities facing the area, the development of viable solutions and means of their implementation, and extensive efforts to communicate with the general public." The task force would be headed by CUPPAD with the cost shared by local and federal agencies. The advisory commission embraced Main's plan and recommended strong cooperation by the Park Service. [202]

The National Park Service adopted a two-track approach to Pictured Rocks planning. In September 1977, the agency entered into a cooperative agreement with CUPPAD to accomplish a joint planning effort through a Alger County/Pictured Rocks Task Force. At the same time the agency initiated the preparation of a new General Management Plan (formerly master plan) for Pictured Rocks. The General Management Plan would be prepared by a team of federal employees representing the lakeshore, the regional office, and the National Park Service's Denver Service Center. It was hoped that the "two planning efforts would be of a complimentary nature." [203]

The Task Force began its work in October 1977 with five specific goals:

1. Develop an appropriate, affordable road plan for the lakeshore area.
2. Determine public facility needs.
3. Determine what land use regulations were needed for the lakeshore area.
4. Promote public participation through providing appropriate background information.

D. Gregory Main organized the Task Force into a series of working committees, scheduled twelve monthly meetings, and gave the group a deadline of one year to come up with a final report. Superintendent Burns and John Kawamoto, of the regional office, represented the Park Service on the Task Force. [204]

The General Management Plan team began work in September 1977 with a weeklong visit to the lakeshore designed to familiarize the members with the resource. Lawrence F. Knowles of the Denver Service Center was the initial team captain. The planning process was scheduled to take three years. Regional Director Merrill Beal charged the team with reassessing the "suitability, feasibility, and desirability of a scenic shoreline drive called for in the authorizing legislation." In keeping with the new environmental principles reflected in the 1964 Wilderness Act Beal also directed the team to determine if any areas of the lakeshore should be recommended to Congress for wilderness designation. The regional director stressed that throughout the planning effort "a high degree of public involvement will be sought." [205]

In keeping with Beal's instructions, the General Management Plan team concluded their initial trip to the lakeshore with a public meeting in the Munising Community Building. They got an ear-full of the bitterness and mistrust that had built up in Alger County. As the ranking National Park Service representative present, Superintendent Burns was particularly singled out. The issue which was most frequently cited as an example of the failure of the National Park Service was the scenic shoreline drive, a feature specifically mentioned in the authorizing legislation. The agency hoped that by planning in partnership with the Task Force, it might dissipate some of the community's ill will and enlist local support for a park road which would respect the environmental assets of the Pictured Rocks area. [206]

The first formal meeting of the Alger County/Pictured Rocks Task Force more than met the expectations of the National Park Service. Greg Main had already established a Access and Circulation Committee which presented the group with a list of preliminary objectives for the Pictured Rocks road system:

1. It should be possible to construct in the very near future.
2. Meet the needs of lakeshore visitors, landowners, forest products industry, and residents.

3. Prolong the stay of lakeshore visitors.
4. Encourage private investment in facilities to serve visitors.
5. Be located and constructed to minimize adverse social, economic, and environmental impacts.

These preliminary objectives pushed the Task Force away from the extreme position of many local residents, that the scenic shoreline drive requirement should be met by pushing a high-speed road along the top of the cliffs. Instead the notion of the park road as a low speed route largely using existing alignments, a more modest environmental impact, became the preferred alternative. The road issue was by no means settled at that first Task Force meeting, but those advocating major new developments were forced into an uphill battle. [207]

The General Management Plan team also made the park road a priority. Much of the team's early work was spent reviewing the legislative history to determine the intent of Congress. They concluded that the legislative provision for a scenic shoreline drive referred to a low speed, park interpretive road. No specific alignment of the road was mandated, giving the agency "reasonable latitude in location of the road." Confusion over the nature of the road mandate was widespread. At both Task Force meetings and public meetings, it was clear many people confused the park road with the much discussed South Shore Scenic Drive, a highway proposed by the Michigan Highway Department in the 1960s to run from Detour to Munising. The elevated, expectations concerning the park road flowed from the image of a moderate speed, trans-peninsula tourist route. While the latter road was a more appealing prospect for many on the Task Force, it had never been funded by state officials. The realities of the planning process brought most members back down to what could be funded by the National Park Service and the local governments. [208]

In April 1978, the General Management Plan team presented the Task Force with seven possible access and circulation schemes for the Pictured Rocks area. Each one was based on utilizing to some extent the existing road system and limiting new construction. This caused a major split in the Task Force. Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company used its influence and what one member called "fed-baiting speeches" to push the group toward a shoreline road. For three months every attempt to resolve the issue by ballot resulted in a deadlock. Finally, in September the Task Force accepted the plan to follow the alignment of County Road H-58 most of the route between Munising and Grand Marais. As a compromise, paved spur roads would be added to Miners Castle, Chapel Lake, Little Beaver Lake, Big Beaver, Au Sable Lighthouse, and the Log Slide. The park road would be rerouted south of Grand Sable Lake to avoid cutting into the toe of the dune. This plan was quite a step back from the vision of a cliff-side drive. But it was accepted because of its practical advantages. The soft, wet ground of much of the lakeshore area was not conducive to highway construction. An effort by Task Force and Denver Service Center members to trace out another route in June 1978, had resulted in four-wheel-drive vehicles hopelessly bogged down. Local Task Force members knew the nature of the topography in the shoreline zone and most accepted that H-58 right-of-way made the most sense in the western and central portion of the park. As a compromise to those who wanted a shoreline road, a new alignment would strike out from H-58 at Legion Lake and run behind Twelve Mile Beach to Au Sable Point, where it would resume following the

H-58 right-of-way. More new road construction than this, even Alger County representatives had to admit, would require "several life times" due to likely opposition by environmentalists. [209]

In December 1978, the Task Force delivered its report to the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission. In addition to the recommendation on the road, the Task Force also presented a priority list of development projects for the lakeshore and zoning recommendations for the area around the lakeshore including the buffer zone. Remarkably, the final report of the Task Force was endorsed by every member of the group. In the course of a year, a group of local citizens, state and federal officials had come together across a gulf of bitterness and suspicion, and developed the outlines of a workable plan.

The way the Task Force was managed played an important role in insuring its success. Greg Main did a masterful job keeping the group focused and making sure that all opinions were aired at the monthly meetings. Behind the scenes he worked with a handful of Task Force members to nudge the entire group in a productive direction. Most of the work was accomplished by the Task Force committees or after the monthly meetings had adjourned and members made their way to the local bar. Over brandy or beer, the problems were argued out. "That is where the business really took place," recalled one Task Force member, "trying to get the trust of the people back, talking about the things you didn't talk about in public." Superintendent Burns was not part of these person-to-person discussions. Nor did he play a significant role in the public meetings. In fact, it became obvious that Burns was not the right person to rebuild public trust for the lakeshore. As one sympathetic Task Force member recalled, "Bob was a nice guy, one-on-one, but to see him in a public meeting was to be mad at him." To Greg Main as head of the Task Force and John Kawamoto from the regional office, it was clear that a new superintendent was needed in Munising if the rapprochement with the community was going to be successful. [210]

The Alger County/Pictured Rocks Task Force was in one vital way a turning point in the development of the national lakeshore. Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus praised the Task Force for effecting "a noticeable change in local attitude toward the National Park Service." Yet, in hindsight, it is possible to see that by investing so much prestige on the Task Force, the Park Service boxed itself into a planning corner. It was hard for the General Management Plan team to back away from the pragmatic recommendations made by the Task Force. An unchallenged assumption by both the Park Service and CUPPAD was that the Task Force represented all important sectors of public opinion. Yet there was one group whose participation had been overlooked during the formation of the Task Force: the people who quietly had been making use of the underdeveloped lakeshore park. When this voice was heard, it would unsettle the planning process and threaten the compromise reached by the Task Force. [211]

General Management Plan

The completion of the Task Force report shifted the focus of public concern squarely on the General Management Plan process. There was considerable concern among state and local officials that the Task Force's report not simply be filed away, or that the General Management Plan be assembled with no meaningful public input. The Task Force agreed to continue, with meetings on an as needed basis, through the entire management plan process, in order to encourage the acceptance of its recommendations.

The General Management Plan team had cooperated very effectively with the Task Force, but it had also been careful to protect the integrity of its own process. An important part of this was the job of assessing the level of public interest in Pictured Rocks development. In January 1978, the Task Force conducted a survey of every household in Alger County (431 responses), asking for their input on questions of lakeshore development. The survey indicated strong support for improving roads and increasing the number of campsites within the park. Nonetheless, the General Management team wanted to take a more detailed sample of public attitudes and desires. That summer, the Task Force and the Park Service cooperated on a visitor survey which netted 1,489 responses and surprised both groups with the results. Only four percent of visitors requested that the park road be paved. The overwhelming majority not only had no complaints with the quality of the road surface, but they regarded the unpaved surface as a positive attribute. "Enjoyed the good dirt road from Grand Marais to Munising," one respondent commented, "was good to see it was not 'overly' developed." Another observed, "Felt the roads enhanced the scenery of the area, as well as slowing down traffic. Let's keep the wilderness!!" Similarly strong sentiments were expressed against developing more facilities at the park. Only two percent of visitors requested more development and that was restricted to requests for more camping sites. Some visitors expressed "strong objections" to the large-scale construction at Miners Castle. The Task Force tried to dismiss these shockingly strongly anti-development sentiments as the result of the Park Service's failure to make the park attractive to the even larger number of people who wanted automobile access to all areas and were put off by the area's poor roads. The General Management Plan team, however, had experienced the validity of the survey methodology with studies at other parks. They took the results as a serious warning that wilderness lovers would also be a force to be reckoned with in charting a course for Pictured Rocks. [212]

The Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission took the public comments seriously enough to reject the Task Force's plan for paved spur roads and the development of more visitor facilities. The controversial action was led by the commission's new chairman, John Tanton, a Petoskey, Michigan, physician with a record of national leadership in population control and environmental issues. He was an activist and under his leadership the advisory commission became a more significant force in the creation of lakeshore policy. Tanton realized that changing recreation patterns in the 1970s had increased the demand for undeveloped park lands. He argued, "if they push roads from one end of the park to the other, the park will lose its appeal to people who favor primitive types of recreation." [213]

The desire for limited development expressed by the overwhelming majority of Pictured Rocks visitors reflected the popularity of the lakeshore with practitioners of the emerging sport of backpacking. This sport had hardly figured in the original master plan. Even as late as 1972, the lakeshore was experiencing only three or four hundred overnight visits per year. Yet, by 1979, the figure had climbed to over 10,000 overnight visits. During the popular months of July and August, the number of people at a back country campsite might swell to fifty or even seventy campers. "Those people went in there," Ranger Fred Young observed, "to get a wilderness experience and they're not getting it." The boom in visitation was fueled by articles in Michigan Outdoors magazine and by word of mouth from those who experienced the breathtaking Lake Superior views and the spectacular painted cliffs. "Everyone goes home and tells their brother how great it is," Ranger Young told a journalist. In 1978, backpackers in lower Michigan

formed Friends of the Pictured Rocks to restrict development. The Group had the ear of Robert "Bob" Carr, a dynamic young congressman, who went so far as to introduce a bill to amend the lakeshore's organic legislation and remove the scenic drive requirement. By the end of 1978, it was clear that a showdown was looming over what type of lakeshore the public wanted. [214]

Strong reservations concerning development were particularly evident when the Park Service held a series of planning workshops. In July 1978, workshops were held in Lansing, Grand Marais, Munising, and Marquette and drew very large and friendly audiences. In Munising, the initial workshop was disrupted by a blackout just as it was beginning. Yet, so committed were the public that people went home and returned with their lanterns so that the session could proceed. Most discussion took place in small groups so as to prevent a handful of outspoken individuals from dominating the meeting. Formal worksheets assured a uniform structure from workshop to workshop. The results, even in Alger County, were "an overall preference for preservation, with major development held to a minimum." [215]

Based on these public responses and the Task Force report the Park Service released a detailed series of planning scenarios or "alternative strategies" for Pictured Rocks. Five distinct management programs for the park including visitor use, access and circulation, resource management, and operations were presented in detail. To avoid in any way prejudicing public reaction, the General Management team did not initially specify a preferred alternative. The goal was to allow for the public to express its preferences unfettered by an agency agenda.

Alternative 1: The status quo alternative with continued protection of natural and cultural resources with protection of the primitive experience for the visitor.

Alternative 2: Maximum protection of natural and cultural resources of the lakeshore coupled with the availability of a primitive experience for the visitor.

Alternative 3: A considerable increase of visitor facilities at either end of the lakeshore while preserving the central portion in a primitive, relatively undisturbed state.

Alternative 4: A major increase in the number of visitor facilities and a diversity of recreational opportunities.

Alternative 5: Scenic shoreline drive, moderate increase in visitor facilities. [216]

The political position of the Park Service grew more precarious when it became clear that eighty-seven percent of participants in workshops preferred the status quo alternative, while the Task Force and the Advisory Commission, with some reservations, supported the much more intensive development plans of alternative 4. While the General Management team mulled over the implications of this polarization of public opinion, politicians did not hesitate to weigh in on the issue. Robert Bob Davis, the new Republican Congressman for the Eleventh District, threw his support to the recommendations of the Task Force. In March 1980, Michigan governor William Milliken visited Munising and held a formal

meeting with the Task Force. He pledged to prod the Department of the Interior to accept the Task Force's preferred alternative. As proof of this John Tanton's position on the Advisory Commission was not renewed by Milliken when it came to an end in April 1980. But Milliken was not the only one to use his influence over advisory board appointments to try and direct Pictured Rocks policy. Congressman Bob Carr of Lansing influenced Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus to appoint Larry Lemanski, coordinator of the Friends of the Pictured Rocks, to one of the federal seats on the commission. [217]

As the General Management Planning process neared its conclusion, the issue of the park buffer zone took on greater public importance. Home owners within the buffer zone were first roused by Daniel Napier, the Cleveland-Cliffs representative on the Task Force. In an effort to sap support for the use of H-58 as the main park access road, Napier charged that a road outside of the lakeshore boundary would inspire the National Park Service to expand its ownership to include all land up to the road. This contention seemed to have merit when several of the alternatives proposed for public consideration included an expanded buffer zone and/or a vigorous enforcement of a ban on post-1964 residential construction. In February 1979, the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission approved a resolution which declared any further construction activity within the buffer zone to be detrimental to the lakeshore and recommended that it be stopped by the Park Service. The commission's resolution did not have an immediate impact save to put the buffer zone issue squarely before the public. [218]

Donald Gillespie, the new superintendent at Pictured Rocks, approached the buffer zone with cautious resolution. At every turn he tried to assure the press and property owners that the park had no plan to move against residents of the buffer zone and that the National Park Service fully understood "the implications involved and do not intend to reach arbitrary conclusions regarding private land uses." At the same time Gillespie would not tolerate the legal twilight zone that had prevailed over the exact nature of the lakeshore's legal rights in the buffer. In January 1980, he requested that the Office of the Solicitor clarify the legality of allowing new residential construction in the inland zone. In February, the solicitor responded with an unambiguous assertion that it was the intent of Congress not to allow "new uses of private lands after December 31, 1964 that did not exist prior to that date." This opinion assured that whatever General Management Plan was adopted, it would include a more engaged policy toward the buffer zone. [219]

National issues helped to make the fate of the buffer zone a major issue in northern Michigan. The Sagebrush Rebellion, which had begun as a western movement against federal land management in the late 1970s, had rolled east through the work of Charles Cushman's National Inholders Association. Cushman was the angry and articulate spokesman for landowners trying to resist new or expanded park programs. The presidential campaign of Ronald Reagan in 1980 helped to popularize Cushman's anti-government message and led to his appointment to the National Park System Advisory Board after the election. The Upper Peninsula Federation of Landowners, which had been founded in 1974, enjoyed a surge in popularity. In addition to the buffer zone, conservative landowners were aroused by the Roadless Area Review and Evaluation process (RARE II), a wilderness program whereby Congress could reserve from road construction federal lands with wilderness potential. Much to the dismay of the forest products industry, Congressman Bob Carr proposed that 87,000 acres of northern Michigan national forest lands be reserved as roadless. The North Country Trail, a hiking corridor from North

Dakota to New England, was also seen as a federal intrusion. Also part of the anti-government mix was fallout from California's Proposition 13 which rolled back state taxes. In Michigan, Robert Tisch led a similar movement. He argued that if government had a lot less money to work with, it could not afford schemes to take people's land. This wave washed over Alger County in June 1980 when a new organization, the Neighbors of Pictured Rocks, was born to prevent any expansion of the lakeshore's boundaries. [220]

Into this heated atmosphere the General Management Plan team released their preferred alternative for the lakeshore plan. It was variation of the more development intensive plans of alternatives 3 and 4. Camping facilities would be expanded to a total of 211 individual and thirty group sites. The road plan would continue to rely on the H-58 corridor, but the spur roads to Beaver Lake, Sevenmile Creek, and Spray Falls would not be developed. The inland buffer zone would not be expanded to provide greater watershed protection or road corridors. The Carmody Road area of the buffer zone, which had undergone intensive residential development, would be deleted from the buffer zone. A new headquarters complex would be built along H-58. The General Management Plan team conceded that this alternative had a number of adverse environmental impacts. Because major portions of the lakeshore's watershed would remain outside the buffer zone, management would be unable to prevent practices which could lead to the pollution of park waters. The wilderness potential of the Chapel Basin, Grand Sable Lake, and the Twelve Mile areas would be diminished by new road construction. On the other hand, the proposed alternative was decisively more environmentally friendly than the former master plan. [221]

The General Management Plan team had reservations about the preferred alternative. It went directly against the recommendations yielded by the visitor use study. However, the agency had committed itself to work with the Alger County/Pictured Rocks Task Force. The resulting preferred alternative was a compromise in which the team tried to mollify visitors by reducing the Task Force's level of development in the Beaver and Chapel areas but accepting the core of that group's recommendations on the park road and buffer zone. The result was a plan that drew flak from all sides. [222]

Backpackers and environmental groups were dismayed by the planning team's preferred alternative. While public meetings in northern Michigan were very poorly attended, the Lansing meeting was packed with backpackers and was, in the words of one observer, "tempestuous, to say the least." The agency was accused of "selling out" the park to local business interests. The Michigan Audubon Society urged its members to "flood" Pictured Rocks with their complaints. The Detroit Free Press, Michigan's largest newspaper, assailed the plan in a major editorial. "How much should that narrow, 27-mile strip of cliffs, dunes and pebbled beach on Lake Superior be developed and improved?" the editors asked. "The less the better, the general public always replies. The more the merrier, local government and business insist." The paper called for a plan which would "respect nature, rather than destroy it." [223]

Smoke from this Michigan fire began to attract national attention. A column in the Boston Globe accused the agency of rejecting "public opinion and its own economic data... to expose the most scenic and fragile area of the world famous Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore along pristine Lakes Superior to intensive development." The future of the lakeshore was painted as "wall-to-wall mobile homes, motor bikes, dune buggies, all-terrain vehicles and God knows what other form of wheeled entertainment." The

new master plan was described as "another government pork barrel project with your tax dollars." The National Parks and Conservation Association charged the agency "totally ignores its own mandates and the public voice." An article in National Parks & Conservation Magazine mocked the planning team by quoting an earlier team document: "The purpose of creating a national park is to preserve an area, not to benefit the local economy." [224]

From the opposite end of the political spectrum came another loud cry of complaint. The buffer zone provisions of the preferred alternative were denounced by the Upper Peninsula Federation of Landowners (UPFLO) as a "land grab." They told the press they would form a "refugee committee" for people driven off their land by the government. Emil Groth, manager of UPFLO, accused John Austin, economist for the General Management Plan team, of being a "petty bureaucrat" adept at using "the big lie" tactic at the "expense of productive, working people in the U.P." In a phrase that would be often repeated in the next year, Groth told the Munising News, "Austin is trying to build an imperial colony for wilderness bureaucrats." The Alger County Board of Commissioners responded to these complaints by calling for the elimination of the entire buffer zone because "it takes peoples property rights with no compensation." [225]

Even CUPPAD and the Task Force, the groups the agency had worked hardest to please, reacted coolly to the preferred alternative. From their perspective the plan was problematical because it failed to spread development across the face of the entire park. By concentrating visitor facilities at both ends of the shoreline zone the Beaver Basin would be inaccessible to motorists and boaters. Greg Main pointedly challenged the Park Service, "What is the point of the lakeshore?" If the agency believed that it was Congress' intent to preserve the area from recreationists, then he suggested that they reread the original legislation. Main was also incensed by economic projections contained in the General Management Plan Information Base, released in March 1980. "I really began to see red," Main complained when he read John Austin's analysis that the presence of the lakeshore had been an economic asset to local government. That part of the report reopened the old wound that undeveloped federal park land could not compensate local government for lost property tax revenues. [226]

Over the course of the summer of 1980, a few influential voices were raised to speak in favor of the compromise. The Grand Marais Pilot and Pictured Rocks Review urged it be accepted. "It is a beautiful plan," Neal Beaver wrote, "and it should be acceptable to any reasonable person." Emil Groth of the Upper Peninsula Federation of Landowners admitted that most of his fears were based less on the actual details of the preferred alternative than on his concern that the plan was a mere "stalking-horse" for a more aggressively environmentalist plan. With some reservations, the Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission endorsed the preferred alternative. Even the Munising News rallied to the plan in a reaction to the strongly adverse editorials from downstate. [227]

By September 1980, the period for public comment on the preferred alternative expired. The General Management Plan team met at the lakeshore to plan for the final document. The three-year process and the storm of public comment frayed some of the team's cohesion. Many members of the team were deeply sympathetic to the environmentalists' critique of the preferred alternative. Superintendent Gillespie, on the other hand, was inclined toward the original recommendations of the Task Force.

Someone joked that "you know you have a good plan when no one is happy." In this spirit the team went to work tinkering with the details of the plan, but sticking to the basic vision of the preferred alternative. [228]

Team Captain Howie Thompson took on the final task of preparing the draft of the general management plan. That document was released in January 1981. The plan called for 161 campsites, a significant reduction from the preferred alternative. The road followed the Task Force's recommended H-58 corridor to Legion Lake before entering into the shoreline zone on a new alignment behind Twelve Mile Beach to Sullivans Landing and then along H-58 again to Grand Sable Lake. From there the road would pass to the south before turning north to enter Grand Marais. The new road construction, however, was conditional upon the preparation of an environmental impact statement. Existing roads to Spray Creek, Mosquito Harbor, Mosquito Falls, and the mouth of Sevenmile Creek would be closed. Gravel roads would provide access to Beaver and Chapel basins but most circulation in this scenic part of the lakeshore would be via hiking trails. The controversial buffer zone would be altered via new legislation. Rather than the feared "land grab," the Carmody Road area would be deleted from the lakeshore while the date prohibiting housing construction within the buffer would be changed from 1964 to 1980. [229]

The public review of the draft proceeded much more calmly than the announcement of the preferred alternative. A total of 115 responses to the plan were received, most negative. Groups such as the Sierra Club, the National Parks & Conservation Association, and the Michigan Natural Areas Council opposed the new road construction and visitor facilities. Local organizations such as the Burt Township Zoning Board, Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, and the Alger County Planning Commission had reservations due to the failure to eliminate the buffer zone. Out of 115 formal responses to the draft, five expressed unreserved approval. [230]

The principal features of the draft were unaltered due to public comment. The General Management Plan was formally approved in September 1981. "Most facets of the public viewed the plan as a compromise," the superintendent wrote in his annual report. He also noted with relief that acceptance of the plan "completed a four-year planning process." [231]

Superintendent Gillespie

An important ingredient in the success of the General Management process was the new superintendent of Pictured Rocks, Donald F. Gillespie. He came to the lakeshore in August 1979, in a complex three-way shuffle of superintendents between Pictured Rocks, Fort Vancouver, and Scotts Bluff. His charge, as he later recalled, was to "go smooth local people's feathers." He was the right man for the job. [232]

The regional office told Gillespie in no uncertain terms that he would buy a house in Munising and become part of the community. Gillespie threw himself into the task with vigor. Unlike Superintendent Burns, he regularly participated in civic organizations like the Rotary and wore his uniform to all public functions. Gillespie had a warm, folksy manner which could break down the natural reserve which Upper Peninsula residents often displayed toward government representatives. The superintendent's

community relations efforts were aided by some young, confident rangers. Deryl Stone, the new Chief Ranger, was active in veterans organizations, school board, and church groups. In Grand Marais, Robert Lanane, the District Ranger, got involved in that community in a similar manner, helping to put a human face on the agency. Gillespie was also a no nonsense executive who overhauled the management system at the park, clarifying the lines of authority, ensuring "more responsive leadership" in all departments of the park. [233]

Coming in to the lakeshore at the tail end of the Beaver Basin controversy and the beginning of the General Management Plan process meant that the new superintendent would encounter considerable hostility. One of his first actions was to head straight into the lion's den of the Munising-Alger Sportsman Club. A state official at the same meeting later recalled how Gillespie immediately dispelled the air of hostility at the meeting. "He put on a great show," talking to the hunters as one sportsman to another. These type of sessions and Gillespie's active participation in the work of the Task Force gave local people the clear impression that the National Park Service, which since 1968 had been seen as having down-graded Pictured Rocks, had sent one of their "rising stars" to Munising. [234]

The controversy which swirled over the Pictured Rocks when Gillespie arrived required that during his brief tenure, he deal much more than previous superintendents had with political leaders. Gillespie was particularly astute at this facet of his job. When Governor Milliken announced he would visit Munising in March 1980, Gillespie warned Omaha that they could expect criticism of the slow pace of the General Management Plan process. Gillespie prepared two public relations scenarios of how the agency could handle the visit. He recommended that the regional office release a press notice that a General Management Plan hearing would be held in Munising in one month; this would preempt criticism that the agency was dragging its feet. Yet, he also advised the Regional Director that the lakeshore could win the Governor's friendship by letting his staff know of the up-coming meeting, but withholding any official notice until the Governor's visit, so that it would look like "we were spurred to action by Governor Milliken." The Director choose the former policy. The buffer zone controversy also required careful handling by Gillespie. He was able to avoid appearing unresponsive to Congressman Bob Davis when he "tried to hold the Park Service's feet to the fire" and established a cooperative relationship with the staffs of Senators Carl Levin and Donald Reigle, which opened the way for a potential legislative solution. [235]

Gillespie experienced considerable frustration over the length of the General Management process. He did not come from a planning background himself and tended to focus more on the practical compromises necessary to implement an eventual policy than the importance of the process itself. From the time of his first involvement with the team, he advocated a shorter process, but the best he could do was get the schedule reduced by one month. By January 1980, he was receiving sharp local criticism over the lack of a preferred alternative from the Park Service. "I believe that further delays or lengthy setbacks in this process," he wrote the regional head of planning, "will do irreparable damage to National Park Service credibility--even with those who now support us." [236]

After the preferred alternative was released, the superintendent became the focus of all complaints. In May 1980, he informed the regional director that those objecting to the preferred alternative formed "two

groups of opposite disposition charging the National Park Service with using biased and deceitful practices... I am attempting to respond to both groups." The superintendent's ability to stand up to "these factions day after day" impressed many people in the community. "You are doing a fine job," wrote the chair of the Advisory Commission, "and are making a good impression on the local scene." The publisher of the Grand Marais Pilot even extended "my sympathies to Don Gillespie" over the barrage of comments. It was a tribute both to the General Management Plan process and Superintendent Gillespie's public affairs skills that although the preferred alternative polarized opinion, both environmentalists and community leaders grew more not less supportive of the lakeshore administration. [237]

With the completion of the General Management Plan Donald Gillespie regarded his mission accomplished at Pictured Rocks. For the restoration job that he had done at the lakeshore, the agency rewarded him with the post of Special Assistant to the Regional Director of the Rocky Mountain Region, with specific duties in Salt Lake City, acting as the liaison with the Utah state legislature. Gillespie's brief tenure had done much to dispel the poisoned atmosphere growing out of the lakeshore's circumscribed beginnings and poor personnel decisions. While the agency was still viewed warily in Munising and the new General Management Plan had left several major issues unresolved, the lakeshore in 1981 was poised for a new, more promising beginning.

[<<< Chapter 4](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Chapter 6 >>>](#)

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Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

CHAPTER 6:

"HOPES ADVANCED, HOPES DASHED AND NEW HOPES": PICTURED ROCKS, 1981-1991

"What would you advocate instead?" demanded the ruggedly handsome park ranger in a 1984 romance novel set in Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore. "That the whole lakeshore stay in private hands, so owners can do as they choose with it?--like putting up 'No Trespassing' signs. Or perhaps selling out at a huge profit to some fast-food chain that will come in and build a few pizza palaces on the dunes, so plastic forks can grow in the sand and styrofoam boxes drift in on every wave." In between scenes of simulated passion, the novel Hostages to Fortune posed the conflict between private and public property rights within the lakeshore. The period 1981-1991, saw a continuation of the tension between preservation and development in the lakeshore. While the successful completion of the General Management Plan ensured that the conflict was waged on a more complex level than the wilderness vs. Pizza Hut dichotomy, the basic challenge for the lakeshore administration remained how to develop a recreation area without compromising the character of what the romance writer called "a wild and beautiful place." The conflict over the buffer zone, the continued saga of the park roads, and the effort to use science and interpretation to protect the resource and instruct the public might not have been the stuff of melodrama, let alone romance, but it was the worthy work of the Park Service at Pictured Rocks. [\[238\]](#)

These recent years at Pictured Rocks were an era of maturity. The lakeshore celebrated its twentieth anniversary in 1986. The park projected in the General Management Plan gradually, deliberately, took shape. It was also an era of program cuts and shrinking budgets--the days of James Watt as Secretary of the Interior and Gramm-Rudman in the Congress. What Superintendent Grant Petersen wrote at the end of 1993 was true for the whole period since 1981: "The Lakeshore experienced advances in some areas of operation, reversals in others, and hopes for 'a better future' for the remainder." [\[239\]](#)

Resolving the Buffer Zone

One of the major accomplishments at Pictured Rocks during the 1980s was the resolution of the management of the buffer zone. The General Management Plan process had stirred up considerable local interest in the rights of the 150 residential property owners within the lakeshore's outer zone. The plan

called for "grandfathering in" homes built within the buffer after 1965 and until 1980, to "protect property owners who have inadvertently developed their land in violation of the 1966 law." An earlier proposal to allow limited construction to continue under the supervision of local zoning was dropped after a January 1980 ruling by the Interior Department's Solicitor's Office that "construction of residences on private lands within the buffer zone" was contrary to the intent of Congress. That action set the stage for a legislative confrontation over the buffer zone. The General Management Plan called for the lakeshore's organic legislation to be amended for boundary adjustments, to extend the "grandfather" clause, and to increase the authorized amount of money to be spent on park development. Angry homeowners, however, demanded that the law be amended to drop the buffer zone completely from the Lakeshore. Representative Bob Davis introduced a bill, H.R. 2864, to that effect in the Congress. [240]

There was little chance that the buffer zone would be removed from the park. The Davis bill went directly to the desk of John F. Seiberling (D-Ohio) who chaired the National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee. Seiberling was a strong proponent of the national parks and the godfather of the Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area in Ohio. Both he and Davis knew that the latter's bill would never see the light of day. Seiberling was, however, willing to try and resolve the problem. He contacted Arthur Eck of the agency's Washington Office and advised, "We ought to be able to do something about this." In October 1981, Congressmen Seiberling and Davis toured the Pictured Rocks buffer zone. The inspection verified that the buffer would not be eliminated. Instead, Seiberling advised that an administrative solution be devised which would protect lakeshore values without trampling on private property rights. [241]

The way was cleared for an "administrative solution" on March 30, 1982, when the Office of the Solicitor offered a revised opinion on the buffer zone. In the lawyers' third try at determining the meaning of section ten of the lakeshore bill they managed to come up with a third interpretation. Secretary of the Interior James Watt's solicitor ruled that the law "suggested" that the Park Service had the "discretion" to determine which properties built after 1965 were a threat to the lakeshore. What the agency needed for Pictured Rocks was a land and water use management plan that would distinguish between vital and less significant parcels within the buffer. Such a document would serve as a supplement to the General Management Plan. On April 30, 1982, the Park Service committed to preparing the plan. Funds were redirected from Indiana Dunes to Pictured Rocks to begin the process. [242]

Pictured Rocks was in the rather unusual position of siphoning funds from other parks because of the high degree of political interest which had developed over the buffer zone. Senators Carl Levin and Donald Reigle had been spurred to involve themselves in the affairs of the lakeshore by the nationally publicized fight between development and preservation during the General Management Plan process. While Congressman Davis pursued the extreme yet simple expedient of eliminating the buffer altogether, Michigan's senators had their staff work with the lakeshore to develop a bill to implement the General Management Plan. Senatorial staffers conferred with Grant Petersen, the new Pictured Rocks Superintendent, the Alger County Highway Department, the planning commission, and CUPPAD. On December 16, 1982, Kel Smyth, an aide to Senator Carl Levin, presented a draft of a bill amending the lakeshore to the planning commission for local comment. "Bipartisan Support for the bill appears to exist

politically and in terms of both local development oriented and regional environmental interests," Grant Petersen reported. The Mining Journal, the Upper Peninsula's most influential newspaper, endorsed the bill and commended "our U.S. Senators...for demonstrating their willingness to work together on introduction and passage of this vital measure." [243]

Introduced into the Ninety-seventh Congress as S.620, the bill was a comprehensive amendment of Public Law 89-668 which created the lakeshore. The bill proposed to solve the buffer zone controversy by establishing a Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Buffer Zone Authority to establish model zoning regulations for the buffer area. Other provisions of the legislation provided funds for the maintenance of non-Park Service roads within the lakeshore, raised the development ceiling, adjusted the boundaries of the lakeshore, and allowed the transfer of other Federal agency properties in Grand Marais for use as a visitor center. In March 1983, Congressman Davis abandoned his own initiative and introduced a companion to the Levin-Reigle bill in the House. To everyone involved the buffer zone problem appeared to be all but solved.

To everyone but the Department of the Interior. On June 27, 1983, at a Senate subcommittee hearing on the bill, Secretary Watt's administration sprang an ambush. To the shock of almost everyone present, National Park Service Director Russell Dickenson refused to support the Levin-Reigle bill. He rejected the buffer zone compromise on the grounds it would give the Secretary of the Interior approval over local zoning. He spurned provisions to allow the transfer or donation of property from other federal agencies. "There are visitor information and administrative facilities already within the boundary," he testified, "and we do not propose an expansion of the area beyond the current boundary." Dickenson also opposed the spending of federal dollars on local roads. He even rejected increasing the development ceiling for the lakeshore. Behind the Director's amazing testimony, which went against the recommendations of the General Management Plan, the park superintendent, the regional office, even Dickenson's better judgement, were the unambiguous orders that the Interior Department rejected any effort to increase its responsibilities over the buffer zone. The Levin-Reigle [bill had been opposed by the Upper Peninsula Federation of Landowners, northern Michigan's "wise use" watchdog group. "The Interior Department apparently believes," the Mining Journal's Washington reporter speculated, "the current bill gives too much power to the Interior Secretary and not enough to local residents." The Office of Management and Budget also strongly opposed the spending implications of the bill. As coup de grace, the Office of the Solicitor intoned the department's new position with a fresh opinion against the advisability of a Buffer Zone Authority. [244]

The rejection of the Levin-Reigle compromise came as a major shock and a significant embarrassment to the lakeshore. The intimate involvement of Grant Petersen and the regional office in the creation of the compromise had led everyone to believe the effort would have the support of the Park Service. Only weeks before the hearing Petersen and the region had reviewed a draft statement in favor of the bill. The lakeshore was not provided a copy of the statement Dickenson delivered to the subcommittee until three weeks after the hearing! Thus Petersen was largely unprepared for the storm of local criticism that broke against his door in the wake of the policy change. [245]

The press in northern Michigan savaged the National Park Service over its opposition to Levin-Reigle.

The Munising News portrayed the agency's position as that of a power hungry bureaucracy unwilling to "relinquish controls they now hold. The Mining Journal characterized the Levin-Reigle bill as "proof that at least in some cases, the little guy is eventually heard." Dickenson's testimony against the bill "puts a damper on the whole business" and flicked on the switch of the "red tape machine" again. In opposing the bill, the agency went on record as opposing increasing the amount of money that could be spent on developing the lakeshore. This revived all of the old local resentments over the agency's earlier failure to follow through with development schemes and seemed to indicate that the long, drawn-out General Management Plan process had been a sham. Ironically, it was in the interest of local control that James Watt's Interior Department opposed the bill. But, by refusing to listen to their own Interior employees on the local level, the department had committed the crime they found most objectionable in others-- namely, acting unilaterally from Washington, regardless of local conditions. [246]

Senators Levin and Reigle reintroduced S.620 in the next Congress. The administration made no effort to work for a compromise on the bill. The Senators persisted for two years in trying to pass S.620 but the bill's momentum was forever halted by National Park Service opposition. Nonetheless the bill marked the engagement of Michigan's Senators with the affairs of the lakeshore. The connection between the Senate staff, Congressman Bob Davis and the lakeshore remained in place in spite of the failure of S.620. It would prove critical to developing the lakeshore. The Levin-Reigle initiative also pointed the route by which a compromise could be reached through cooperative zoning. The final resolution, however, would come not in the halls of Congress, but in meeting rooms of northern Michigan. [247]

Fortunately, while the Levin-Reigle bill was twisting in the wind, the lakeshore went ahead with its preparation of a land and water use plan to supplement the General Management Plan. This process was easily folded into the preparation of a land protection plan when, in late 1982, in response to Congressional direction, the Department of the Interior ordered each park with active land acquisition programs to assemble such plans. The land protection plans were designed to rationalize and reduce land acquisition by the Park Service. Secretary Watt hoped to force parks to find cost-effective ways to protect park values short of fee acquisition. Funded by the regional office and conducted by the Denver Service Center, the land protection plan process focused on locating those parcels within the buffer zone which required Park Service fee ownership. The plan also sought to identify means short of ownership, such as easements or zoning, by which the lakeshore could meet its legislated mandate to "stabilize and protect the existing character and uses of the lands, waters, and other properties" in order to preserve the "setting of the shoreline and lakes, protecting watersheds and streams, and providing the fullest economic utilization of the renewable resources through sustained yield timber management." [248]

The draft Land Protection Plan was released on October 25, 1984. The plan proposed three principal methods of protecting the natural values of the 37,599 acres of non-Park Service land: 1) State lands would be managed by the Department of Natural Resources in accordance with the goals of the lakeshore; 2) Acquisition of a small number of key parcels (mostly near where the shoreline zone is very narrow or along key watersheds) through donation, transfer from other federal agencies, or purchase; 3) Zoning of private lands as either timber harvesting zones or low density residential use zones. Critical to the use of zoning was the provision that the Park Service have the power to implement its own regulations if local zoning was weak and the right of the agency to review variances. [249]

The Land Protection Plan team presented their draft to the public in three informal hearings. The response was largely favorable, with most residents of the buffer zone relieved to see "the cloud of uncertainty" about their property beginning to clear. The major challenge to the draft came from John Hermann, Chair of the Alger County Planning Commission and an employee of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company (Woodlands Division). The plan commission had recently completed their own proposed zoning regulations for the buffer zone. Superintendent Petersen consulted with the commission during their planning process and the two plans were rather similar to each other. The major areas of disagreement were the size of the setbacks allowed in the low density residential use zones and the agency's insistence on its power to institute its own regulations or zoning for the area as insurance against local actions deemed harmful to the lakeshore. The commission responded with a show of petulance. It spurned Superintendent Petersen's written request to present the plan formally to the commission and in an unannounced recessed meeting, voted to "oppose" the draft plan. It was an example of the lingering bitterness between the lakeshore and the community. Nonetheless, the Land Protection team revised the draft, bringing the document basically into line with the commission's zone regulations, but reserving the right of the lakeshore to issue independent regulations if need be. [250]

In spite of the substantial changes made by the agency, the Land Protection Plan stirred controversy. The plan won the support of the Alger County Planning Commission, which had rejected the draft, although chair John Hermann voted with the minority in opposition. Opponents of the plan were in the majority when the Alger County Board met in July 1985. Anti-lakeshore sentiment was in full bloom.

Commissioner Joseph Burke reminded the audience of the agency's broken development promises: "Today, it's nothing but a backpacker's paradise." Opponents of the plan hammered away at the plan's provision for the Park Service to issue its own regulations if need be to protect the buffer zone. "This is the Park Service taking one more step to total control," one commissioner complained. A month later, in a calmer atmosphere, and faced with appeals by buffer zone homeowners and Senator Donald Reigle, the County Board narrowly approved the plan. Approval of the zoning plan by Burt Township provided the green light to the implementation of zoning controls over the buffer zone. After seventeen years in an administrative twilight zone, the buffer was finally brought under management control. [251]

Grand Island: A Lost Opportunity

In 1990, Congress established the Grand Island National Recreation Area as part of the Hiawatha National Forest. The legislation brought the 13,558-acre island in Munising Bay into federal ownership. Yet the decision not to include Grand Island in an expanded Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore was a blow to the Park Service's prestige and a set-back for the advocates of wilderness outdoor recreation. It was a lost opportunity to expand the often crowded Pictured Rocks back country by 13,558 acres and to bring under one management an environment which was historically and geologically closely linked to the Pictured Rocks.

Grand Island was originally slated to be part of the lakeshore. Consideration was given to including the entire island, although the final recommendation of the Great Lakes Shoreline Survey was to include the southeast portion of the island. It was called the "Thumb" and was connected to the main part of Grand

Island by a narrow, marshy isthmus. It boasted sandstone cliffs not unlike the Pictured Rocks. Yet this part of the lakeshore was abandoned during preliminary negotiations with the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, which owned nearly the entire island. The Northeast Regional Director Lon Garrison was reported to have said that the National Park Service already had a Lake Superior island (Isle Royale) with the management problems inherent in islands and did not need another. Again, During the General Management Plan process the question of including Grand Island came up. Backpackers and environmentalists advocated expanding the buffer zone to include Grand Island, a logical suggestion because of the way in which the island dominates the view from the Pictured Rocks. Alternative 2 of the plan, which was approved by the majority of lakeshore visitors, actually included that provision. [252]

The question of what to do about Grand Island again emerged when the agency began work on the land protection plan. After considerable input from Superintendent Petersen, Robert Shelley, Assistant Manager of the Denver Service Center's Rocky Mountain/Midwest Team, recommended that the agency plan to conduct a resource study of Grand Island within three to five years to determine if it was a suitable candidate for inclusion in the lakeshore. Writing in 1983, Shelley noted that Grand Island probably would have been part of the General Management Plan save for a hostile political climate. "The political climate has changed little in the past few years, and thus no recommendation regarding Grand Island will be addressed in the lakeshore land protection plan even though the planning team also recognized the island's relationship to the lakeshore and the desire to see the island under some form of protection." [253]

The future of Grand Island moved from the theoretical to the actual in 1984 when the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company announced that they were actively seeking a buyer for the island. Superintendent Petersen immediately appealed to the Midwest Regional Office for a feasibility study of adding the island to the lakeshore. Regional Director Charles H. Odegaard brushed aside the request with the plea "lack of funding" and the observation that expanding the lakeshore's boundaries "would be contrary to the policies of the administration." The only hope Odegaard held out was that if local Support and congressional action were strong enough the agency might be empowered to act. [254]

For four years the island was the subject of intense local speculation. Rumors of buyers ranged from pop singers to recreational development consortiums. Yet, although several private groups inspected the island and the tract was rather heavily marketed no bona fide offers were received from private owners. At one point the twenty private homeowners on the island banded together to try and buy the huge island themselves, but could not raise the reported \$6.5 million asking price. The Wilderness Society and other environmental groups advocated federal ownership for the island, although their engagement in the issue was fairly low key. Public sentiment in Alger County seemed to favor private ownership. Finally, in January 1988, after more than three years of failing to secure a genuine private buyer, the Trust for Public Lands secured a one-year option on the purchase of Grand Island. Speculation was rife that the stage was being set for Park Service ownership. The Park Service was "interested," one lot owner on the island said, "but they won't admit it." [255]

Interest in adding Grand Island to the lakeshore was keen among the staff of Pictured Rocks. The initiative had some support at the regional level, but all hope of mounting an effective campaign for

expanding the lakeshore floundered in the Washington office. Director William Penn Mott flew over Grand Island on July 11, 1988, in the company of Superintendent Grant Petersen during a hectic tour of Sleeping Bear Dunes, Pictured Rocks, and Isle Royale. The primary purpose of the overflight was to provide Mott an aerial view of the Two-Hearted River Watershed in Luce County to the east of Pictured Rocks. With his principal interest in advancing the concept of a National River Park to encompass the total Two Hearted Watershed, the Director displayed little interest in promoting Grand Island as an addition to Pictured Rocks. [256]

In May 1988, the Alger County Overall Economic Planning and Development Committee organized a public meeting on the island's future. Present were representatives of the Trust for Public Lands, the Sierra Club, Sigurd Olson Institute, local officials, and representatives for Senator Donald Reigle and Congressman Bob Davis. The meeting indicated a popular preference for ownership by the Forest Service as opposed to the Park Service. "If the island goes to the forest service," one former Munising resident claimed, "we'll have land management, not just preservation." The handful of small owners on the island were particularly anxious to see the Forest Service own the island so as to protect their access to existing roads as well as hunting, fishing, and trapping rights. When the Trust for Public Lands finally acted in December 1988 to purchase the island Representative Dale Kildee, a Democrat from Flint, Michigan made the decision to introduce a bill to add the tract to the Hiawatha National Forest. [257]

Congressman Kildee had a long track record of working to preserve wilderness areas within the National forests of northern Michigan. In the face of Congressman Bob Davis's opposition to any public ownership of Grand Island, and Kildee's own experience with the Forest Service, it made sense not to consider adding the island to the lakeshore. Very negative public reaction to the Park Service's decision to ban trapping in the lakeshore and renewed attention to the failure of the agency to develop Pictured Rocks into the "star attraction" promised in the overly optimistic days of the 1960s had created considerable local opposition to any expansion of the lakeshore. Another factor working against the lakeshore was the Park Service's announcement of Director Mott's special interest in a Two-Hearted River Park. Congressman Bob Davis quickly scotched the proposal, but it raised the specter of too much Park Service presence in the minds of many upper Peninsula residents. Thus, largely through bad timing and poor leadership on the part of the Park Service, Grand Island was lost to the lakeshore. [258]

Land Acquisition, Again

That political leadership and agency support could have brought Grand Island within the boundaries of the lakeshore is indicated by the expansion of Park Service fee ownership within the buffer zone during the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to the Land Protection Plan, the agency identified the buffer zone acreage it needed to protect the viewsheds and, to a lesser extent, the watershed of the lakeshore. In 1987 superintendent Petersen directed an addendum to the plan. It was essentially an action plan laying out how the lakeshore would carry out its land acquisition needs within the buffer. This was no idle exercise. When Cleveland-Cliffs put Grand Island up for sale in 1984, it signaled a major reversal in company land policy. Rumors that all Cleveland-Cliff lands in the central Upper Peninsula were going to be sold were confirmed in 1987. Between a large number of small buffer zone lot owners and Cleveland-Cliffs' desire to liquidate its holdings, the lakeshore was faced with a surge of willing sellers. What

Pictured Rocks lacked was the money to make a purchase. [\[259\]](#)

"Here goes another 2,000 acres off the tax rolls," complained one Grand Marais politician when he heard of the attempt to increase fee ownership within the buffer zone. Nonetheless, the political ties formed between the lakeshore and Michigan's Democratic senators during the attempt to pass S.620 paid off in 1987 when Senator Donald Reigle was able to insert \$200,000 in a continuing budget resolution that was passed by the Congress. Even so Pictured Rocks remained the poor relation among the Great Lakes parks. The bill included \$2 million for Sleeping Bear Dunes expansion, but it left Pictured Rocks \$300,000 short of what was needed to carry out the Land Protection Plan. The additional money came in fiscal 1989, thanks to a Senate-House Conference Committee appropriation of Land and Water Conservation Funds. [\[260\]](#)

Many of the initial parcels purchased were along the right-of-way of Log Slide Overlook access road. Once the agency had full control over the corridor, it petitioned the Alger County Road Commission to abandon the road to the National Park Service. Once this was done the lakeshore not only had control of the viewshed along an important visitor route, but it finally could expend Park Service money on maintaining that stretch of road. The lakeshore also sought to purchase easements along H-58, to protect forest lands along the principal park access road. [\[261\]](#)

In 1990, Cleveland-Cliffs sold all of its lands within the buffer zone to Benson Forests. Benson immediately informed the lakeshore that they would be willing to sell those tracts to the National Park Service. In April 1992, the lakeshore acquired from Benson 538 acres of land identified by the Land Protection Plan for watershed protection. Negotiations were begun to purchase an additional 11,857 acres. Unfortunately Pictured Rocks only had \$110,000 remaining in its Land and Water Conservation Fund money. A portion of this had to be reserved for the purchase of parcels from small property owners. The purchase of a large block of Benson Forests lands, appraised at \$3.9 million, was stymied for lack of Congressional action. Despite this setback to the land acquisition program, by the end of the calendar year 1993, the National Park Service had acquired 1,798 acres of inland buffer zone lands identified for agency administration in the Land Protection Plan. [\[262\]](#)

Roads, Scenic and Otherwise

Like Banquo's ghost, the dream of a scenic drive from Sault Ste. Marie to Munising arose again in the 1980s. The issue was reborn in December 1984 when representatives of Alger, Luce, and Chippewa counties met to discuss the practicality of such a roadway. It was decided to form a study group. Under the leadership of Frank Mead of Grand Marais, the group met once a month for a year. During that time they planned a tentative route which would largely utilize existing corridors and would link some of the region's finest shoreline views with the major inland tourist attractions. While largely a grassroots effort, the Superior Scenic Drive group was careful and deliberate in preparing their plan. They met with regional Sierra Club leaders, local planning groups, and representatives of Michigan's congressional leaders. [\[263\]](#)

The reaction to the work of the Superior Scenic Drive Committee was mixed. In Luce County, support was lukewarm due to the fear that a scenic highway to the north of the county's main city, Newberry, would direct tourist dollars away rather than act as an attraction. Local highway officials feared that a new set of paved roads would deflect funds away from the much-needed maintenance of the existing road system. Federal and state representatives reminded the committee about the difficulty of securing funds for new programs. This response naturally directed public attention at the twelve-mile segment of the road slated to pass from Beaver Basin to Twelve Mile Beach. This segment was entirely within the lakeshore and therefore the unambiguous responsibility of the National Park Service. This segment was not a new plan, but part of the formally adopted General Management Plan, sanctioned by act of Congress. The first stretch of road the committee called to be built was the right-of-way through the lakeshore. [264]

Superintendent Petersen worked with the committee as a support staff during their deliberations. He was supportive of the broad goal of the committee. As superintendent, Petersen had worked creatively to implement the master plan with the limited development funds at his disposal. In 1986, the Park Service spent \$356,598 to pave the road to Miners Castle; a year later the Sand Point access road, which had deteriorated to the point of sometimes being passable only to four-wheel-drive vehicles, was paved. In 1988, improvements were made to the Grand Marais area access roads and parking areas. "These road projects," Petersen told the Mining Journal, "are a step-by-step implementation of the 1981 general management plan as it pertains to roads in the lakeshore." Critical in carrying out these improvements was the active support of Congressman Bob Davis, who secured the Sand Point Road money, and Senator Carl Levin, who secured the Grand Marais area money. This progress, however, did not prevent a new round of controversy concerning the requirement of a scenic shoreline drive in the lakeshore's organic legislation. [265]

Leading the charge in this latest skirmish was Marcia Gould, an Alger County Commissioner and a candidate for the 11th District seat in Congress. "We are Americans who believe in Democracy," she wrote in her call to action, "and intend to hold the Secretary of the Interior and the United States Congress accountable to the intent of the law." That intent was not the compromise road endorsed by the General Management Plan and the Superior Scenic Drive Committee but instead nothing short of a shoreline road. "We feel the 1982 compromise was to the Park Service's benefit local input was ignored," she told the Detroit News. Gould's campaign for the shoreline road was fought largely in the pages of the Munising News and at meetings of the Alger Board of Commissioners. It was counter-productive in that it stirred-up anti Park Service attitudes in northern Michigan and aroused environmentalists to oppose any type of new road in the park. Gould's attack, however, did draw some sympathetic press in lower Michigan, and may have helped to draw the attention of several lower Michigan congressmen to the well-considered report of the Superior Scenic Drive Committee. [266]

"We're committed to making the Superior Scenic Drive happen," Levin told the committee. He pledged to begin by pressuring the Park Service to commit the funds necessary to begin planning the new road from Beaver Basin to Twelve-Mile Beach. In a letter to National Park Service Director William Penn Mott, Levin observed that "The Park Service originally committed itself to undertake this project in 1966... Yet nothing has been done for all these years." He described the road issue as "a source of

embarrassment" to the entire federal establishment. All but one of Michigan's eighteen member congressional delegation agreed to support the appeal. Governor James Blanchard joined in the chorus calling for immediate action. In April 1989, Senator Levin succeeded in securing \$150,000 to begin the process of studying the road. [267]

In 1989, the hope was to complete and an environmental impact statement within two years, and then begin engineering studies and construction. This projection, like every other plan made concerning the park road, proved to be overly optimistic of the environmental issues involved and the financial resources dedicated to the lakeshore.

Managing the Lakeshore

The fourth superintendent of Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore was Grant Petersen. He began his career with the agency as a seasonal at the Coulee Dam National Recreation Area and later put in stints at Grand Canyon, Glen Canyon, and Fire Island National Seashore, before serving as superintendent of the Herbert Hoover National Historic Site. The suburban Chicago native had a B.S. in park management from Michigan State University and a M.S. in range science (park planning) from Texas A & M University. Petersen's background was particularly well suited to Pictured Rocks. While most of his park experience had been at new or developing areas, he also brought to the lakeshore an extensive background in planning. He conducted recreation research while at Fire Island and in the early 1970s he worked at the Chicago Field Office where he coordinated historic national landmark studies, wild and scenic river, and north country trail studies, the Ice Age Trail project, and the Great Lakes Basin Framework Study initiative.

The new superintendent was able to build on the work of Donald Gillespie and work gradually to restore a cooperative relationship between the lakeshore and the community. He took an active role in the Rotary Club, the County Planning Commission, Chamber-of-Commerce, and the Alger County Historical Society. He even served as president of the latter two organizations. His affable personality, energetic attitude, and high level of community involvement helped to reduce the "us vs. them" atmosphere in Alger County. While intent on carrying out agency policy, Petersen tried to reduce direct antagonisms with the local community. The closing of old logging roads in the lakeshore, for example, was a source of frustration for local sportsmen. Petersen allowed partial use of several of the more popular roads, rather than vigorously close off all access. A gradual approach was seen as preferable to a confrontation. [268]

Petersen took as his principal charge at Pictured Rocks the implementation of the recently completed General Management Plan. In doing this, he was aided by his background in planning and cooperative relations. This was particularly the case with improving road conditions within the lakeshore. The failure of the administration to support the Levin-Reigle bill could have completely stymied road improvements. Instead, Petersen worked very closely with county officials, the regional office, and congressional representatives to patch together a financial package for improving the park access roads. The Miners Castle Road, for example, utilize funds from the Federal Land Highway Program, Economic Development Administration, and Federal Aid Secondary monies matched with Alger county road

commission funds to pave a right-of-way controlled by local, state, and federal authorities. This approach was frustrating because a complex project would require grants from several sources all coming thorough to make the job a reality. In 1989, for example, Peterson's proposal to pave part of count road H-58 was shelved when no Public Land Highway Funds were granted, in spite of the fact that the project was ranked number two in the state by the Michigan State Department of Transportation. Even with these occasional frustrations, Petersen was able to improve visitor access incrementally to the lakeshore. [269]

Another part of the General Management Plan which benefited from Petersen's creative administration was the improvement of visitor facilities. Unlike other working at the unit. In 1959, as a young boy, he camped at the old Miners Castle county park and, in 1980, he camped in the lakeshore during a family vacation in the north woods. He had no illusions about how the area had been managed prior to the arrival of the National Park Service as well as the shortcomings of the agency's regime. Petersen regarded Pictured Rocks as the "orphan park of the region." Sleeping Bear Dunes, Apostle Islands, and of course, Indiana Dunes, were all better funded and staffed. Petersen wanted to make immediate improvements to campgrounds, picnic areas, and parking facilities, but knew the lakeshore lacked the funds to rely on the National Park Service design center. His solution was to bring into the lakeshore a landscape architect. [270]

Pictured Rocks had a long-established tradition of improvisational problem-solving. It was a mixed record of making do with limited means that did not always meet the standards of the agency. In 1983, Petersen improved the lakeshore's ability to make modest improvements on its own by salvaging a landscape architect from the wreckage of the defunct Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. Robert Teed, a designer with almost twenty years of experience, gave the park the capacity to make much-needed improvements to back country campsites, and the much-too-small Twelve-Mile Beach campground, as well as to relocate completely the much-abused and over-used campground at Hurricane River. [271]

Petersen continued his predecessor's active use of the Youth Conservation Corps and the Young Adult conservation Crops. While these programs lasted they played a role in many campground and trail improvements within the lakeshore. A \$54,747 grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in 1989 funded the development of the Sand Point Marsh Trail by the Youth Conservation Corps. Volunteerism also was an active part of the lakeshore's effort to do more with limited resources. In 1986, for example, Boy Scouts from downstate Michigan helped to stabilize the shoreline near Au Sable lighthouse. In later years, scouts worked on trail bridges and signage. [272]

Early in his administration Petersen put an emphasis on improving interagency cooperation at the lakeshore. Pictured Rocks was very much a cooperative park, but the lines of communication and cooperation with other agencies were not well established. The completion of the land protection plan and the adoption of zoning controls for the buffer zone was a major accomplishment of cooperative relations. Another landmark was the opening of a joint U.S. Forest Service/National Park Service visitor center in Munising in 1988 which did much to cement a closer working relationship between the lakeshore and the Hiawatha National Forest. As called for in the General Management Plan, the visitor center was jointly staffed by both agencies. Although the Park Service was responsible for only ten

percent of the total construction cost, it received a highly visible public interpretation facility. Cooperation with the Forest Service also led to the transfer of significant acreage in the buffer zone from Department of Agriculture control to that of the National Park Service. [273]

Under Petersen's direction the lakeshore developed closer working relationships with local law enforcement agencies. Chief Ranger Deryl Stone hammered out a memorandum of understanding with the Alger County Sheriff's Department. Rangers in the Grand Marais District were deputized to backup the sheriff's office and were empowered to enforce state and county regulations. The agreement was tested almost immediately by several successful search and rescue missions. [274]

The Pictured Rocks Advisory Commission came to the end of its statutory life in 1982. In consultation with the chair of the commission, Superintendent Petersen recommended that no measures be taken to extend its life. As a transition step, Petersen established a Superintendent's Advisory Group, composed of representatives of Alger County, Munising, Burt Township, buffer zone residents, and lakeshore visitors. After several years of occasionally getting together at a Saturday breakfast meeting, the group ceased to function by 1986. It did, however, remain in place on paper to be activated on an "as needed basis." [275]

While the size of the lakeshore staff has remained relatively consistent during Superintendent Petersen's tenure, the nature and complexity of the issues with which they deal has required increasing specialization and independence. This requirement was partially addressed in 1988 by the preparation of a ten-year plan designed to phase in organizational and operational needs. Among the immediate changes brought by the ten-year plan was the creation of a separate Division of Science and Resource Management. This separation of resource management from interpretation and visitor protection reflected the growing importance of scientific research at Pictured Rocks.

Research and Resource Management

This area of the management of the lakeshore has experienced the most significant growth during the 1980s. Prior to the arrival of Superintendent Petersen, resource management was limited to the most basic type of visual monitoring. The lakeshore did not even have a resource management plan until 1981. It was only with the implementation of a General Management Plan that it became a central goal of the lakeshore to develop the capacity to assess environmental impacts fully. This required scientifically trained park personnel and the development of environmental baselines from which to evaluate change.

The addition of Walter L. Loope, Ph.D., who joined the lakeshore as a Resource Management Specialist from the U.S. Forest Service via the Resource Management Training Program, provided the in-house capability to address short-term problems caused by visitor use and begin the process of better understanding the long term behavior of the lakeshore ecosystem. Upon joining the lakeshore in 1982, Loope immediately went to work with Chief Ranger Stone evaluating the impact of camping on ground cover and the effects of soil compaction. This work led to the preparation of a Backcountry Management Plan which featured the establishment of specific backcountry campsites composed of individual signed sites. The use of fire was restricted, the presence of pets was prohibited, and the number of formal

backcountry camping sites was increased. In order to monitor this plan Loope initiated a long-term study of the impact of human disturbance of the natural vegetation. [276]

Among the most important issues addressed by the lakeshore's new resource manager was the stability of the Grand Sable Dunes. In 1984, the lakeshore contracted with John P. Farrell and John D. Hughes, two Northern Michigan University geologists, to investigate the impact of county road H-58 on Grand Sable Dune. The road, which was the principal access to the eastern portion of the lakeshore, was uncomfortably squeezed between the shore of Grand Sable Lake and the dune. Unfortunately the dune was advancing toward the lake at an alarming rate. Highway crews annually had to remove tons of sand from the right-of-way and even then could not keep the road open year-round. The General Management Plan proposed to avoid a confrontation with the dune by relocation the road to the south shore of the lake. This idea, however, did not hold up to close scrutiny. A road south of the lake was budgeted at close to \$5 million and would disrupt a fragile wetland. Farrell and Hughes discovered that the problem of sand accumulation on the road had been accelerated by unrestricted visitor foot traffic on the face of the dune. [277]

The lakeshore also approached the problem from a comparative point of view. In conjunction with Sleeping Bear Dune National Lakeshore and Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore a joint project was launched: "Human Impacts on Dunes." As a result of these projects, the lakeshore began a program of restricting access to the eastern face of the dune and initiated planting *Ammophila breviligulata*, a dune grass, in an attempt to stabilize the dune. The Farrell and Hughes study reviewed several engineering solutions to the road problem, including the notion of a tunnel, which they thought might be the best long-term solution. The study also made clear that continuing the policy of stabilizing the dune and removing the sand might be both the cheapest and most sensitive solution. The Grand Sable Dunes were not a migrating dune, merely an eroding slope of sand. [278]

Farrell and Hughes conducted a second erosion study for the lakeshore, this one focused on the impact of Lake Superior's waves on shoreline loss. The geologists recommended closing the Mosquito Beach campground and advised that some minor adjustments be made at Miners Beach, yet their overall conclusion was that shoreline erosion would not be a major problem for the park. During the remaining years of the decade, however, the entire Great Lakes Region saw a rapid rise in water levels and, as a consequence, an increase in erosion and property damage to shoreline areas. A single December storm in 1986 caused \$1.3 million in damage to suburban Buffalo. Chicago's Lakeshore Drive was swamped by heavy surf. Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore experienced this unpleasant phenomenon with a flooded basement. That minor nuisance, however, was a warning that the lake was taking Sand Point at rapid rate. Farrell and Hughes documented that the shoreline configuration at the point was inherently dynamic, with erosion or deposition occurring in natural cycles. Just how long the cycle of erosion would continue, unfortunately, was unclear. Earnest Brater, a leading expert in shoreline protection, was brought in as a consultant to advise on methods of avoiding damage. In 1989, emergency funds were appropriated to place a stone boulder revetment at the end of the point. This unfortunate intrusion on the environment was necessary to slow the erosion of Sand Point and to save the headquarters complex and its historic structures from storm water damage. [279]

Some of the most important resource management work at Pictured Rocks was not the direct response to emergency conditions, as in the case of sand or water erosion, rather the long slow process of building the natural history database in order to chart the long-term impact of visitor use on the resource. In 1983, Resource Specialist Loope began a long term study of lakeshore vegetation. He established 120 vegetation transects to be investigated and restudied. After three years of study the findings became the basis of a vegetation management plan. Loope also prepared a history of fire at Pictured Rocks in order to determine the role of fire as a natural agent in forest ecology. These findings were then incorporated in the lakeshore's fire management policy. Environmental quality studies determined the level of acidity in the lakeshore's major inland lakes, a study of lichen flora reviewed its relationship to air quality, and heavy metal analysis was completed on some of the collection specimens. [280]

One of the rewards of the lakeshore's active science program was the ability to participate in numerous cooperative studies. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service mapped rare plant populations in the lakeshore. A fish management plan was prepared in cooperation with the Michigan Department of Natural Resources. The lakeshore also engaged in several faunal studies in conjunction with the state and the Hiawatha National Forest. The lakeshore also benefited by hosting a wide range of student and faculty biological studies within the park. Cooperation with institutions such as Northern Michigan University, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, Michigan Tech, and the University of Missouri allowed the lakeshore to monitor water quality in the buffer zone, study the endangered piping plover habitat, and document rare plants and mammals. [281]

Two of the most visible resource management projects undertaken in the lakeshore were conducted in cooperation with the Michigan Department of Natural Resources. In June 1987, 5,000 young grayling were introduced to Section 34 Creek in Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore. The sleek trout-like fish, with their distinctive dorsal fins, were native to northern Michigan's cold, clear streams. Logging changed the waterways and destroyed the sensitive grayling's habitat. Unfortunately, tests conducted that fall revealed that little, if any, of the fish survived. In 1989, the two agencies again tried to reintroduce a species into the lakeshore. Ten peregrine falcons were released from the top of the Pictured Rocks cliffs. "I am pleased and proud," said Regional Director Don Castleberry at public ceremony near Miners Castle, "to be part of the group returning this important predator to a part of the environment in which it once bred." Pesticide poison had eliminated the lakeshore's native peregrine population around 1962. [282]

Among the most significant discoveries of the Pictured Rocks science program was made by Northern Michigan University's Farrell and Hughes in 1990. On the Grand Sable Dune they identified a paleosol, an indication of an ancient land surface which predated the most recent glacial age. As the scientists investigated the feature they discovered that it underlaid the entire Grand Sable plateau. The paleosol discovery had major implications. Not only did it offer an opportunity to unlock new knowledge concerning the formation of the dunes, it also could shed significant light upon the impact of changing lake levels in the geological past. This discovery and the recognition of the significance and fragility of the dunes as a microenvironment led to the recent proposal of the Grand Sable Dunes as a Research Natural Area. [283]

The most controversial resource management problem the lakeshore has faced since the Beaver Basin deer crisis of the 1970s was the ban on trapping in the lakeshore. Unlike the earlier controversy this one was precipitated almost entirely by actions taken outside of the sphere of park administration. The embroilment began in 1984 when, the Department of the Interior solicitor, after reviewing the provisions of the General Authorities Act of 1970 and the Redwood National Park Act of 1978, advised the National Park Service that trapping was illegal in the parks, except where Congress specifically authorized its practice. Particularly affected by the ruling were recreation areas created during the 1960s and 1970s. Like Pictured Rocks, many of these areas' organic legislation specifically allowed hunting and fishing. At Pictured Rocks, and most other units, trapping was interpreted as a form of hunting. The solicitor ordered each unit to investigate its legislative history to determine if trapping was specifically referred to in the discussion of hunting and fishing. Of course, trapping was never mentioned during the discussion surrounding Pictured Rocks, Sleeping Bear Dunes, Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway, and eight other units. It was illogical to expect that it would be mentioned if the general public regarded trapping as a hunting activity. Nonetheless, in January 1985 the ban went into effect. [284]

Before the solicitor's opinion was announced Chief Ranger Stone quietly inquired about how many people were trapping within the lakeshore. At best the number was twelve to fifteen, so the issue did not look like a public relations problem. Yet the trappers would not go quietly. 'We're in a minority and we just can't fight city hall,' trapper Stanley Kusmirek complained, "I think its just a dirty shame they're going to stop trapping, what next?" [285]

It was that last question, "what next?" which mobilized sportsmen's organizations and the wise use movement to involve themselves in the trapping ban. For several winters these groups listened to trappers' complaints before taking action early in 1989. The Michigan United Conservation Clubs and the National Trappers Association filed suit in federal court to lift the ban. In 1990, the District Court rejected the suit. Battle was rejoined in the Court of Appeals, but the agency's position was upheld. [286]

The damage done to the lakeshore by the controversy over the ban was much greater than any resource management benefit derived from the elimination of a dozen part-time trappers. Throughout the last half of the decade of the 1980s the trapping ban was raised as an example of the Park Service "going back on its word" or "locking up resources." This negative image helped to fuel local uneasiness about expanding the buffer zone since trapping was legal in the buffer zone. The trapping ban complaints were being most loudly voiced at the same time the fate of Grand Island was being determined. Local discontent with the Park Service made it easier to sell the public on Forest Service ownership of the island than the more restrictive management of the lakeshore. The trapping ban cost Pictured Rocks a resource that was in short supply: community support. Lack of community support cost the lakeshore a valuable addition to the park. [287]

Cultural Resources and Interpretation

Cultural resource management within the lakeshore has not benefited from the same professional attention as natural science, but it has come a long way from the mid-1970s when potential National Register structures were destroyed without any compliance review. During the 1980s, the lakeshore

made significant progress documenting and interpreting the area's archeological and maritime history resources. [288]

Most of the important visitor use areas within the lakeshore were created before the establishment of a service-wide archeological resources program. Before the mid-1980s, there was little systematic understanding of either where prehistoric cultural resources were likely to be found or what management or visitor actions were likely to be detrimental to those resources. These problems were in part resolved by a systematic archeological survey undertaken by the Midwest Archeological Center during the summers of 1985 and 1986. Utilizing National Park Service Cultural Resources (302) funds, the project provided a baseline with which the archeology of the park could be better understood. Just as important, the survey teams conducted shovel testing within most of the visitor use areas. A small site was discovered at the Coves backcountry campsite leading to the relocation of the camping area. The project provided park managers with a much better understanding of archeologically-sensitive areas within the lakeshore, although it also confirmed that the Pictured Rocks were not intensely utilized during the prehistoric era. Many of the sites discovered during the survey dated from the historic logging era--a period not fully documented within the park. [289]

The lakeshore worked very successfully to tell the maritime history of the area. This connection is both natural, for a lacustrine park, and perhaps inevitable, considering the large number of historic structures inherited from the U.S. Coast Guard. The earliest interpretation plans for the lakeshore emphasized the importance of the maritime theme. The Sand Point headquarters offered an opportunity to tell the story of the U.S. Life-Saving Service on Lake Superior through an outdoor interpretive walking tour. A more in-depth exploration of this history became possible when the lakeshore acquired the Coast Guard facility at Grand Marais in 1984.

The decision of the U.S. Coast Guard in 1983 to close their Grand Marais complex was a stroke of luck for the lakeshore. The Coast Guard immediately contacted the Park Service about acquiring the property. The agency coveted the complex because it offered historic structures in an excellent location with potential not only for visitor services but permanent and seasonal employee housing. The transfer was endangered, however, when the Interior Department unexpectedly opposed the Levin-Reigle bill which included authorization to accept the property. However, in 1984 the agency negotiated a 99-year lease on the property, opening the way to the establishment of a maritime museum in the old Life Saving Station. The need to acquire the site on a permanent basis remained a nagging problem, resolvable only by congressional action because the Coast Guard structures are located outside the lakeshore boundaries. [290]

The Grand Marais Maritime Museum was a classic example of the lakeshore's "bootstrap" approach to development. There simply were not funds for a professional, Harpers Ferry Center-designed exhibit. Superintendent Petersen gave Chief Ranger Deryl Stone a small budget and told him to do what he could to get the job done. Fortunately, District Ranger Bob Lanane had an excellent rapport with the community and he was able to develop a cooperative relationship with the Grand Marais Women's Club. A broad appeal to the community for artifacts and memories was extremely successful. "I think the thing I loved most," recalled Deryl Stone, "was seeing the outpour of artifacts people took out of their attics

for the museum." The museum focused on the themes "Life at the Grand Marais Life Saving Station" and "Area Shipwrecks and Rescues." The quality of the artifacts on display and the superb setting of the museum compensated for the "unpolished" presentation of the exhibits. [291]

The premier maritime artifact within the lakeshore is the Au Sable Lighthouse. Elaborate plans for the interpretation of this structure at one point included having a ranger and family living at the lighthouse, permanently decked out in period garb. In 1978, the park received funds to contract a historic structure report and, in 1981, a historic furnishings study was done. Yet restoration and interpretation at the lighthouse lagged. Interpretation of the lighthouse complex was retarded by staffing shortages and the inability of the lakeshore to restore the structures. The "Lighthouse and Shipwreck Walk" were among the most popular interpretation activities at the park. Interpreter David Kronk created the living-history character "Chester," a 102-year-old witness to the heyday of the lighthouse. [292]

The occasion of the bicentennial of the U.S. Lighthouse Service provided the lakeshore with the resources to begin to move toward the complete renovation of the Au Sable complex. In 1988, Congress established the Bicentennial Lighthouse Fund which awarded Pictured Rocks funds to contract a new and expanded historic structures report and to begin restoration of the keeper's dwelling. In the years which followed, the Park Service worked incrementally to renovate the light tower and other key structures at Au Sable. [293]

During the 1980s there was a surge in popular interest in scuba diving and shipwrecks. The south shore of Lake Superior, in spite of its frigid temperature, became a popular destination for divers because of remarkably clear waters and an inordinately large number of shipwreck sites. In 1981, the State of Michigan created the Alger Underwater Preserve under the direction of the Department of Natural Resources and a local board. The preserve worked to place buoys at the sites of wrecks and attempted to promote sport diving in the area. By the mid-1980s, the Alger preserve was attracting about 5,000 divers per summer. Although most of the popular shipwreck sites were beyond the one-fourth mile limit of the lakeshore's water boundary, the increase in diving in the area had a significant impact on park management. [294]

On the most basic level of visitor protection the lakeshore had to be able to perform emergency operations on the water. For years, the only boat available to park personnel on Lake Superior was a fourteen-foot aluminum boat at Grand Marais--it was more likely to require rescue than give it. This was augmented in 1988 with a twenty foot Boston Whaler that had been surplused by Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway. Recreational divers began to spearfish in park waters and explore underwater rock sculptures and caves near Miners Castle. While the National Park Service had concurrent jurisdiction with the U.S. Coast Guard and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers over the surface waters of Lake Superior within the lakeshore, the bottom lands are controlled by the State of Michigan. Nonetheless, Superintendent Petersen, a long-time diver, took a proactive role toward the shipwreck sites. A deeper understanding of the submerged cultural resources located off-shore would, he advocated, assist the park's interpretation program. The General Management Plan was also farsighted in its instruction that the Park Service work with the state of Michigan to Evaluate the National Register of Historic Places eligibility of the shipwrecks. [295]

In July 1987, the lakeshore took its first steps in this direction when it hosted a major regional workshop on underwater cultural resources. Park Service personnel from across the country, and historians and archeologists from Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Indiana attended the program. In addition to addressing a variety of management issues, the workshop members investigated several shipwreck sites within the lakeshore and in the Alger preserve. As a result, two shipwrecks beached at Au Sable Point were identified as the nineteenth-century ships Mary Jarecki and Gale Staples. The workshop led to a systematic survey of shipwrecks within the lakeshore. In 1988 and 1989, the regional office provided money for a submerged cultural resources study of the lakeshore. The project established a chronology of all known shipwrecks in the area of the lakeshore and provided detailed drawings of several of the most important underwater sites. It was an excellent example of cooperation between the National Park Service and the Alger Underwater Preserve to protect and promote the resources of the region. The project also proved to be a valuable asset to park interpreters trying to tell the exciting shipwreck story to visitors. [296]

Interpretation

The expansion of scientific and cultural research relative to the lakeshore played a major role in improving the quality of all interpretation at Pictured Rocks during the 1980s. The ability to offer programs and exhibits which directly used local resources to illustrate regional or national issues played an important role in the overall growth and improvement in the lakeshore's interpretive offerings. For much of the 1970s and into the early 1980s, the lakeshore focused considerable attention on traditional campfire programs. Participation in these programs lagged, in part, because the three main campgrounds were rather small and to many visitors, remote. In 1982, ninety-one such programs produced a total attendance of 1,992 visitors. Park Naturalist Bruce Peterson did try experimental off-site programs at nearby campgrounds with mixed results. For a single season, 1980, lakeshore interpreters accompanied Pictured Rocks Cruises, Inc. [297]

Shortly after Superintendent Petersen's arrival, the Interpretive Prospectus was revised and the lakeshore began to experiment with alternative means of contacting visitors. Beginning in 1983 park interpreters began a program of roving contact. Interpreters frequented high traffic areas and responded to visitor questions or provided impromptu programs. The opening of the Grand Marais Maritime Museum in 1985 and the joint Forest Service-Park Service Munising visitor center in 1988, provided an increased opportunity for visitor orientation and education. The program was also strengthened by the increased use of publications to research visitors. The park newsletter, Lakeshore Observer, had its format updated and frequency boosted in 1989. Six new topical park brochures were also prepared. A year later, a sister publication, Lakeshore Update, was published in order to present more specific technical information about the park. Publications concerning hunting, fishing, and various trails were also prepared, all on recycled paper. Interpretive Specialist Gregg Bruff also reached out to the local community via a newspaper column called "Lakeshore Notes." An indication of the increasing quality of the lakeshore interpretation program was the granting of the Park Service's prestigious Freeman Tilden Award to two lakeshore interpreters, David Kronk and Gregg Bruff, during this period. [298]

The most impressive feature of the lakeshore's maturing interpretation division in recent years was its outreach programs. Interpreters worked effectively with local Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations. Even more important were the programs coordinated with the Superior Central School System. In 1990, the lakeshore hosted a day-long, in-service training workshop on environmental education for area teachers. This type of activity was rewarded in 1992 with a \$208,000 grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation which funded more lakeshore involvement with area schools and sponsored a summer science camp for students. By giving grade school students hands-on experience with natural science, the program hoped to increase young people's awareness of science as a career option. The lakeshore also took a leadership role in interpreting the park's most important natural resource, Lake Superior. Through a forum called "Thinking Like a Watershed" educators from around the Superior basin came together to share current research and compare teaching strategies. [299]

In 1993, the lakeshore added to its organizational structure an Interpretive and Cultural Resources Division, with Gregg L. Bruff named as division chief. The goal was to promote a greater awareness of cultural resources and to encourage an integrated approach to their interpretation and management. [300]

Rise of Winter Sports

The major change in the northern Michigan recreation industry during the 1980s was the successful development of a winter tourist season. For the western Upper Peninsula this was made possible by the modest success of downhill skiing in the hills of the Gogebic Range. Alger County benefited more than most communities by the growth in cross-country skiing and, even more important, snowmobiling. The snow machines made their first impact on the north country in the late 1960s, only to go into a decline during the decade of the 1970s. The sport, however, made a strong comeback in the decade of the 1980s. By 1984, winter visitors made up twenty five percent of the total Upper Peninsula tourist market. Munising became the snowmobile center for northern Michigan. [301]

The rise of Munising as a winter destination was the result of federal, state, and local initiatives. In the late 1970s, area restaurant and motel owners began to work together to attract more winter business. They formed the Alger-Munising Snowmobile Association and sold candy bars to raise money to mark and groom trails. "Hospitality training sessions" were conducted to improve the reception tourists received from townspeople. As winter business began to pick up, some motel owners began to provide heated garages so visitors could fine-tune their machines in comfort. The busiest time of the entire year became the week between Christmas and New Year's, when families flocked into town with ski racks and trailers. [302]

Yet the area's popularity rested on its snow and trails. Alger County's location on the south shore of Lake Superior assured it of snow early and often in the winter season. Thanks to the Forest Service and the Department of Natural Resources, Alger County could boast more than 250 miles of groomed trails or open forest roads. Local regulations which opened almost all municipal streets to snowmobiles and allowed the use of the frontage of the state and federal roads meant that visitors never needed their cars. James Bruce, the Forest Service's Munising District Ranger, played a large role in developing the extensive trail system in the Hiawatha National Forest. The Hiawatha's Valley Spur cross-country ski

area included a concession-operated ski' rental and snackshop as well as miles of groomed trails. [303]

Pictured Rocks responded to the surge of winter use by revamping its snowmobile policy. The snow machines were welcomed on the majority of the lakeshore's unplowed roads but prohibited from the dunes or trails. Snowmobiles were also deployed on Grand Sable Lake and along the frozen Lake Superior shore. Park interpreters scheduled guided snowmobile tours from Grand Marais to Au Sable lighthouse. In some years this tour included an opportunity to climb to the top of the tower and a warm-up campfire before the return trip. Miners Castle and Munising Falls were the most popular snowmobile destinations. The falls also became the object of attention by recreational ice climbers, who perfected their skills ascending the sheer column of the frozen cascade. [304]

Cross-country skiing was perhaps the most important winter use of the lakeshore. In 1984, the park dedicated the Munising Trail as a National Recreational Trail. The ten mile route had been laid out in the early 1970s by Chief Ranger Norman Davidson and was later enhanced by District Ranger Fred Young. In December and January of 1983-84 2,222 skiers used the groomed trail. Snowshoeing was another winter sport to grow during the 1980s. The Pictured Rocks Snowshoe Classic was sponsored each winter within the lakeshore. The ten-mile January race drew contestants from throughout the region. A small but hardy group of campers used skis or snowshoes to access the backcountry during the winter. In the decade between 1978 and 1988 the lakeshore experienced a substantial increase in winter visitation, growing from one percent of total visitation to almost nine percent. Among the adaptations to this shift were the installation of heated washrooms and the weekend staffing of the visitors center at Munising Falls, the institution of a winter backcountry policy, and the increase of winter snowmobile patrols. [305]

Budget Challenges

"Welcome to 1982," National Park Service Midwest Regional Director J.L. Dunning warned his superintendents. The second year of the administration of President Ronald Reagan, he predicted, "will test your determination as a public servant and your ingenuity as a manager." Since the election of 1980, agency Director Russell Dickenson preached a gospel of austerity, calling on all units to "do more with less." Like all parks, Pictured Rocks was called upon to determine its "minimum acceptable level" of operations. Superintendent Petersen responded by pointing out that the lakeshore lacked 51% of the funds necessary to meet the minimum standard intended by Congress for the Pictured Rocks. Nonetheless, the park's budget was cut from \$653,000 to \$617,400. In this manner of punch and counter-punch, the lakeshore tried to implement its General Management Plan in a political climate that became increasingly unfriendly to funding park operations. [306]

Part of the frustration of managing parks in the 1980s stemmed less from the amount of money which was spent than from how the funds were committed. Operations budgets suffered in the 1980s. Parks Such as Isle Royale, for example, lost numerous backcountry ranger positions. The park plane was eliminated. Secretary of the Interior James Watt advanced a program of infrastructure development within parks, particularly those with heavy or growing visitation. This emphasis was in many cases needed but it seemed to give short shrift to the resource protection mission of the agency. Liberals

castigated Watt's approach as short-sighted and dangerous to an increasingly fragile environment. Watt defended his priorities as simply putting the needs of people first. Further clouding the budgetary picture was the increased activism of Congress in the process of shaping the growth of the National Park System. Particularly during the late 1980s, controversial new parks were created and thrust on an often unenthusiastic Park Service. Funding for these new initiatives put an even greater strain on maintaining operations at existing units. [\[307\]](#)

With Congress split between the Democrats and the Republicans, both Secretary Watt and environmentalists tried to fund their vision of the national parks. The result was an incoherent policy and a growth in federal spending. To try and bring the national government's spending, of which the national park budget was a very small part, under some type of control, Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act in 1986. Aimed at reduction, the bill mandated automatic, across-the-board spending reductions. The first year of Gramm-Rudman saw National Park Service's budget cut by 4.32% Pictured Rocks' share of this hit came out to \$36,100. Petersen was forced to reduce the operating times of the visitor centers and cut numerous summer seasonal positions. The interpretation program and the life guards were particularly impacted. Superintendent Petersen told the staff "the lakeshore now faces serious budgetary problems." [\[308\]](#)

The interpretation program tried to "roll with the punches" of the budget cuts. Sometimes regional office or WASO support could be found to maintain seasonal interpreters. This type of support in 1993, for example, allowed the lakeshore to offer thirty-three programs a week during the peak tourist season. Yet a year later, the number of programs had to be reduced to only seven per week as the lakeshore had to make due with three less seasonal interpreters. One response to limited staff was the increased reliance on self-guided walking tours and wayside exhibits. The Sand Point Trail, opened in 1991 with sixteen exhibits, was developed completely within the lakeshore. [\[309\]](#)

While the lakeshore was feeling the pinch of Gramm-Rudman it was also trying to implement a General Management Plan that required increased facilities and personnel. The lakeshore was generally well supported by the regional office in its attempt to keep to the track of gradually implementing the plan. A rapid growth in the number of people visiting the lakeshore helped the park grow its program in a period of austerity. By 1988, visitation to the lakeshore rose to 555,000, almost double what it had been ten years before. Travel and outdoor recreation magazines regularly featured Pictured Rocks as a destination. Newspapers as far away as Miami and Boston ran major stories on backpacking the lakeshore trail. The increased attention, in part, reflected Pictured Rocks' growing maturity as a park and in part was the result of cooperative promotion. Superintendent Petersen was personally very active in marketing the central Upper Peninsula. In 1988, he played a leading role in hosting the Upper Peninsula Tourism and Economic Development Conference. The lakeshore's growing popularity with visitors helped to sustain the growth of the park's overall budget from \$653,000 in 1980, when the park had 351,815 visitors, to \$939,020 in 1989, when the park had 563,823 visitors. Yet, even during this period of overall budget growth, division managers faced declining "real" dollar funding, particularly in the area of cyclic maintenance. [\[310\]](#)

Pictured Rocks attempted to stretch its budget through an expanded volunteers program. In 1992, for

example, traditional volunteer groups such as the Boy Scouts were joined by a Lutheran service group from Fort Wayne, Indiana, a Sierra Club national service trip, and a Madonna University student club, for a total of 4,900 hours of volunteer trail work. The instituting of campground fees had no impact on the rise of visitor use and by the end of the decade of the 1980s, they were yielding the lakeshore almost \$40,000 per year. [\[311\]](#)

By 1993, Pictured Rocks' budget had grown to over \$1 million and lakeshore visitation had climbed to 612,661. Since the acceptance of the General Management Plan in 1981, the National Park Service had instituted almost all of its goals. There were, however, two major projects which awaited implementation: the construction of a road around the rim of Beaver Basin as part of a renovated park circulation system, and the building of a new lakeshore administration and maintenance center.

[<<< Chapter 5](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Epilogue >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhi6.htm

Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

EPILOGUE: THE FUTURE AS HISTORY

In 1986, Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore very quietly recognized its twentieth birthday. No ceremonies or celebrations were staged. Superintendent Petersen was careful to avoid the excessive optimism of 1966. An anniversary logo featuring the Au Sable lighthouse was utilized in all park publications and news releases that year. Not surprisingly, press accounts of the milestone were quick to point-out that very little happened until 1977. But they also reflected a new tone of recognition for what had been done since the adoption of a General Management Plan in 1981. The key to the recent success, Grant Petersen observed, was cooperation between local, state, and federal authorities. "We've come to realize that in this day and age, you're going to have to get a strong cooperative effort to accomplish anything." [\[312\]](#)

Pictured Rocks became America's first national lakeshore because of a strong cooperative relationship between the National Park Service, the local community, environmentalists, and Michigan's legislative representatives. This alliance was fractured after 1966 because of profound misunderstandings concerning the nature of the park which was created. The National Park Service approached Pictured Rocks as if it were adjacent to the teeming cities of the eastern seaboard, not a natural area in the midst of the north woods. The agency's initial conception of the lakeshore was misguided and impractical. The Alger County community, in the depths of a half-century of economic depression, viewed the lakeshore more as an economic development project than as an exercise in environmental protection. Preservation of the lakeshore's natural features had been part of every Park Service proposal for the area. While the local community was justified in their frustration over the slow and uncertain pace of park development, the Pictured Rocks had become part of a national system, the management of which was determined by the best interests of the nation. It was the national interest which dictated the eventual expenditure of millions of tax dollars on land acquisition, development, and payroll. That the national interest changes is part of democratic society. The cost of the Vietnam War, the rise of environmentalism, and concern about federal expenditures are all national forces which have shaped the way the National Park Service implemented Public Law 89-668. The divergence between the needs of the local community and the needs of the nation is an inevitable part of the relationship between any federal facility and its host community. But recognition that the National Park Service has different interests than Alger County should not preclude the development of shared goals. The progress made at Pictured Rocks since 1981 is

the result of a recognition of the need to restore, in a guarded and more realistic manner, the partnership forged in 1966.

"We can see things are beginning to roll, " Grant Petersen observed in 1986. "Hopefully we can keep the ball rolling." The lakeshore seems to have maintained the positive momentum of the 1980s. As Pictured Rocks approaches its thirtieth anniversary, it has begun to take on the look of a mature park with an established mission and a well established clientele. The prospect of road construction, which has simmered on the back burner for the past five Years, must be met squarely. The challenge of determining the lakeshore's "carrying capacity," and managing backcountry and automobile tourist traffic will likely emerge as major issues. Perhaps most intimidating of all there is the prospect of maintaining the excellence of resource management and interpretation at the lakeshore in a political climate hostile to federal administration. [\[313\]](#)

Future keepers of the Pictured Rocks can draw solace from the up and down cycles which have marked the history of the first National Lakeshore. The weathered face of the cliffs, the unstable sands of Grand Sable Banks, and the history of the lakeshore all reveal change. Yet it is the social context in which the National Park Service has carried out its charge that is perhaps the most unstable feature in the lakeshore. If environmental science teaches that the diversity of life is tied together in a stable, self-equilibrating natural order, history teaches the volablity and unpredictability of human affairs. To manage a national park is to embrace this dialectic and to try and draw from the conflict an answer which respects and preserves the Pictured Rocks. [\[314\]](#)

[<<< Chapter 6](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Acknowledgements >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhia.htm

Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks

An Administrative History



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"Advice to Persons About to Write History--Don't" Lord Acton, 1887

The great British historian's advice is particularly appropriate for the writer who takes on the task of preparing what for all intents and purposes is a contemporary history, where the warts and imperfections of the historian's analysis are open to the judgement of the actual makers of history. The author nonetheless ignored Lord Acton and pressed on with this project because of the generous support and assistance of many historians and history makers, both within and without the National Park Service.

Donald Stevens and Ron Cockrell, historians in the National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office, were very supportive. Stevens helped me track down some of the more elusive records of Pictured Rocks while Cockrell shared his past research experience with the national lakeshores. Elizabeth Amberg of Isle Royale National Park and David Nathanson of the Harpers Ferry Center were also very helpful with my information requests. The staffs of the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, the Federal Records Center, Kansas City, and the Michigan State Archives, particularly LeRoy Barnett, were very helpful with research in the papers of Senator Philip Hart and state park policy. As always the inter-library loan department at Loyola University was an important research aid.

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Center were invaluable guides through the planning history of the lakeshore. Howard Chapman provided fresh insights into the work of the Great Lakes Shoreline Survey.

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The preparation of this volume was only possible because of the assistance of these generous people.

Theodore J. Karamanski
Public History Program
Loyola University of Chicago

<<< [Epilogue](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Bibliography](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks

An Administrative History



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L'Anse Sentinel (Michigan)

Milwaukee Journal

Mining Journal (Marquette, Michigan)

Munising News (Michigan)

Newberry News (Michigan)

Upper Peninsula Sunday Times (Michigan)

Informants and Oral History Interviews

John Austin, Denver Service Center, General Management Plan team member.

Hugh P. Beattie, retired, National Park Service, former superintendent, PIRO.

Neal Beavers, Grand Marais, Michigan, former local newspaper writer.

Robert Burns, retired, National Park Service, former superintendent, PIRO.

Howard Chapman, retired, National Park Service, participated in Great Lakes Shoreline Survey.

Raymond Clevenger, former member U.S. House of Representatives.

Jack Cruise, retired, Michigan State Highway Department, participated in Alger County -- Pictured Rocks Task Force.

Larry D. Hach, Chief Ranger, PIRO.

John Kawamoto, retired, National Park Service, former chief of planning, Midwest Regional Office.

Jerry Kinnunen, Munising, Michigan, former member Munising Chamber of Commerce.

Joseph Kolbus, Munising, Michigan, former owner of Munising Falls tract.

Neil R. Korsmo, East District Ranger, PIRO.

Walter Loope, National Biological Survey, PIRO.

Frank Mead, Grand Marais, Michigan, former chair of Superior Scenic Drive Committee.

Bud Morrison, Munising, Michigan, former member of Munising Chamber of Commerce, owner Pictured Rocks Cruises, Inc.

Grant A. Petersen, Superintendent, PIRO.

Philip Ruppe, former member U.S. House of Representatives.

Deryl Stone, Chief Ranger, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, former Chief Ranger, PIRO.

Howie Thompson, Denver Service Center, general management plan team member.

Frederick Young, West District Ranger, PIRO.

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[<<< Acknowledgements](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Appendix >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhib.htm

Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

APPENDIX

[Visitation Statistics](#)

[Budget](#)

[Roster of Full-Time Employees](#)

[Photographs](#)

[Public Law 89-668](#)

[<<< Bibliography](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Appendix 1a >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhia.htm

Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

VISITATION STATISTICS

1977	297,189
1978	289,902
1979	272,416
1980	321,040
1981	351,815
1982	358,455
1983	443,286
1984	409,712
1986	408,634
1987	476,849
1988	555,689
1989	567,092
1990	563,823
1991	706,744
1992	584,960

1993	612,661
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[<<< Appendix](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Appendix 1b >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhia1a.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks

An Administrative History



SELECTED ANNUAL BUDGETS

1968	74,745
1974	215,500
1978	324,200
1979	451,900
1980	508,200
1981	653,000
1982	617,400
1983	742,000
1984	808,900
1986	835,600
1987	834,400
1988	860,150
1989	849,000
1990	929,020
1991	1,123,040
1992	1,089,470

1993

1,137,000

<<< [Appendix 1a](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Appendix 1c](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia1b.htm

Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

ROSTER OF FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES

1978

Supervisory Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III

Superintendent, Donald F. Gillespie

Chief, I&RM, Norman H. Davidson

Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson

Administrative Office, Charles Buck

Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf

Park Ranger (Grand Marais), Vacant

Park Ranger (Munising), Fred H. Young, III

Administrative Clerk, Shirley L. Lee

Eng. Equip. Operator, Peter W. Barrow

Roads & Trails Foreman, Verdene K. Lighty

Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman

Resource Mmgt. Specialist, Walter L. Loope

Motor Vehicle Operator, Wayne L. Brackenbury

Maintenance Worker, Vernon Kirkens

Maintenance Worker, Gary P. Vieth

1987

Administrative Clerk, Sandra J. Girard

Budget Assistant, Teri M. Perry

Park Ranger, Richard W. DuBall

Park Ranger, John P. Pavkovich

Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow

Maintenance Mechanic, Gary P. Vieth

Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley

Motor Vehicle Operator, Wallace J. Nesberg

Motor Vehicle Operator, David L. Bos

Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen

Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone

Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf

Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri

Resource Specialist, Walter L. Loope

Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed

Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane

Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III

Maintenance Worker, Vacant	Maintenance Worker, Brad P. Bradley	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	Custodial Worker, Donald W. Masters
Engineering Equipment Operator, Peter W. Barrow	Park Technician, Kim W. Watson Park Technician, Vacant	Roads & Trails Foreman, Guy S. Harrison	Park Ranger, Pamela J. Baker
Maintenance Worker, Verdene K. Lighty	Administrative Clerk, Brenda J. St. Martin	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow	1991
Maintenance Worker, Vernon M. Kirkens	Secretary, Deanna E. Brackenbury	Maintenance Mechanic, Vernon Kirkens	<hr/>
Maintenance Worker, James R. Lane	Motor Vehicle Operator, Jerry D. Secreast	Maintenance Worker, Gary P. Vieth	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen
Maintenance Worker, Alfred W. Schneider		Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley	Chief, I&VS, Ramon G. Brende
Clerk-Typist, Vacant	1983	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wallace J. Nesberg	Facility Manager, Chris V. Case
1979	<hr/>	Motor Vehicle Operator, David L. Bos	Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri
<hr/>	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Motor Vehicle Operator, David L. Bos	Research Ecologist, Walter L. Loope
Park Manager/ Superintendent, Donald F. Gillespie	Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone	Park Ranger, Richard W. DuBall	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed
Chief, I&RM, Norman H. Davidson	Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson	Park Ranger, Larry A. Kangas	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin
Park Ranger, (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson	Administrative Officer, Sarah E. Nightingale	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin	Park Ranger, A. Scot McElveen
Administrative Officer, Vacant	Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf	Budget Assistant, Sharon K. Barry	Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III
	Supervisory Park	Administrative Clerk, Sandra J. Girard	Park Ranger

Facility Manger, Robert O. Kempf	Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Clerk-Typist, Teri M. Dalgord	(Interpretive Specialist), Gregg L. Bruff
Park Ranger, (Munising), Frederick H. Young, III	Supervisory Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Motor Vehicle Operator, Jacob A. Rzanca	Park Ranger, John P. Pavkovich
Park Ranger, (Grand Marais), Robert A. Lanane	Roads & Trails Foreman, Verdene K. Lighty		Park Ranger, Pamela J. Baker
Engineering Equipment Operator, Peter W. Barrow	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	1988	Resource Management Trainee, Brian J. Kenner
Roads & Trails Foreman, Verdene K. Lighty	Resource Mmgt. Specialist, Walter L. Loope	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman
Building & Utilities Foreman, Vacant	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wayne L. Brackenbury	Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone	Purchasing Agent, Sandra J. Girard
Administrative Clerk, Shirley L. Lee	Maintenance Worker, Vernon Kirkens	Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf	Budget Assistant, Teri M. Perry
Clerk/Typist, Cynthia L. Bowyer	Maintenance Worker, Gary P. Vieth	Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow
Maintenance Worker, James R. Lane	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley	Resource Specialist, Walter L. Loope	Maintenance Mechanic, Gary P. Vieth
Maintenance Worker, Alfred W. Schneider	Park Technician, Kim W. Watson	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed	Maintenance Mechanic, Patrick M. Kelly
Maintenance Worker, Vernon M. Kirkens	Park Technician, Richard W. DuBall	Park Ranger (Interpretive Specialist) Gregg L. Bruff	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley
Lead Park Technician, A. Bundy Phillips	Administrative Clerk, Brenda J. St. Martin	Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wallace J. Nesberg
		Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Motor Vehicle Operator, David L. Bos

1980	Budget Assistant, Patricia M. Morrison	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	Custodial Worker, Donald W. Masters
Park Manger/ Superintendent, Donald F. Gillespie	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed	Roads & Trails Foreman, Guy S. Harrison	1992
Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone	Motor Vehicle Operator, John M. Brehm	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen
Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson		Maintenance Mechanic, Vernon Kirkens	Facility Manager, Chris V. Case
	1984	Maintenance Worker, Gary P. Vieth	Research Ecologist, Walter L. Loope
Administrative Assistant, Debra L. Takenaka		Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley	Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri
Facility Manger, Robert O. Kempf	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wallace J. Nesberg	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed
Supervisory Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone		Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin
Supervisory Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson	Motor Vehicle Operator, David L. Bos	
Administrative Clerk, Shirley L. Lee	Administrative Assistant, Sarah E. Nightingale	Custodial Worker, Donald W. Masters	Park Ranger (Interpretive Specialist), Gregg L. Bruff
Roads & Trails Foreman, Verdene K. Lighty	Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf	Park Ranger, Larry A. Kangas	Education Specialist, David B. Kronk
Engineering Equipment Operator, Peter W. Barrow	Supervisory Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Park Ranger, Richard W. DuBall	Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III
Buildings & Utilities	Supervisory Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin	Park Ranger, John P. Pavkovich
		Administrative Clerk,	Park Ranger, Timothy

Foreman, John J. Ochman	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow	Sandra J. Girard	K. Schad
Motor Vehicle Operator, Vacant	Roads & Trails Foreman, Verdene K. Lighty	Budget Assistant, Linda M. Barnett	Information Receptionist, Pamela J. Baker
Maintenance Worker, Vernon Kirkens	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	1989	Resource Management Specialist, Brian J. Kenner
Maintenance Worker, Vacant	Resource Mmgt. Specialist, Walter L. Loepe	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Maintenance Foreman, John J. Ochman
Clerk-Typist, Cynthia L. Bowyer	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed	Chief, I&VS, Ramon G. Brende	Maintenance Foreman, Patrick M. Kelly
Lead Park Technician, A. Bundy Phillips	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wayne L. Brackenbury	Facility Manager, Chris V. Case	Financial Assistant, Teri M. Perry
Park Technician, Vacant	Maintenance Worker, Vernon Kirkens	Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri	Purchasing Agent, Sandra J. Girard
Clerk-Typist, Brenda St. Martin	Maintenance Worker, Gary P. Vieth	Ecologist, Walter L. Loope	Personnel Clerk, Ruth M. Lindquist
Project Clerk-Typing, Vacant	Maintenance Worker, Wallace J. Nesberg	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow
1981	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin	Maintenance Mechanic, Gary P. Vieth
Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Park Technician, Kim W. Watson	Park Ranger (Interpretive Specialist), Gregg L. Bruff	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley
Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone	Park Technician, Richard W. DuBall	Park Ranger, William F. Van Cott	Maintenance Worker, Wallace J. Nesberg
Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson		Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Maintenance Worker, David L. Bos
		Buildings & Utilities	Custodial Worker,

Administrative Officer, Debra L. Takenaka	Administrative Clerk, Sherry L. Tunteri	Foreman, John J. Ochman	Donald W. Masters
Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin	Roads & Trails Foreman, Guy S. Harrison	1993
Supervisory Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Budget Assistant, Patricia M. Morrison	Administrative Clerk, Sandra J. Girard	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen
Supervisory Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Park Aid, Virginia M. Serr	Budget Assistant, Linda M. Barnett	Facility Manager, Chris V. Case
Engineering Equipment Operator, Peter W. Barrow	1986	Park Ranger, Richard W. DuBall	Chief, Visitor Services and Land Management, Larry D. Hach
Roads and Trails Foreman, Verdene K. Lighty	Superintendent, Grant A. Peters	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow	Chief Interpretation and Cultural Resources, Gregg L. Bruff
Buildings and Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	Chief I&RM, Deryl B. Stone	Maintenance Mechanic, Gary P. Vieth	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed
Administrative Clerk - Typing, Vacant	Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley	Administrative Officer, Sherry L. Tunteri
Motor Vehicle Operator, Wayne L. Brackenbury	Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wallace J. Nesberg	Education Specialist, David B. Kronk
Maintenance Worker, Vernon Kirkens	Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf	Motor Vehicle Operator, David L. Bos	West District Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young
Maintenance Worker, Gary Vieth	Supervisory Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Custodial Worker, Donald W. Masters	East District Park Ranger, Neil R. Korsmo
Maintenance Worker, Brad P. Bradley	Supervisory Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Park Ranger, Tonya J. Alexander	Resource Management Specialist, Brian J. Kenner

Park Technician, Timothy Tunison	Automotive Mechanic, Peter W. Barrow	Park Ranger, Paul J. Tremblay	Park Ranger, Timothy K. Schad
Park Technician, Kim W. Watson	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	1990	Park Ranger, John P. Pavkovich
Clerk-Typist, Brenda St. Martin	Roads & Trails Foreman, Guy S. Harrison		Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin
Clerk-Typist, Cynthia L. Bowyer	Resource Mmgt. Specialist, Walter L. Loope	Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Purchasing Agent, Sandra J. Girard
Project Clerk-Typing, Patricia M. Morrison	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed	Chief, I&VS, Ramon G. Brende	Financial Assistant, Mary Jo Cook
Motor Vehicle Operator, Jerry D. Secreast	Motor Vehicle Operator, Wayne L. Brackenbury	Facility Manager, Chris V. Case	Personnel Clerk, Ruth M. Lindquist
Maintenance Worker, Richard D. Heikkila	Maintenance Worker, Vernon Kirkens	Administrative Assistant, Sherry L. Tunteri	Information Receptionist, Pamela J. Baker
Park Technician, Judy M. Hall	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley	Ecologist, Walter L. Loope	Maintenance Foreman, John J. Ochman
1982	Park Ranger, Larry A. Kangas	Landscape Architect, Robert G. Reed	Maintenance Foreman, Patrick M. Kelly
Superintendent, Grant A. Petersen	Park Ranger, Richard W. DuBall	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin	Automotive Mechanic, William J. Magli
Chief, I&RM, Deryl B. Stone	Administrative Clerk, William A. Curtis	Park Ranger (Interpretive Specialist), Gregg L. Bruff	Maintenance Mechanic, Gary P. Vieth
Park Ranger (Naturalist), Bruce A. Peterson	Secretary, Brenda J. St. Martin	Park Ranger, A. Scot McElveen	Engineering Equipment Operator, Brad P. Bradley
Administrative Assistant, Sarah E. Nightingale		Park Ranger, Frederick H. Young, III	Maintenance Worker, Wallace J. Nesberg
		Resource Management	Maintenance Worker,

Facility Manager, Robert O. Kempf	Clerk-Typist, Teri M. Gage	Trainee, Brian J. Kenner	David L. Bos
Supervisory Park Ranger, Robert A. Lanane	Motor Vehicle Operator, Jacob A. Rzanca	Buildings & Utilities Foreman, John J. Ochman	Maintenance Worker, John G. Roberts
		Roads & Trails Foreman, Guy S. Harrison	Custodial Worker, Donald W. Masters

<<< [Appendix 1b](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Appendix 2a](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia1c.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL SEASHORE

* All photographs from Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore photographic collection, Grand Marais Maritime Museum, Grand Marais, Michigan



Pictured Rocks Cliffs



East End of Miners Beach



Miners Castle



Walter Loope and Grand Sable Dunes Research Natural Area

<<< [Appendix 1c](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Appendix 2b](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia2a.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL SEASHORE

* All photographs from Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore photographic collection, Grand Marais Maritime Museum, Grand Marais, Michigan



Recreational diving at Pictured Rocks



Miners Castle Overlook platform



Snowmobilers at the Munising Falls Interpretive Center



Backpackers: Brian and Tammy Hoduski

<<< [Appendix 2a](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Appendix 2c](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia2b.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

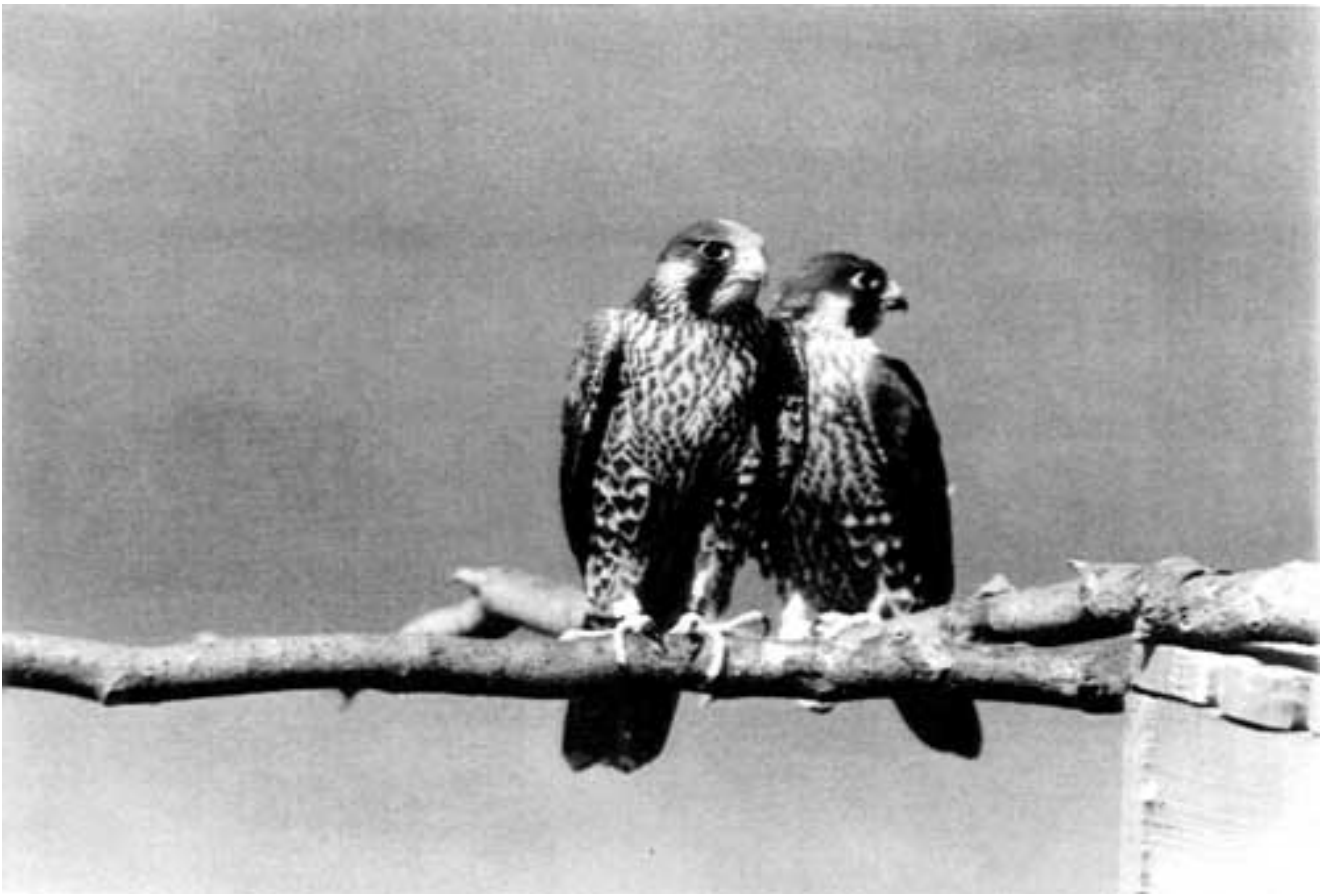
Pictured Rocks

An Administrative History



PHOTOGRAPHS OF PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL SEASHORE

* All photographs from Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore photographic collection, Grand Marais Maritime Museum, Grand Marais, Michigan



Peregrine falcon release, 1989



Dedication of the Interagency visitor center in Munising, 1988



Miners Falls



H-58 main access road to the lakeshore

<<< [Appendix 2b](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

[Appendix 2d](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia2c.htm
Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks



An Administrative History

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PICTURED ROCKS NATIONAL SEASHORE

* All photographs from Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore photographic collection, Grand Marais Maritime Museum, Grand Marais, Michigan



Deer feeding during Beaver Basin controversy



Grand Sable Light



Vern Kirkens rehabbing windows for Au Sable Light Station



Bill Mustatia, Twelvemile Beach campground

[<<< Appendix 2c](#)

[<<< Contents >>>](#)

[Appendix 3 >>>](#)

piro/adhi/adhia2d.htm

Last Updated: 05-Apr-2002

Pictured Rocks

An Administrative History



PUBLIC LAW 89-668

Public Law 89-668
89th Congress, H. R. 8678
October 15, 1966

AN ACT

To establish in the State of Michigan the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to preserve for the benefit, inspiration, education, recreational use, and enjoyment of the public a significant portion of the diminishing shoreline of the United States and its related geographic and scientific features, the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized to take appropriate action, as herein provided, to establish in the State of Michigan the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore.

Pictured Rocks
National Lakeshore,
Mich.
Establishment

SEC. 2. The area comprising that particular land and water depicted on the map identified as "Proposed Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Boundary Map, NL-PR-7100A, July 1966", which is on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, is hereby designated for establishment as the Pictured Rocks National lakeshore. An exact copy of such map shall be filed for publication in the Federal Register within thirty days following the date of enactment of this Act.

Publication in
Federal Register.

SEC. 3. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act and following the acquisition by the Secretary of an acreage within the boundaries of the area which in his opinion is efficiently administrable for the purpose of this Act, he shall establish the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore by publication of notice thereof in the Federal Register.

SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby established a Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore Advisory Commission. Said commission shall terminate ten years after the date the lakeshore is established pursuant to this Act.

Pictured Rocks
National Lakeshore
Advisory
Commission.

(b) The commission shall be composed of five members, each appointed for a term of two years by the Secretary, as follows:

- (1) Two members to be appointed from recommendations made by the county in which the lakeshore is situated;
- (2) Two members to be appointed from recommendations made by the Governor of the State of Michigan; and
- (3) One member to be designated by the Secretary.

(c) The Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman. Any vacancy in the commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(d) Members of the commission shall serve without compensation as such. The Secretary is authorized to pay the expenses reasonably incurred by the commission in carrying out its responsibilities under this Act on vouchers signed by the chairman.

(e) The Secretary or his designee shall, from time to time, consult with the commission with respect to the matters relating to the development of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore.

SEC. 5. In administering the lakeshore the Secretary shall permit hunting and fishing on lands and waters under his jurisdiction in accordance with the applicable laws of the United States and of Michigan. The Secretary, after consultation with the Michigan Department of Conservation, may designate zones and establish periods where and when no hunting shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, or public use and enjoyment. The Secretary shall, after consultation with such department, issue regulations consistent with this section, as he may determine necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

Hunting and fishing.

SEC. 6. (a) The administration, protection, and development of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, shall be exercised by the Secretary, subject to the provisions of this Act of August 25, 1966 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), as amended and supplemented, relating to the areas administered and supervised by the Secretary through the National Park Service; except that authority otherwise available to the Secretary for the conservation and management of natural resources may be utilized to the extent he finds such authority will further the purposes of this Act.

(b) In the administration, protection, and developments of the lakeshore, the Secretary shall prepare and implement a land and water use management plan, which shall include specific provisions for—

- (1) development of facilities to provide the benefits of public recreation, including a scenic shoreline drive;
- (2) protection of scenic, scientific, and historic features contributing to public enjoyment; and
- (3) such protection, management, and utilization (subject to the provisions of sections 9 and 10 of this Act) of renewable natural resources, including forage and forest products, as in the judgment of the Secretary is consistent with, and does not significantly impair public recreation and protection of scenic, scientific, and historic features contributing to public enjoyment.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as prohibiting any governmental jurisdiction in the State of Michigan from assessing taxes upon any interest in real estate retained under the provisions of section 11 of this Act to the owner of such interest.

SEC. 8. (a) The Secretary is authorized, subject to the limitations, conditions, and restrictions imposed by this Act, to acquire the land, water, and other property, and improvements thereon, and any interests therein (including easements) within the boundary described in section 2 of this Act by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, transfer from any Federal agency, exchange, or condemnation; except that such authority to acquire by condemnation shall be exercised only in the manner and to the extent specifically authorized in this Act.

(b) In exercising his authority to acquire property under this Act, the Secretary shall give immediate and careful consideration to any offer made by an individual owning property within the lakeshore to sell such property to the Secretary. In considering any such offer, the Secretary shall take into consideration any hardship to the owner which might result from any undue delay in acquiring his property.

(c) Any property or interests therein, owned by the State of Michigan, or any political subdivisions thereof, may be acquired only by donation. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any Federal property located within such area may, with the concurrence of the agency having custody thereof, be transferred without consideration to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary for use by him in carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(d) The Secretary shall make every reasonable effort to acquire property through negotiation and purchase. Where agreement is not reached and condemnation proceedings are filed, the owner of such property shall be paid the fair market value thereof as determined in such proceedings.

(e) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit the use of condemnation as a means of acquiring a clear and marketable title, free of any and all encumbrances.

(f) In exercising his authority to acquire property by exchange the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property within the area designated by Section 2 of this Act for inclusion in the lakeshore, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction with the State of Michigan which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchange either shall be approximately equal or, if they are not approximately equal, the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require.

SEC. 9. (a) The area hereinafter described in subsection (b) of this section is hereby established as an inland buffer zone in order to stabilize and protect the existing character and uses of the lands, waters, and other properties within such zone for the purpose of preserving the setting of the shoreline and lakes, protecting the watersheds and streams, and providing for the fullest economic utilization of the renewable resources through sustained yield timber management and other resource management compatible with the purposes of this Act.

Preservation of shoreline, etc.

(b) As used in this Act, the term "inland buffer zone" means that part of the lakeshore delineated as such on the map identified as "Proposed Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Boundary Map, NL-PR-7100A, July 1966". The Secretary shall file the map with the Office of the Federal Register, and it may also be examined in the Offices of the Department of the Interior.

Boundary map, filing with Federal Register.

SEC. 10. The Secretary shall be prohibited from acquiring by condemnation any (1) improved property within the inland buffer zone, or (2) property within the inland buffer zone during all times when, in his judgment, such property is being used (A) for the growing and harvesting of timber under a scientific program of selective cutting and forest management, or (B) for commercial purposes, if such commercial purposes are the same such purposes for which such property is being used on December 31, 1964, so long as the use of such improved or other property would further the purposes of this Act and such use does not impair the usefulness and attractiveness of the lakeshore.

(b) As used in this Act, the term "improved property" shall mean any one-family dwelling on which construction was begun before December 31, 1964, together with so much of the land on which the dwelling is situated (such land being in the same ownership as the dwelling) as shall be reasonably necessary for the enjoyment of the dwelling.

"Improved property."

SEC. 11. (a) Any owner or owners of improved property on the date of its acquisition by the Secretary may, as a condition to such acquisition, retain, for a term of not to exceed twenty-five years, or for a term ending at the death of such owner or owners, the right of use and occupancy of such property for any residential purpose which is not incompatible with the purposes of this Act or which does not impair the usefulness and attractiveness of the area designated for inclusion. The Secretary shall pay to the owner the value of the property on the date of such acquisition, less the value on such date of the right retained by the owner. Where any such owner retains a right of use and occupancy as herein provided, such right during its existence may be conveyed or leased for noncommercial residential purposes in accordance with the provisions of this section.

Noncommercial
residency provisions.

(b) Any deed or other instrument used to transfer title to property with respect to which a right of use and occupancy is retained under this section, shall provide that such property shall not be used for any purpose which is incompatible with purposes of this Act, or which impairs the usefulness and attractiveness of the lakeshore and if it should be so used, the Secretary shall have authority to terminate such right. In the event the Secretary exercises his power of termination under this subsection he shall pay to the owner of the right terminated an amount equal to the value of that portion of such right which remained unexpired on the date of such termination.

(c) Any land acquired by the Secretary under this Act on which there is situated a cottage or hunting lodge which, on December 31, 1964, was under lease to any lessee or lessees shall, if such lease is in effect on the date such land is so acquired, be acquired by the Secretary subject to such lease and the right of such lessee or lessees to continue using the property covered by such lease in accordance with the provisions thereof. Upon the expiration of such lease, the Secretary shall have the authority to enter into a lease with such lessee or lessees authorizing them to continue using such cottage or lodge (as the case may be) for a term of not to exceed twenty-five years, or for a term ending at the death of such lessee or lessees, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary.

SEC. 12. The Secretary shall, at the request of any township or county in or adjacent to the lakeshore affected by this Act, assist and consult with the appropriate officers and employees of such township or county in establishing zoning bylaws. Such assistance may include payments to the county or township for technical aid.

SEC. 13. The Secretary shall furnish to any interested person requesting the same a certificate indicating, with respect to any property which the Secretary has been prohibited from acquiring by condemnation in accordance with provisions of this Act, that such authority is prohibited and the reasons therefor.

SEC. 14. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated not more than \$6,873,000 for the acquisition of lands and interests inland in connection with and not more than \$6,348,000 for development of the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore.

Approved October 15, 1966.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 1896 (Comm. on Interior & Insular Affairs).

SENATE REPORT No. 1681 (Comm. on Interior & Insular Affairs).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 112 (1966):

Sept. 19: Considered and passed House.

Oct. 7: Considered and passed Senate, amended.

Oct. 10: House concurred in Senate amendment.

<<< [Appendix 2d](#)

<<< [Contents](#) >>>

piro/adhi/adhia3.htm

Last Updated: 19-Apr-2002







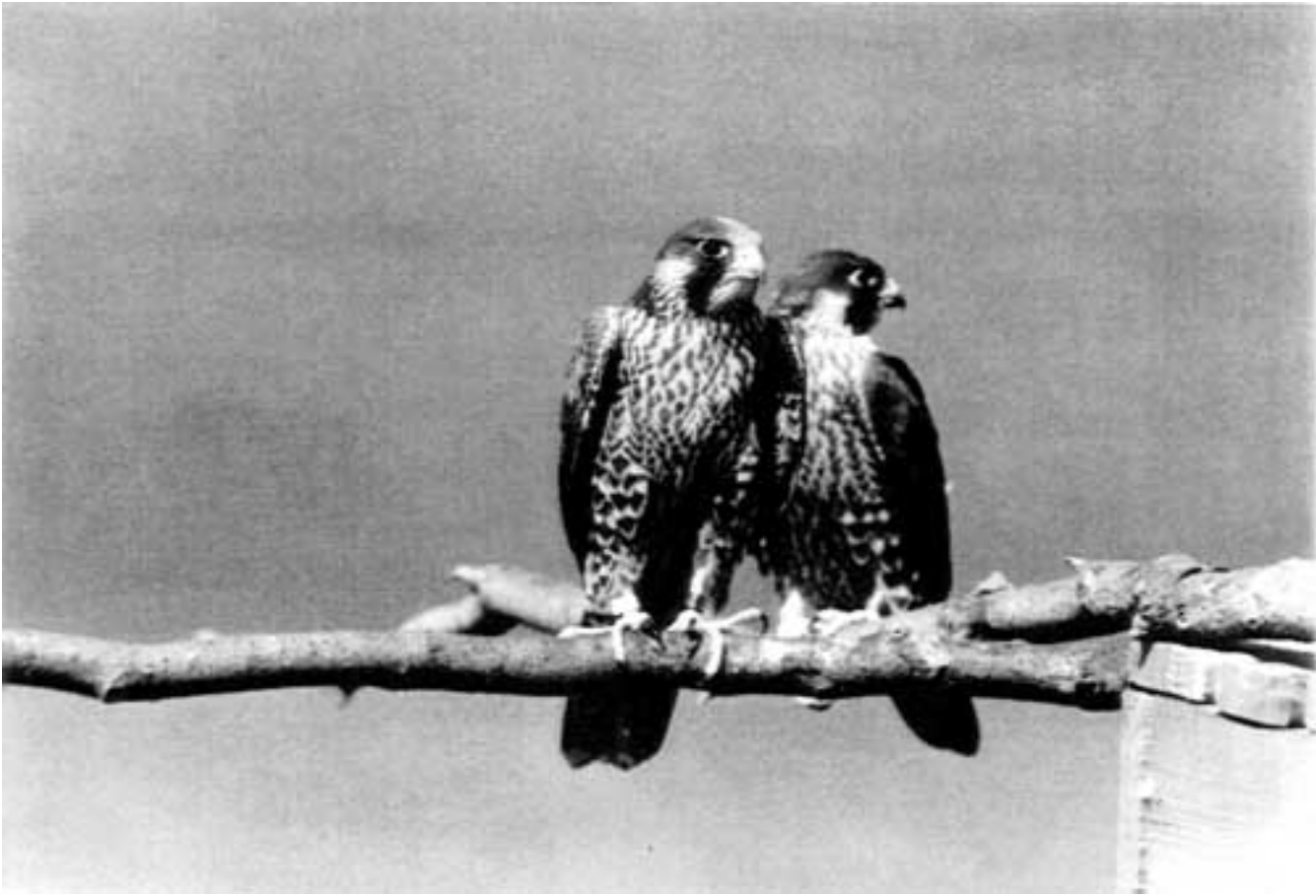






















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SAND POINTS, MICH.



