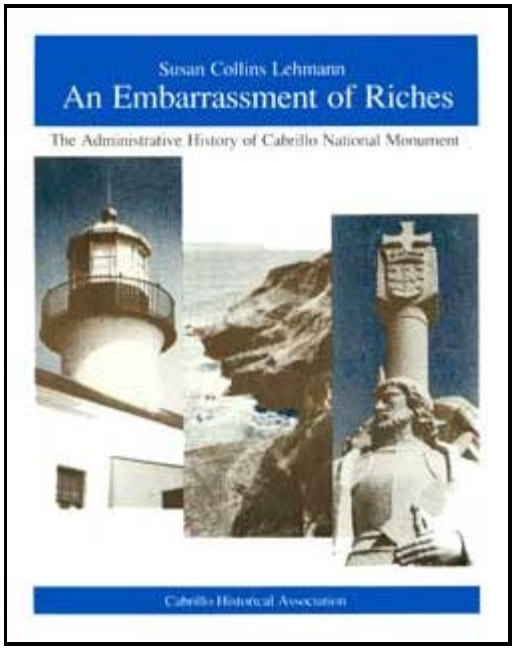
CABRILLO

Administrative History



AN EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES

The Administrative History of Cabrillo National Monument

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Cabrillo Historical Association

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INTRODUCTION

On October 14, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson issued proclamation establishing Cabrillo National Monument. This action came at the behest of a San Diego civic organization that wished to erect a "monumental statue" to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. The Spanish explorer, who had visited the area in 1542, was considered by Californians to be the discoverer of the state.

The monument site, located on the tip of Point Loma, was chosen not only for its proximity to the supposed landing place of Cabrillo but primarily for its magnificent view of the ocean and surrounding area. The half-acre plot also contained a nineteenth century lighthouse. Long abandoned, the structure was scheduled to be demolished to make way for the memorial.

When a reluctant National Park Service was given jurisdiction over the area twenty years later, the lighthouse still stood and plans for the grandiose memorial had been forgotten. For the understaffed, under-budgeted bureaucracy struggling to categorize and manage its various properties, Cabrillo National Monument presented formidable problems. More than one administrator has pointed out that it is a unique place whose commemorative significance is obscured and overwhelmed by its surroundings. When inherited by the Park Service, the area memorialized an event that had not even take place within its borders. At the same time, it contained a historic structure that bore no relationship to the monument's reason for existence. To complicate matters even more, the chief attraction for the local populace was the spectacular view.

As the monument expanded, administrative problems intensified. Each extension brought something new to be managed and interpreted to the public. Eventually included within its boundaries were an extensive tidepool ecosystem, intact remnants of the coastal fortifications from two world wars, and acres of native plant and wildlife. In addition, the monument had become known as the best place in Southern California to observe the annual gray whale migration. While this embarrassment of riches caused no problems for Cabrillo's millions of visitors, high level Park Service officials had great difficulty fitting the monument into the system's overall management plans.

Problems of administration have not been limited to managing Cabrillo's many attractions. The monument's superintendents have had, by necessity, to deal with the military establishment as well as their own bureaucracy. Surrounded by land first controlled by the Army, then the Navy, the monument was closed during World War II, and after the War some question remained if the area would ever be opened to the public again.

Unlike many National Park Service properties, Cabrillo has the distinction of being one of the first to operate in an urban environment. It's proximity to downtown San Diego and the fact that it was established through local instigation has made the monument an integral part of the community. In many instances, this has worked to its advantage. Pressure applied through the general public and local officials has, on more than one occasion, saved the area from permanent closure and resulted in boundary extensions and continuing appropriations.

This close association has had, however, its disadvantages as well. Administrators often have been drawn into local controversies and development plans have been created by community interests that, if implemented, could have been detrimental to the monument's broader mission.

As part of a larger government bureaucracy, Cabrillo has been subject to the problems, varying agendas and changes in philosophies that have occurred within that system. It is in dealing with the monument's diverse attributes and its uniqueness among National Park Service properties, however, that administrators have found their greatest challenge.

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CHAPTER I

Mission and Pueblo Lands

In late September 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed into the "very good enclosed port" that he called San Miguel. [1] The early Spanish explorers, however, were more concerned with discovering riches and establishing Spain's power on the seas than in founding colonies. Over 225 years would pass between Cabrillo's visit to the area, later renamed San Diego, and any serious attempt to begin a settlement in Southern California. Responding to the threat of Russian colonization along the northwest coast of America, Spain in 1768 began, for the first time, to give serious thought to protecting its interests in California. As a result, the Spanish king, Charles III, directed Jose de Galvez to organize both land and sea expeditions and establish settlements in Alta California in order to discourage encroachments by the Russians. Father Junipero Serra, head of the missions of Baja California, was chosen for one of the land expeditions accompanying Captain Gaspar de Portola. [2]

On July 16, 1769, Father Serra planted a cross and dedicated a small bushwood hut as the first Alta California mission, San Diego de Alcala. [3] The first in a chain of twenty-one, it was a continuation of the mission system already begun in Baja California. The missions were one of three institutions that determined the shape of the Spanish frontier in the New World. Under the Spanish system, settlements consisted of missions, self-sufficient stations where Indians were assembled to live and work under the direction of a missionary, presidios, garrisoned forts similar to the Army posts of the American West, and pueblos, agricultural towns established where royal policy dictated. In varying combinations these three agencies put their mark on what was later to become the state of California and influenced government and land policies for years to come. [4]

By the time of Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, the Spanish-Mexican settlers, called Californios, were challenging the mission system that prevented them from owning property. [5] In their original status under Spain and Mexico, the missions had been granted no lands. However, the government had refrained from granting to anyone else such lands as were needed by the missions and the amount of acreage that they controlled was vast. [6] The demand for secularization of the missions resulted in the order of 1833 which returned mission ranches to the national government of Mexico. On September 20, 1834, Mission San Diego, the mother mission of California, with its holdings of 3,000 square miles was transferred from the church to a commissioner from the government. The pueblo of San Diego, a settlement of four hundred and thirty four people, was organized in 1835. [7] Ten years later a survey and map of the pueblo lands were made by Henry D. Fitch, approved by Governor Pio Pico and countersigned by officials of the Mexican Government Land Department, thus completing the title. [8]

Subsequently, the United States and Mexico went to war over the issue of the independence and admission of Texas to the Union. The war ended in 1847 and in February 1848, a peace treaty was negotiated at the village of Guadalupe Hildalgo near Mexico City. [9] By virtue of this treaty, Mexico's northern boundary was drawn at the Rio Grande and Gila rivers and just

south of San Diego between Alta and Baja California. Most important for later land grant claims, the treaty also provided that the United States government would honor those titles to property previously recognized by Mexico. [10]

Point Loma — The City of San Diego vs. the United States

In 1848, a Joint Commission of Navy and Engineer Officers was formed by direction of President James K. Polk to examine the Pacific coast of the United States "with reference to points of defense, and occupation for the security and accommodation of trade and commerce, and for military and naval purposes." [11] The Commission arrived in San Diego in 1850 and reported that San Diego harbor was "remarkable" and a valuable acquisition to a coast where good harbors were rare. [12] Fortifications were recommended on Punta de Guijarros, also known as Ballast Point, which was seen as the best location for the defense of San Diego harbor. Of all the sites visited on the Pacific coast, only San Francisco, the Columbia River and San Diego received first class ratings indicating that the improvements should be built immediately. [13] Based on this report, the Secretary of War, made the following recommendation to President Millard Fillmore on February 24, 1852:

> Sir:
>
> I have the honor to recommend that the following tracts of land in California and Oregon, which have been selected for military purposes by the Joint Commission for the examination of the Pacific Coast, be accordingly reserved from sale or grant, viz:
>
> In California San Diego Harbor, to include that portion of the peninsula lying west to the entrance to the harbor, which shall be included between the southern-most end of the peninsula (Puent de Loma) [sic] and a line drawn across the peninsula from the harbor to the ocean at the distance of one and a half miles above Punta de Guiranos [sic]....
>
> Very respectfully,
> Your obedient servant
> (Signed) C.M. Conrad
> Secretary of War [14]

The recommendation was approved and the land set aside by Presidential Proclamation on February 26, 1852. Transfer of the land to the government was to not to be made automatically, however. When members of the City Council of San Diego received notification of the Proclamation, they declared it an illegal act claiming that the United States government could not seize the land as public domain. According to the Council's interpretation, all of Point Loma was part of the Pueblo lands as defined in the Fitch map of 1845. The land was so transferred, they argued, when San Diego became part of the United States and was further confirmed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. [15]

When California became a state on September 9, 1850, pressure had mounted to settle the Mexican claims as American squatters moved in and challenged titles to the land. [16] In an attempt to solve the problem, Congress set up a commission in 1851 to settle these claims. The city submitted its case to this commission and on February 14, 1853 the claim to the Pueblo of San Diego (No. 589) was filed. [17]

The claim was heard on Jan. 22, 1856, and judgement reached: "In the case of the President and trustees of the City of San Diego vs. the United States, the Board of Commissioners for the settlement of land titles in California decreed that the title to the lands of Point Loma was

vested in the City of San Diego." [18] As was usually the case when land grant claims were decided against the government, the decision was appealed to Federal Court. On June 8, 1857, Judge Hoffman for the Southern District of California on the motion of the United States District Attorney, dismissed the appeal and confirmed the findings of the Commission thus making it final. [19] The following year the City Council ordered a survey and map made of the Pueblo Lands of San Diego which was accepted and registered by the United States Government Surveyor General. [20] According to law, then, the city had undisputed title to Point Loma.

Several years later, however, the Army renewed its interest in fortifying San Diego Harbor. In a report issued May 31, 1867, the Board of Engineers for the Pacific Coast once again recommended Ballast Point as the preferred site for fortifications. [21] And once again the Commissioner of the General Land Office reported that in his opinion the land in question "is private property belonging to the City of San Diego." [22] He suggested in a letter to General Barton Alexander, Chief of Engineers of the Military Division of the Pacific dated August 15, 1867, that Alexander apply to the City of San Diego for a grant of land to be used for defensive purposes. [23]

San Diego was by now moving from a sleepy pueblo into a place with serious hopes of becoming a western terminus for the transcontinental railroad—the Southern California equivalent of San Francisco. The first edition of the *San Diego Union* expressed the hopes of its citizens that:

> We...may see the waters of our bay fretting beneath the burdens of heavy commerce—to hear the shrill whistle of the iron horse...to see our bay surrounded by mammoth manufacturing and mercantile houses, princely residences, domes and spires of churches and schools of learning—the streets teeming with prosperous and industrious people, and our lovely valleys lifting to our genial skies flowers and fruits, in tints as varied and gorgeous as our incomparable sunsets. [24]

As part of this scenario, the city officials also envisioned San Diego as an important military post. Therefore, when application was made to formally convey to the government the southern portion of Point Loma for the building of fortifications and to establish a naval depot and harbor, the City Trustees were now happy to comply. [25]

On August 10, 1868, the city deeded to the United States Government, Point Loma lots 1 to 26 inclusive but not including lots 12, 18, and 26 which had passed into private ownership. [26] The deeded land was approximately the same area originally set aside as a military reservation by the Presidential Proclamation of 1852 with the exception of the excluded lots. The matter might have ended there except for the fact that the Ballast Point, the land that the Army needed for its fortifications, was lot 12, one of those not included in the deed. [27]

Meanwhile, in the absence of military activity, whaling companies had begun their seasonal operations on Ballast Point. In January of 1870, General George H. Thomas, commanding the Pacific Military Division, wrote to the Secretary of War voicing his concerns about the "landgrabbers and others" [28] who were attempting to dispossess the government of its land and suggesting the Army take possession of Ballast Point. His plan was approved and on March 7 he ordered all persons not government employees to vacate the land. [29]

General Alexander, for his part, pressed forward with his claim that the land in question belonged to the government. In a letter to the Chief of Engineers on January 25, 1870, he stated his opinion that since there was once a fort at this location, the Mexican government had intended it to be a military reserve and should therefore be considered as such when the

United States took possession. His interpretation neglected to the mention the fact that the fort had been abandoned since 1835. [30] Commissioner Joseph S. Wilson of the land office was requested by Alexander to reverse his previous opinion that Point Loma belonged to the City of San Diego thereby invalidating its right to subdivide and sell land to private parties. On August 8, 1870, Wilson, citing not legal evidence but "representation made by eminent military authorities," [31] reconsidered his position and stated that the title "is in the United States as successor to the Mexican Government." [32]

The new decision was affirmed by the Secretary of the Interior on January 31, 1872, and the Surveyor General altered his map to exclude all land south of a reservation line, one and one half miles north of Ballast Point. When a patent on its Pueblo lands was finally issued to the City of San Diego on April 10, 1874, these boundaries were used, thus excluding the southern end of Point Loma. [33] The hapless souls who held title to the disputed lots continued to be assessed and pay taxes on them as late as 1883. If a claimant to a lot undertook to improve it, however, he was warned by a government guard to desist. Should the claimant not heed the warning, the guard was under instruction to call on military authorities at the San Diego barracks for assistance. [34]

Lt. John H. Weeden, of the Board of Engineers, who was sent to San Diego to make preliminary preparations for the construction of the battery on Ballast Point, gave his opinion on the rightful ownership of Point Loma in a letter to Colonel R. S. Williamson of the Army Corps of Engineers. On August 20, 1874, he wrote:

> The foregoing abstracts contain the salient points of all the documents, with their dates referring to the matter, which are in our possession. If you my dear Colonel, can tell whether the land belongs to the United States or to the City of San Diego, you are a better lawyer than I. Although I incline to the opinion that, whatever may be the law of the case, the government has not the shadow of a claim in equity. [35]

The legalities of the situation seemed not to have concerned the Army, however, which apparently considered the matter settled. Col. Williamson, in forwarding the information to the Chairman of the Lighthouse Board, summed up the situation of 1874 when he wrote: "Whether the title to the land in question is in the Government or not, the Government has military possession of it, and have commenced the erection of a fort there." [36] If possession is nine-tenths of the law, then the law was obviously on the side of the United States Army.

Point Loma and the Military

Interest in fortifying Point Loma did not originate with the United States Army. Cabrillo had noted in 1542 that the harbor of San Miguel, later renamed San Diego, was "a very good enclosed port." [37] Sebastian Viscaino, sent to explore the coast of California in 1602, was similarly impressed and reported in his log that San Diego Bay "must be the best to be found in all the South Sea, for besides being protected on all sides and giving good anchorage, it is in latitude 33 1/4°." [38]

Just as the Spanish gave little thought to colonizing Southern California until the 1700's, they also found no reason to fortify the port of San Diego until late in that century. At that time, British, Russian and American activity in the north called attention to the vulnerability of the Spanish claims to California. A dispute with Britain over fur trading activities resulted in a treaty between Britain and Spain in 1790. To oversee Spanish compliance with the treaty, the British sent Captain George Vancouver of the British Royal Navy to the Pacific. During the course of his travels he visited California three times, one of those visits being to San Diego

in November of 1794. [39] In writing of the situation there, he observed:

> The Presidio of San Diego seemed to be the least of the Spanish establishments.... With little difficulty it might be rendered a place of considerable strength, by establishing a small force at the entrance of the port; where at this time there are neither works, guns, houses or other habitation nearer than the Presidio, five miles from the port and where they have only three small pieces of brass cannon. [40]

Diego de Borica, appointed governor of California in 1794, became increasingly aware of the threat to California as British fur trading activity increased, despite the treaty, and rumors of an imminent British invasion spread. A state of war existed between Spain and France at the time and the Russians had also begun encroaching into Spanish territory. Responding to this combination of circumstances and acknowledging that the Spanish presidios had been set up to counter Indian attacks, not to repel any major invasions, the Spanish began to bring in reinforcement troops and to mount additional guns. As part of this effort, work was begun on a fort at Punta De Los Guijarros in 1797. [41] The Presidio provided brick and tile for construction while other materials and workmen were brought in from Monterey and Santa Barbara. [42] Little is known about the precise configuration of the fort. Historical descriptions differ and all that can be said from remaining archaeological evidence is that a formidable eighteenth century Spanish fortress once existed on that part of Point Loma now known as Ballast Point. [43]

In 1803, an incident occurred involving Ft. Guijarros and the Yankee brig *Lelia Byrd.* After engaging in some contraband dealings with the local inhabitants, the ship was seized and put under armed guard. Having overpowered the Spaniards, the crew raised anchor and attempted an escape at which point the the fort opened fire. [44] The brig returned the fire with her six three-pounders and continued the engagement for about an hour with no serious damage on either side. [45]

Except for this incident, knowledge of the the activities of the fort is limited and it is difficult to separate actual events from local legend. [46] By 1839 the fort had fallen into disrepair and in 1840 the remnants of the fort were sold to Juan Machado, a local landowner, for $40. [47]

American interest in fortifying San Diego harbor with Point Loma as a base had begun immediately after California statehood It was during this period that the dispute between the City of San Diego and the United States government over the ownership of Point Loma was played out through land grant hearings and in the Federal Courts. Though the military had argued for the building of fortifications in San Diego for over twenty years, the vagaries of politics prevented any appropriations for the project until 1874 when $50,000 was allocated by Congress for that purpose. [48] By that time, the land title question had been settled, at least to the satisfaction of the Army.

Work began in 1874 on earthen seacoast batteries for fifteen guns of the largest caliber to protect the harbor. [49] By the time the money ran out the following year, an 80-foot wharf, a stable, a stone house and carpenter shop had been constructed and the site for a battery had been cleared. From 1875 to 1890 Congress made no more appropriations for seacoast defense and the unfinished site sat unused with only a watchman hired to maintain the property. [50]

The turn of the century brought a change of political philosophy in the United States and, as the country became involved in expansionist foreign policy, more emphasis was placed on military preparedness. [51] Projects which had been postponed for decades became high priorities and providing proper defense for the West Coast achieved new significance. As a

result, in January 1897, construction on what was to become Ft. Rosecrans began in earnest.

Emplacements for two 10-inch seacoast guns on disappearing carriages were built during the next several years and a third emplacement was completed in February 1898. [52] In April of that year, Capt. J. J. Meyler, engineer officer in charge of construction, received orders to organize a corps of 120 volunteer citizens to mine San Diego harbor. Approximately 80 men —carpenters, electricians, civil engineers, surveyors, boiler-makers, steam engineers, boatmen, mechanics and a few soldiers from the local Engineer battalion—responded to the call. They placed fifteen electrically controlled mines in the channel each weighing between 1,000 and 1,800 pounds. The minefield was protected by two smooth-bore muzzle loaders of Civil War vintage and was patrolled by the Revenue Cutter Corwin. [53]

Construction of fortifications continued through 1900 during which time Batteries Wilkinson, McGrath and Fetterman were completed. From 1901 to 1904 post buildings were erected of both frame construction and brick. The post was officially designated Fort Rosecrans by the Adjutant General's Office in 1899 in honor of Major General William S. Rosecrans, United States Army.

The first detachment of soldiers, Battery D, 3rd Artillery, arrived at the fort in early February 1898. From that time through World War I, the garrison was active in training soldiers, patrolling the Mexican border, housing and interning military prisoners and training the California National Guard. Fort Rosecrans was placed on caretaker status in 1922 because of manpower needs overseas and was reactivated in 1941 with the advent of World War II. As part of these wartime activities, Battery Ashburn, which consisted of two 16-inch guns in casemates, was built just north of the Old Lighthouse that had been designated as Cabrillo National Monument. The battery was completed on Aug. 26, 1943.

With the close of the war, Fort Rosecrans was once again placed on caretaker status and its armament stripped. Though headquarters for Army Reserve components in San Diego are still located there, the reservation was transferred to the Navy Department on July 1, 1959. [54]

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CHAPTER II

On Friday, September 26, 1913, San Diego's foremost citizens together with military officers, United States senators, a representative of the President of the United States, the Spanish ambassador, and the lieutenant governor of California all gathered at the site of an abandoned lighthouse on Point Loma to honor Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the Spanish explorer credited with the discovery of California. In the colorful, if slightly inaccurate rhetoric of the day, the event was described in the *San Diego Union:*

> The first great day of the Carnaval Cabrillo is over. The site on Point Loma on which a monument to the memory of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, founder of San Diego, will rise has been dedicated to its holy purpose by the lieutenant governor of the Golden State, in behalf of the governor, representing all the people. For the first time in generations the voice of the king of the Spaniards was heard again officially, when Senor Juan Riano y Gayangos, special envoy of his royal highness, expressed his thanks in behalf of his king and his nation for the honor paid to one of that nation's greatest sons. [1]

Though Cabrillo was virtually unknown in Spain [2], he may or may not have actually set foot on the soil of what was to become San Diego and would later be credited with having been the first white man to see the West coast of the United States rather than having discovered California, [3] the spirit of the times if not historical precision was captured for the celebration.

The event, as evidenced by the dignitaries who took part, was no minor local phenomenon. It occurred as part of several movements which were growing not only in San Diego and California but on a national level as well. The monument movement, which was gaining strength nationally, California's rediscovery of its Spanish heritage, and the effort of San Diego to capitalize on tourism all played a part in the gala event on September 26. [4]

The Monument Movement

Though it is relatively easy to trace a piece of legislation or the history of a presidential proclamation, it is more difficult to speak of the origin of a particular idea or movement. The "monument movement" was neither an isolated phenomenon nor an immensely popular idea but rather a manifestation of the growing awareness among some Americans of their natural and cultural heritage.

In a country as new as the United States with seemingly endless resources, the ideas of conservation and preservation did not interest a majority of people in the middle of the nineteenth century. Especially in the West, where development and expansion were the primary concern, the notion of the government setting aside vast tracts of land and closing them to private use was not particularly welcome. Yet it was at the instigation of a group from California, a state noted for its land speculation schemes, that the first important piece of legislation concerning conservation was initiated. [5]

A bill which set aside and protected a huge tract of land in the Sierras that included the Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Big Trees was successfully lobbied through Congress by a group of Californians led by landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. On June 25, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln signed the bill into law thereby creating Yosemite State Park. No legislation on this scale had ever been passed by Congress and though it was the first official recognition of a developing interest in preservation of the nation's natural resources, it did not represent a groundswell of popular support. Ironically, it was Senator Cole of California who more accurately voiced the opinion of the majority when he opposed a later bill introduced by Congress in 1872 to set aside 2 million acres of land in the Yellowstone region of the Montana territory: "I do not see the reason or propriety of setting apart a large tract of land of that kind in the Territories of the United States for a public park." [6]

In spite of the opposition, the lobbying efforts of a small, dedicated and influential group of men were successful in getting the Yellowstone Act passed and signed into law by President Ulysses S. Grant on March 1, 1872. [7]

At the same time the national parks were being established, another separate, though related movement was under way. [8] Appalled by the plunder of the Southwestern cliff dwelling and pueblo ruins, archaeologists and scientists began a concerted effort to acquire government protection of these artifacts from vandals and pot hunters. As a result of their efforts, the Antiquities Act was signed into law on June 8, 1906. [9] An important provision of the act stated:

> That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected.... [10]

The discretionary power which the Act gave to the President, as well as a liberal interpretation of the type of property which could be declared a monument, resulted over the years in a conglomeration of areas including "battlefields, forts, mountains, canyons, cliffs, glaciers, sand dunes, islands, caves, deserts, trees, cacti, birthplaces of famous men, church missions and homesteads..." all being named national monuments. [11]

This loose interpretation of the Antiquities Act would ultimately make it possible for a local San Diego organization to obtain permission from the government to erect a monument to Cabrillo on War Department property. That the local citizenry should choose to honor a Spanish explorer has a great deal to do not only with the city's past, but with a new emphasis that Californians were placing on their early heritage.

California — a Rediscovery of the Past

After the initial frenzy of the gold rush days of 1848 and 1849 was over, Californians began, in a conscious manner, to build a culture. Unlike the settlers of other Western regions whose survival needs superseded their ability to create the amenities of civilization, Californians were able to quickly create the type of culture that often takes generations to evolve in less fortunate places. This was largely due to the state's mild climate, immense natural resources and most important, the wealth brought from gold. San Francisco, which developed almost overnight from a village to a major metropolitan center, exhibited by the late 1850's all the accoutrements of an established city, including newspapers and publishing companies, opera houses, schools, churches and libraries. These institutions did not reflect the Spanish and

Mexican cultures which had developed in California before the coming of the Americans. Rather they displayed the tastes, ideas and perceptions that the new settlers, primarily educated men and women from the east and midwest, brought with them. [12]

A small but vocal group of California thinkers and writers in the 1870's began to remind Californians of their Spanish roots. In 1871, Judge Elisha W. Mckinstry told the Society of California Pioneers that something simple and precious had been lost in the passing of old California while the new California was pretentious and vulgar by comparison. In the same vein, Elizabeth Hughes, writing in 1875, contrasted the ostentation of San Francisco's Nob Hill, an example of what she believed to be the vulgarity and materialism American architecture, with the simple dignity of mission buildings. [13]

The "cow counties" of Southern California, which had lagged behind San Francisco and central California in population and business growth until the 1870's, soon became the focus of this emphasis on the Spanish past. With the publishing of Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona* in 1884, the romanticizing of California's early history reached its peak. Mrs. Jackson, a native of Massachusetts, was smitten with the romance of the mission era after several visits to Southern California beginning in 1881. [14] Conceived as a kind of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of Indian life, the book was most effective in creating the legend of an idyllic mission era, presided over by humble and beneficent Spanish friars. *Ramona* became one of the most widely read books of its time and inspired thousands of eastern tourists to make pilgrimages on newly established railroad lines to "Ramona's marriage place," "Ramona's school" and even the bed where Ramona slept. All were thoughtfully provided by entrepreneurs eager to attract the hordes of people traveling to Southern California in search of "Ramona's land." [15]

In spite of the fact that this interest in California's Spanish beginnings was based on a history that was spurious at best, the Ramona mania did have the effect of bringing the attention of the public to the disreputable state to which the California mission buildings had fallen. Spurred by the popular interest in this cause, the Association for the Preservation of the Missions (later to be known as the Landmarks Club) was organized in 1888 under the leadership of Charles Fletcher Lummis. [16]

Lummis, who disdained the sentimental image of California portrayed in *Ramona*, provided much of the impetus for promotion of what he believed was the true Spanish nature of California's past. Like many of Southern California's early boosters, Lummis was a transplanted Easterner. Harvard educated, with a flair for the dramatic as well as the historical, the self-styled "Don Carlos" ate Southwestern food, wore a green corduroy suit cut in the Spanish style, a frilled shirt, broad brimmed hat and Navajo jewelry. As editor of the publication *Land of Sunshine* (called *Out West* after 1902), [17] he turned his considerable energies toward making Americans in general and Californians in particular aware and appreciative of their Spanish heritage. *Land of Sunshine*, subsidized at first by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, published numerous articles by authorities on Old California and Southwest culture. Using the monthly editorial column, "The Lion's Den" as his pulpit, Lummis extolled the virtues of California's early landmarks, in particular the decaying missions, and solicited financial aid from his readers for his preservation efforts. [18]

He sought local support for his projects as well, as is evidenced by his letter to the editor of the *San Diego Sun* on Oct. 27, 1899:

> My dear Sir:
>
> Early in the summer the Landmarks Club inaugurated repairs to preserve the ruins of the San Diego Mission by sending $100 from its treasury. The San

> Diego committee (Geo. W. Marston, Chairman) raised $115 and this money has been very economically applied. Today I send another $100 and hope the San Diego people will again meet us half way. We will undertake to lead just as long as they will catch up with us. It would be a reproach to all California if the Mother Mission went to decay, as it will be very soon unless protected, and to San Diego, not only that, but a distinct loss in dollars and cents.
>
> Chas. F. Lummis [19]

This sentiment was vigorously seconded by an editorial in the *San Diego Union* which pointed out the tourist value to Southern California of the structures. In addition: "...aside from the purely practical view, their preservation demanded a nobler sentiment. It will be a lasting disgrace to permit these historic structures to become unsightly ruins." [20]

San Diego—1897-1915 — Selling the Past

The idea of capitalizing on its past for the benefit of tourists was not a new idea in San Diego. The city, like the rest of the state and the country and was subject to the economic booms and busts of the 1880's and 1890's. Having reached a population peak of 35,000 in 1888, the number was cut by more than half to only 16,000 in 1889. Caught in what seemed like an indefinite holding pattern, city fathers sought ways for San Diego to get its share of Southern California-bound tourists. [21]

In 1892, prompted by Walter G. Smith, newspaper editor of *The Sun*, local officials attempted to promote the area by sponsoring a celebration to commemorate Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo's discovery of San Diego Bay in 1542. Such an occasion, they believed, would enable San Diego to establish itself as the birthplace of Alta California. [22]

The three-day celebration beginning on September 28 was an elaborate one financed by businessmen and the city government, and it attracted thousands of spectators. Though marred by technical difficulties including the stranding of replicas of Cabrillo's caravels 300 yards from shore by the receding tide and the dousing of a group of spectators when a pier collapsed, [23] the event was good naturedly declared a success. In spite of the optimism of its promoters, the Cabrillo celebration did not, unfortunately, put San Diego on the map as a tourist mecca. Except for a repeat performance in 1894, [24] the idea of a Cabrillo celebration was not revived until 1913 when it became part of the advance promotion for the Panama-California Exposition of 1915. It was the planning, execution and promotion of this exposition that most firmly established San Diego's Spanish connection and made it a permanent part of the city's identification and heritage.

Still searching for the attention-getter that would help San Diego fulfill its destiny as a great city, local businessmen believed they had found a golden opportunity with the building of the Panama Canal, scheduled to be completed in 1915. In order to call attention to San Diego's potential as a principal port in the new Atlantic-Pacific sea trade, local banker G. Aubrey Davidson suggested at a Chamber of Commerce meeting on July 9, 1909, that the city sponsor an international exposition in City Park timed to coincide with the completion of the Canal. [25] The plans "started ambitiously," according to Julius Wangenheim, one of the promoters. "with the goal of a whole million dollars, the largest amount our minds could grasp at that time, and one that was almost synonymous with infinity." [26] On Sept 4, 1909, the Articles of Incorporation were filed to establish the Panama-California Exposition Company with the purpose of operating a world's fair in 1915. [27]

The plans were in danger of being short-circuited almost immediately when San Francisco announced on December 7, 1909, that it too planned to hold a Panama Pacific Exposition in

1915. Doubting San Diego's ability to challenge such formidable competition, a movement began to quash the exposition, but the Director General, Charles Collier, convinced the opposition that though a new strategy was called for, the exposition should proceed as planned. [28] The directors decided to modify their plans for a world's fair and instead aimed for a smaller regional exhibition which would complement rather than compete with the larger one in San Francisco. Collier envisioned an exposition in keeping with the history and culture of Southern California and wished to create a miniature city with buildings in the style of the missions in contrast to the neo-Roman beaux arts extravaganza planned for the North. The exhibits, rather than worldwide in scope, would feature the products and arts of the Southwest, Spain and Latin America. In endorsing this idea, San Diego joined the rest of Southern California in making the Spanish and Mexican occupation of the area something to be exploited as a tourist attraction rather than a connection to be concealed. [29]

The Panama-California directors had agreed that "Spanish Mission" architecture would be the style of the exposition and the San Diego Buildings and Grounds Committee had chosen a local architect, Irving Gill to design the buildings. However, New York City architect Bertram Goodhue, who had build a national reputation for his ornate "Spanish Colonial" style, became interested in the project. He lobbied the directors to become the "advisory and consulting architect" and eventually Gill was maneuvered out of his job. As a result, plans for a simple mission style were replaced by the more fanciful and elaborate Churrigueresque buildings for which Goodhue was known. The Spanish connection remained, however, though executed in a style that was a bit more grandiose than originally planned. [30]

The Order of Panama — Promoting the Image

Activities to promote the planned exposition began on July 19, 1911 with the groundbreaking ceremonies. Not content with leaving publicity for the proceedings to the Chamber of Commerce and other established civic groups, the exposition's number one booster, Charles Collier, began an organization called the Order of Panama whose chief purpose was to "...establish marks of recognition all over the city and the bay that will perpetuate the deeds of the Spanish." [31]

The organization, which held its first meeting in January 1912 with 115 members, claimed 500 by September of that year. [32] Somewhat of a cross between a civic booster group and a fraternal order, the organization set out immediately with lavish plans for projects which would call attention to the Spanish nature of the upcoming exposition. These projects included the erection of a cross near the site of the original San Diego Mission, a statue to Balboa in the newly renamed Balboa Park, and a 150 foot statue of Cabrillo on Point Loma. Only one of these projects, the Serra cross, was ever completed though preliminary work was done for all of them and all the sites were dedicated with a great deal of accompanying pomp and circumstance.

The organization's articles of incorporation, adopted on October 1, 1912, called for expansion into neighboring states as well as Latin American countries. However, there is no evidence that the Order of Panama ever extended beyond the borders of San Diego. [33] In an attempt to enlist the aid of the city's women, the Order "proclaimed equal suffrage as part of a booster program" with the promise of "a women's auxiliary in the near future"—another plan which apparently never came to fruition. [34]

Though not all the anticipated projects were completely successful, each was begun with a great amount of energy and enthusiasm and put in the charge of a committee headed by a prominent member. The committee that had "undertaken the work of building an Heroic Statue of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the discoverer of California," [35] was chaired by Judge Ernest Riall. In a letter to the Secretary of War dated April 29, 1913, Riall explained the

purpose of the project and the choice of location:

> When Cabrillo sailed into San Diego Bay on the 28th of September, 1542; Point Loma was the first land sighted, and as the building of this Statue is a work of both National and Inter-National importance, we believe the most suitable place for it is on Point Loma; and as Point Loma, or that portion where it is proposed to erect the Statue is Government property and a Military Reservation, the first step necessary is to secure the consent of the War Department. [36]

Riall then proceeded to explain that permission to use the land would not conflict with the rights of the Light House Board since the lighthouse on the land requested "was long ago abandoned."

In the ensuing nine months, at the end of which time permission for the project was formalized by a presidential proclamation, the request was shifted from office to office within the government. By the time it reached the President on October 10, 1913, the file contained a sheaf of memos and twenty-four endorsements from various government agencies.

The trek through bureaucratic channels began with an endorsement of the request by the office of the Chief of Coast Artillery which registered "no military objection to erecting a statue on the site proposed." [37] Forwarded then to the the Judge Advocate General on May 8, he rendered an opinion that

> The monument would be a permanent structure which would contemplate a permanent occupation of a portion of the reservation used and therefore, which in the absence of legislative authority from Congress, could not properly be authorized either by revocable license or lease under the Act of July 28, 1892. [38]

It is here that the Antiquities Act of 1906 came into play. Though it was not possible to legally grant a license or lease for the land requested, the Judge Advocate General said that: "In the opinion of this office the President may, under the broad authority conferred by this statute [Section 2 of the Act of Congress of June 8, 1906, (34 Stat. 225), set aside a sufficient area of this reservation, as a site for the proposed monument." [39] Though the erection of a 150-foot statue was perhaps far removed from the purpose of the legislation designed to protect cultural artifacts, a broad interpretation of the act worked to the ultimate benefit of the Order of Panama.

The proposal was then forwarded to the Major William C. Davis, Commanding Officer of Fort Rosecrans, for approval of the site selected. Davis voiced his concerns about the original spot chosen for the project, a point three hundred feet south of the old light house. This area, he believed, might "possibly be required as a site for...additional armament" at a later date. [40] After meeting with the some members of the committee, an alternate site was chosen: "... the site of the Old Lighthouse—and that the grounds in connection therewith be the plot included within the loop made by the Boulevard around the Lighthouse." A provision also agreed upon concerned the military's need for a radio signal station and a latrine at the site of the lighthouse:

> Regarding this the Committee state that they would so design the pedestal of the monument (to be of re-enforced concrete) that there would be room for a gas engine, for attendants, wireless set, etc. in the base, and (above) room for a lookout and a tank for water storage—all included with the pedestal. This would also include a latrine for the operators, but it is thought that a latrine for the public use should be built in accordance with the Q.M. specifications. [41]

One can only imagine the lack of enthusiasm that must have greeted the sub-committee when it reported to the chairman that it had agreed to let the military install a radio tower and latrine in the Order's "towering monument to Cabrillo." [42] In any event, Chairman Riall composed a hasty letter explaining that "after due deliberation by the whole committee it was decided that it would be inappropriate to place a Radio Station or Latrine within the pedestal." [43] The reason given was that the committee planned "...to construct the base or pedestal of the State as a sepulcher for the bones of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo; expert search is now being made on the Island of San Miguel, with every assurance of success in finding his remains." Riall concluded: "the Committee objects to a Radio Station in the base of the monument for the reason, that in the event of war, the Statue would become a target for the enemy." [44] Apparently swayed by the committee's reasoning, Davis reported to the Commanding General, Western Department that after reviewing the site with the Secretary of War, he had reached the conclusion that since "...it is not practicable to provide in the pedestal accommodations for a radio party, these can and should be provided elsewhere." [45]

Minor wrangling continued between Davis and his superiors about the relative cost of retaining the lighthouse as a radio station and building a new structure. [46] Davis defended his position of allowing the committee to go forward with its plans to demolish the lighthouse and erect their statue on the site since:

> (1) The Old Lighthouse is of little historical value (having been built in 1852-55 since the American occupation), and such historic interest as it possesses could well be represented by a bronze tablet or inscription on the monument. (2) For a sum not greatly in excess of the amount required to renovate the old building and fit it up as a wireless and signal station another more suitable building could be constructed in a position less exposed to hostile fire. (3) Of the sites which the Committee is willing to accept as satisfactory to them, the location at the Old Lighthouse is least objectionable from a military standpoint. [47]

This reasoning was finally accepted and approved by Davis' superiors in San Francisco and the proposal returned to the War Department on August 28, 1913. The question now arose as to "whether the area so set aside from the reservation would pass wholly from military control." [48] On September 5, 1913, the Judge Advocate General rendered the opinion that:

> ...it seems to have been clearly the intention of Congress that areas so set aside (by the Antiquities Act) should not only remain the property of the government but that they should not pass from the control of the respective departments within whose jurisdictions they are situated. [49]

He further recommended that:

> ...the organization of the Order of Panama be informed before any construction work is undertaken of the view taken by the Department in this matter, and also that any monument erected upon the proposed site will at once become the property of the United States. [50]

All obstacles having thus been cleared away, Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, sent the following letter to President Woodrow Wilson on October 10, 1913:

> My Dear Mr. President:
>
> I have the honor to enclose draft of a proclamation reserving a site for a monument of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the discoverer of California, on Point Loma, which lies within the military reservation of Fort Rosecrans, California.

The publication of this proclamation is is recommended.

Lindley M. Garrison,
Secretary of War [51]

Wilson signed the proclamation on October 14. [52] This final granting of permission proved to be somewhat of an anticlimax, however, since the Order of Panama had gone ahead with its plans to celebrate Carnaval Cabrillo on September 26 and "solemnly dedicate" the monument to "high uses." [53]

The Carnaval Cabrillo — Great Promises and Grand Expectations

The groundbreaking for the Panama-California Exposition had taken place on July 19, 1911, with appropriate ceremonies and gestures. These included the pressing of a button by William Howard Taft in the White House which unfurled an American flag at the site of the ceremony. [54] As the opening of the exposition moved closer and San Francisco maneuvered its way toward greater national recognition for its own fair, San Diego promoters sought ways to keep the city in the public's eye. The Carnaval Cabrillo, a three day extravaganza planned for September of 1913 attempted to do just that. Designed to call attention to the Spanish connection which would be the theme of the exposition, the Carnaval Cabrillo combined "the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa and the 371st anniversary of the discovery of San Diego Bay by Cabrillo and the 144th anniversary of the establishment of civilization on the Pacific Coast by Junipero Serra". [55]

As part of the publicity campaign, the Order of Panama commissioned Charles Lummis to write an article commemorating Cabrillo's landing at San Diego in 1542. With Lummis' keen interest in California's Spanish heritage, he was, no doubt, happy to comply. Lummis testimonial read in part:

> If there is any man to whom California should erect a statue...it is to Cabrillo, its Discoverer.
>
> The Order of Panama—a patriotic organization to save and honor the Romance of the Pacific—will build that Monument.
>
> An heroic statue, by a great sculptor, will be erected on that noble and commanding cape, Point Loma, which is the first land that Cabrillo sighted in the State of California—the first land ever seen by a civilized man on the Pacific verge of the United States.
>
> A hundred and fifty feet tall from the ground, and full hundred and fifty feet above the Pacific tide, on the sightliest point of the lion-like head-land he steered from nearly three hundred sixty years ago and overlooking the best harbor he found in all his sailings, the statue of Cabrillo will stand, guardian of his greatest discovery. [56]

One hundred copies of the article were printed with editions in English, Spanish and Portuguese and illustrated with pen and ink drawings by Virginia Goodrich. The cover featured an embossed medallion of a sculpture of the head of Cabrillo by British sculptor Allen Hutchinson. Hutchinson obviously had hopes of a greater commission coming from the project. Found later among his papers was the photograph of a model statue showing Cabrillo with arm outstretched standing on a pedestal that featured a medallion portraying his ship. Like many plans connected to the project, the 150-foot statue never came to be. [57] Not until 1940 would San Diego citizens show serious interest in providing the monument with a

suitable likeness of the explorer it commemorated.

Carnaval Cabrillo, which began on Wednesday evening, September 24, was not designed to celebrate things that had been accomplished but rather to call attention to great plans for the future. Opening night festivities commenced with the arrival of Representative Robert L. Henry of Texas, who appeared on behalf of President Wilson and the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, Don Juan Riano y Gayangos. The dignitaries were met by city officials at the railroad station as whistles and guns announced the start of the carnival. The party proceeded to Wonderland, an amusement park at the beach, where the officials were chided to forget their dignity and enjoy themselves. Dignity was definitely not the order of the day as judges, bankers and city officials that had been sentenced by a kangaroo court were displayed in a large monkey cage provided for that purpose. The mayor's attempt to speak was shouted down by:

> ...a most disgraceful rag party [that] started up right under his nose. The dancers for the most part, were two hundred pounders, men dressed up as women, wriggling and swaying shamelessly through the tango steps, locked in the arms of fellow revellers. [58]

The only serious casualty of the evening appeared to be "El General" Carl Heilbron of the Order of Panama who broke his ankle falling from a platform. [59]

Decorum had been restored by the next morning, however, "when the long line of official automobiles started from the headquarters of the carnival committee of the Order of Panama for the spot where the Cabrillo monument [would] stand, overlooking the deep blue of the Pacific." [60]

Though nothing more concrete than Charles Lummis' promotional booklet ever appeared by the date scheduled for the carnival, the dedication ceremony at the site made up in enthusiasm what it lacked in structural manifestations. Speakers at the dedication seemed to have no difficulty summoning up the promise of future grandeur as they stood on a platform in front of the ruined lighthouse. With much lofty rhetoric, monument committee chairman Ernest Riall, who replaced the injured Heilbron, spoke of the grandness of the statue described by Lummis and revealed plans for a crypt containing Cabrillo's bones which "would rest for the ages" in the base of the statue. [61]

A parade of speakers followed, including Representative Robert L. Henry, who lauded the efforts of the Order and predicted that the present era of the growth of San Diego was only the beginning. Don Juan Riano y Ganyangos, speaking as a representative of the king of Spain, thanked San Diego for associating his country with the celebration and "sent in return his warmest greetings and deepest assurance of interest in the historic work being done here." [62] The military took part in the ceremonies as well, as troops from Fort Rosecrans and marines from the warships in the bay were joined by "... Spanish soldiers dressed in costumes of red and yellow." [63]

The keynote speaker, Senator John D. Works, injected a different note in the proceedings by using the event as a platform for a purely political speech. Works, speaking of recent civil disturbances in Mexico, urged immediate direct intervention in that country to protect American interests. Accusing the Taft and Wilson administrations of being too lenient in the matter he said: "We must not stop at pressing claims for damages. We must enter the country, protect our imperiled citizens and save their property endangered by the riotous conditions that have been prevailing there." He also mirrored the growing popular concern with immigration laws when he spoke of the need to prevent "a horde of undesirable aliens from entering and settling in California after the Panama Canal is opened." [64] This strange

mixture of past Spanish glory, present American chauvinism and dreams of a glorious future ended with a dedication of the monument site by Lt. Governor A. J. Wallace who "poured upon the spot water from the Pacific Ocean and earth taken from the spot at La Playa where Cabrillo first landed." [65]

The rest of the Carnaval Cabrillo continued in the same vein with a parade the following day headed by "Chief Iodine, last of the Iroquois tribe" and featuring a float depicting the Goddess of Liberty, Uncle Sam and Lieutenant Stockton. [66] The Spanish minister was once again called upon to make a dedication, this time of a monument to Balboa to be built on the site of the Exposition. This statue, like the one of Cabrillo, was never erected by the Order of Panama.

The closing day of the carnival featured the unveiling of the Father Junipero Serra Cross on Presidio hill near Old Town. The cross, built under the auspices of the Order, had been started the previous July and included fragments of tile removed from the remains of the old presidio. Charles Lummis provided the inscription for the base and once again the Spanish ambassador figured prominently in the proceedings as he presented the gold key to unlock the enclosure surrounding the cross. The festivities closed that night "with grand celebration and confetti battle at Wonderland park." [67] A masked ball, which ended at midnight, was followed by a ragtime ball in which "every kind of ragtime dance, from the original Texas Tommy and Turkey Trot to the latest innovations of New York and Paris, [were] welcomed and prizes [were] awarded the dancers with the most grotesque steps." [68]

Though not all the projects promised by the ambitious leaders of the Order of Panama were completed, the purpose of the Carnaval Cabrillo had been ably served. By involving officials of the federal and state levels and by having the Spanish ambassador play a central role, the events took on more than local significance. In addition to drawing attention to the upcoming exposition, the carnival firmly established a theme which came to dominate the image of San Diego and all of Southern California. Having previously ignored their history, the people of Southern California set about creating one. Built from selective elements of a re-discovered Spanish past, it combined sun-drenched romanticism with a grand optimism for the future. The Panama-California Exposition of 1915 would become the embodiment of this image, for in the words of Bertram Goodhue: "It endeavored to reflect the past of that great section of the country of which it [San Diego] formed the natural seaport, and to obtain, in so far as this was possible, something of the effect of the old Spanish and Mission days and thus to link the spirit of the old seekers of the fabled Eldorado with that of the twentieth century." [69]

The establishment of Cabrillo National Monument in 1913 was part of a larger scheme by the Order of Panama to draw attention to San Diego and its upcoming exposition. Though the Order did not intend that the project should be abandoned when the automobiles containing the Spanish ambassador and assorted dignitaries left the site on the morning of September 25, 1913, this is indeed what happened. Since attention of the organization was directed in the following years to the exposition, the ambitious plans for the statue and crypt of Cabrillo were presumably lost in the shuffle. When the Order of Panama disbanded after the closing of the exposition, nothing more had been done at the site.

Looking at it from the perspective of the present, we could say that the failure of the project was indeed fortunate. Had scheduled plans been carried out, the lighthouse would have been leveled, since it was deemed by the War Department to be without historic value and considered by the Order to be an obstruction of the view. Interest in the structure flared only intermittently in the next twenty years and the intervention of the National Park Service in 1933 was necessary to awaken the community's interest in restoring it. Plans for a suitable memorial to Cabrillo never completely died. However, it took a later exposition, this one in San Francisco, some rather outlandish behavior by a state senator, and a keen interest by the

state's Portuguese community to provide, finally, the long-awaited statue.

A broad interpretation of the Antiquities Act by the government in 1913 had provided the means to give national significance to San Diego's desire to honor Cabrillo and to establish itself as the "Plymouth Rock of the West." [70] By presidential proclamation, federal land had been permanently set aside for this memorial. However, the limitations of the act were shown when local plans fell through, and the government, with no centralized department for the administration of national monuments and with no means of funding them, could only leave the site abandoned and forgotten for the next twenty years. [71]

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CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER III

When the National Park Service was established on August 25, 1916 as a federal bureau within the Department of the Interior, thirty-five national monuments had already been named. Twenty-one of these came under the jurisdiction of the newly formed service while the rest remained under the departments of Agriculture and War. [1] While some attempts had been made to define the role of the monuments within the new system, their geographical and thematic diversity made the task a difficult one. Since a great deal of energy and most of the budget of the new bureau was spent on the national parks, the monuments were often left to fend for themselves, depending on volunteer custodians to protect and maintain them as best they could. The budget allotted to the monuments was miniscule. In 1917, the monuments under the Interior Department received only $3,500 to be divided among all the sites. [2] Those monuments under the Department of War fared even more poorly since the department did not consider itself in the the tourist business and in general let the sites suffer from a kind of benign neglect. [3]

Cabrillo National Monument and, the Native Sons of the Golden West

With the demise of the Order of Panama after the 1915 Exposition, plans for the proposed monument on Point Loma appeared to die with it. In 1925, however, a flurry of interest was again generated in San Diego to honor Cabrillo with the erection of a statue. The monument was to be built this time by the Native Sons of the Golden West, a state-wide organization which had a chapter in San Diego. Among the members of the newly formed planning committee was Carl Heilbron, the former "El General" of the Order of Panama. The Native Sons had planned, according to Albert V. Mayrhofer, a member of the committee, "to place at the top of a shaft a life-size statue of Cabrillo, with a replica of his ship on one side." [4] However, the government would not agree to a shaft as high as the one planned—presumably deeming it inappropriate for a site on an Army base. As a result, an alternate suggestion for the statue to be placed in front of the lighthouse was proposed. In order for the plans to advance, the Native Sons had to secure a transfer of authority from the now defunct Order of Panama to their organization. This was done in the form of another presidential proclamation, this one issued by Calvin Coolidge on May 12, 1926. The proclamation stated that:

> ...Whereas, it appears that the said Order of Panamas has never exercised the privilege granted to it as aforesaid and is a defunct organization and has been so for a number of years; And whereas, an organization known as the Native Sons of the Golden West, a patriotic organization of the State of California, interested and engaged in identifying and marking with tablets and monuments those places situated within the State of historic interest to the State and Nation, has applied for permission to erect a suitable monument upon the site in question;
>
> Now, therefore, I Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, do hereby authorize the said Native Sons of the Golden West to erect at Point Loma upon the site above described a suitable monument in commemoration of the discovery of California by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo... [5]

On the day that the proclamation was issued, the Grand Parlor of the Native Sons met in Santa Rosa and agreed to appropriate $10,000 for the building of the monument providing that $50,000 was raised by the San Diego parlor. The total cost of the project was estimated to be $150,000 the bulk of which was to come, its supporters hoped, from the government. [6] The money was never raised and the great plan, like that of the Order of Panama, died quietly. Edgar Hastings, leader of the Native Sons, later blamed the failure of the project on the nationwide business slump of the times. [7]

While community interest in the monument came and went, the War Department dealt with its stewardship of the property by generally ignoring it. Paul A. Ewing, a travel writer from Oakland, wrote to the National Park Service in 1926 requesting information about "the National Monument near San Diego in honor of the Spanish explorer Cabrillo":

> On several occasions when in San Diego I have sought direction to Cabrillo Monument, but never succeeded in finding it. I want to make reference to it in a travel article I have in hand and will appreciate receipt of a description, printed or otherwise, which will enable me to identify the monument with some assurance. [8]

Another traveler, F.H. Tuthill, had the same problem in 1928. Having received no satisfaction from the Army after attempting to find the monument on three separate occasions, he wrote an irate letter to the Director of the National Park Service:

> I regret to say that my efforts to find the Cabrillo National Monument were fruitless. I went to the officer in charge of Ft. Rosecrans who knew nothing about the monument. He referred me to the lighthouse keeper who also knew nothing about it but said that the spot where Cabrillo landed must be so and so.... [9]

He went on to suggest that perhaps the Park Service could call the monument to the attention of the War Department in the hope that "they will take sufficient interest in it to locate the spot and make a record of it...so that it may be at least pointed out to visitors who desire to see it." [10]

In his reply to Tuthill, A. E. Demaray, Acting Director of the Park Service, conveyed his regrets and said that Cabrillo was "...one of a number of military monuments administered by the War Department and over which we have no control." According to information obtained from the War Department, Demaray said that, "...the monument contains no marker of any kind to designate its location." Nor were there any plans to erect any type of monument in the near future. [11]

The army kept few, if any records, of Cabrillo National Monument during its jurisdiction. The location of the place as a separate entity seemed to be unknown to the regional command and ignored by the local one as well. The non-status of the monument is exemplified by a memo sent by the Office of the Ninth Corps Area Quartermaster to his Commanding General. The memo, dated July 24, 1930, concerned an inspection done of the area at that time:

> Considerable difficulty was found in locating this National Monument and only by recourse to the San Diego Chamber of Commerce did I ascertain that this is a monument in project only and that the area encompassed by the circular roadway around the Old Spanish Lighthouse on the point of Ft. Rosecrans had been designated for this purpose. I found the information at Ft. Rosecrans relative to this subject most meager. [12]

Saving the Lighthouse

Although Cabrillo National Monument was unmarked and virtually unknown under the War Department, the Point Loma site on which it was supposed to be located had been a popular attraction to tourists and local citizens for years. A visitor to the area in 1869 touted with great enthusiasm the view from the "airy lighthouse on Point Loma." [13] In a similar vein, travel writer George Wharton James in his 1914 book, *California Romantic and Beautiful*, said:

> ...the scene at the end of the Point is universally conceded to be one of the noted views of the world. Behind one, and to the right, seep away in endless expanse the perfect blue of the ocean. At one's feet are the varying colours of of the Bay, leading the eye over the Coronado peninsula, with its curving sandy beach, and at the head of which are the two "islands," one of them crowned with the striking pile of Hotel del Coronado. [14]

The lighthouse had been built in 1854 and abandoned in 1891 when replaced by another constructed at a lower elevation. [15] The location continued to be visited, however, as tourists climbed the decrepit structure for a better view and used its basement as an impromptu latrine. [16] When the proposed plans of the Order of Panama to demolish the lighthouse went awry, the Army was once again left with responsibility for it. In 1915, the Army spent $360 repairing the building and promised that further improvements were being contemplated. [17] In an attempt to discourage vandalism, the Army permitted soldiers and their families to live in the structure. Mrs. H. E. Cook, the wife of an army sergeant was caretaker from 1921 until 1935 and though apparently not paid a wage, she was allowed to sell postcards, refreshments and curios to visitors. [18] Photographs of the lighthouse from that period show the words "postcards, candies, soda, cigars" painted on the building's side.

The caretaker arrangement did little to arrest the structural deterioration of the building, however, and in 1930 Captain Fenton Jacobs, acting commanding officer at Ft. Rosecrans, notified the Chamber of Commerce that without financial support from the community, the structure was in danger of being razed. Though the military felt an obligation to maintain the structure, he said, "the war department [received] no appropriations for the maintenance of such relics." [19] On August 13, 1930, a group consisting of Philip Gilred, a local business man, Betty Bronson,"Savoy theatre star," and D.W. Campbell of the Chamber of Commerce visited that site. Pledging the financial support of "a few interested citizens," Gilred spoke of the value of the lighthouse to the people of San Diego:

> The old lighthouse is something we San Diegans must preserve not only for its historic value but also because it affords the finest view of our city and environs. Thousands of visitors are coming to San Diego every month, or every week and the most impressive picture of San Diego that we can show them is from the old Spanish lighthouse lookout. It is a view unsurpassed anywhere in the world, a thing in which San Diego may justly take great pride. [20]

The idea of selling the view to tourists was looked upon with much the same enthusiasm as promoting Point Loma's Spanish heritage had in 1913. Raising the necessary funds, however, proved to be as elusive as in previous attempts.

On June 7, 1930, the Ninth Corps headquarters at the Presidio in San Francisco was given jurisdiction over both Cabrillo and Big Hole Battlefield in Montana by the War Department. This transfer of authority from Washington D.C. had been made because: "...the corps area commanders are in closer touch with local sentiments [therefore] it is believed that these activities can be administered in a more uniform and efficient manner if placed under [their] control." [21]

An officer from headquarters who inspected the monument at the time of the changeover made no mention of the lighthouse in his report. However, he did inform the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce that:

> the scenic road on the heights of Rosecrans and called the "Topside Road" [the road around the lighthouse] had no military value at present; was only used by the civilian populace and tourists and the limited funds available to this headquarters did not warrant keeping this road in a condition which he seemed to think military authorities should maintain. [22]

For reasons not explained by available records, a statement was issued in April 1931 by Brig. Gen. Robert McCleave, the commanding officer of Ft. Rosecrans, that funds for the repair of the lighthouse had been made available by Ninth Corps Headquarters:

> The light is being completely renovated, painted and repaired and the previous dilapidated appearance of this historic landmark is being transformed by the army's efforts to make it most attractive to visitors. The light and the ground on which it stands were set aside by President Wilson as a national monument and although not a part of the military reservation, they are kept clean and in repair by the army. Naturally the army takes pride in the appearance of this historic stricture, and it is a matter of much satisfaction to the local authorities that at last funds are available for the much needed work. [23]

Though the records do not indicate why the Army had a sudden change of heart regarding the upkeep of the area at that time, it should be noted that pressure was being applied from both within and outside the national park Service to transfer to the Service those National Monuments under the jurisdiction of other departments.

Cabrillo Under the National Park Service — Planning a Transfer

From the inception of the National Park Service, there had been strong sentiment within that bureau for the nation's parks and monuments to be consolidated under it. Though the primary focus was the acquisition of those properties under the Department of Agriculture, administrators within the Park Service generally agreed that national battlefields and military parks could also be more efficiently managed under their central leadership. [24] On the state level, pressure was being applied for those monuments such as Cabrillo, which were receiving little attention and funding under the War Department, to be transferred to the more sympathetic Park Service. Newton B. Drury, the head of the State of California division of Parks, (who would serve as director of the National Park Service from 1940 to 1951) wrote to then director Horace M. Albright in 1932:

> ...I last week visited Pt. Loma and reached the conclusion that in view of the fact that Cabrillo National Monument is already located there and that the property is in that respect of national interest, and also has federal interest because of the presence of the military cemetery where the victims of the Bennington disaster [are buried], it would seem most appropriate for this property to be transferred to the National Park Service. [25]

In December of that year, Roger W. Toll was sent to investigate the possible transfer of Cabrillo National Monument to the Park Service. In his lengthy report and accompanying letter, Toll made an excellent case for the Park Service to reject the idea of acquiring the monument. According to his reasoning, since Cabrillo probably had landed on Ballast Point rather than the present site it would seem logical that "...a monument to Cabrillo should be constructed at the point where he first set foot on California soil rather than on higher ground

a mile or so distant." [26] In addition, he said that the area occupied by the military had a high property value and many improvements, therefore it would be unlikely that the Army and Navy would be willing to relinquish enough land to create a viable park. Finally, he concluded that "so far as the erection of a monument to Cabrillo is concerned, it is believed that the marking of the site should be handled by some state organization rather than by the Federal Government." [27]

The report itself contained a section of several pages outlining Toll's philosophy about administering historic sites and battlefields. According to Toll, a program to mark sites: "...could be carried out by the Federal Government, or by the several states, or by various organizations within states." [28] Of these, he favored the marking and maintenance of historic sites by the states and their local organizations. Among his reasons for this he cited the fact that each state could most readily determine which were the most important sites within a state and that since all that was required by most historic sites was a marker, the maintenance of such a marker could be handled at a lower cost by local administration. His final reason is perhaps most telling. In advising that the marking and maintenance of Cabrillo National Monument would best be left to the state or a state organization he wrote: "It is the type of national monument that could be deferred until other more urgent projects have been provided for." [29]

Toll's statements reflected not only his personal philosophy but indicated the general thinking which characterized the Park Service from its inception until 1933. In theory, Park Service leaders were strongly in favor of the centralized administration of all national parks and monuments. However, they realized how impractical such an idea was in fact, given the limitations of budget and manpower. In the early years, emphasis was placed on establishing the main parks such as Yellowstone and Sequoia and in formulating their administration. Most of the attention of the Service was centered on the scenic national parks and scenic and archaeological monuments. Because of the lack of funding and personnel, properties not in these categories were often looked upon as poor stepchildren that were expected to wait their turn until more important matters had been attended to. With the reorganization and expansion of the service in 1933, however, it was necessary for the first time to direct attention to both historic and recreational concerns and to begin to cooperate more extensively with the states and local governments. [30]

By the time Toll's report reached the director's office in May 1933, the acquisition of Cabrillo was almost a moot point. On June 10, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt would issue an order for reorganization saying: "All functions of administration of public buildings, reservations, national parks, national monuments and national cemeteries are consolidated in an Office of National Parks, Buildings and Reservations [a name which was later changed back to the National Park Service] in the Department of the Interior." [31] In anticipation of this order, Conrad L. Wirth of the planning branch advised Director Albright in early May 1933 that although Toll had issued an adverse report on Cabrillo, "it is recommended that this be held in abeyance until a final decision had been made regarding the transfer of military parks from the War Department to the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior." [32] When this transfer was finally made on August 10, 1933, Cabrillo National Monument would begin a new era under the authority of the National Park Service.

CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER IV

The Reorganization of 1933

On June 10, 1933, under the authority of a bill passed by Congress the previous March which authorized the reorganization of the executive and administrative agencies of the government, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 6166. By virtue of this order, the administration of national parks, monuments, cemeteries, public buildings and reservations came, for the first time, under one central office, that of the National Park Service. To clarify the order, Roosevelt issued another on July 28 that specifically named the reservations to be transferred. These included: eleven national military parks, two national parks, ten battlefield sites, ten national monuments, four miscellaneous memorials and eleven national cemeteries. [1]

The consolidation and transfer of properties to the Park Service was the culmination of years of effort by Horace Albright, who in 1917 became assistant to the first director of the Park Service, Stephen Mather, and later served as director from 1929 to 1933. The first years of the Service under Mather and Albright were tumultuous ones. Acquiring vast areas of natural wilderness, providing for their protection and establishing viable policies for their administration consumed the energy and time of the director and his small staff. Looking beyond this, Albright envisioned a future for the Park Service that would go farther than wilderness conservation and would come to include a new role, that of historic preservation. [2] Believing the American heritage was made up of history as well as scenery, natural resources and wildlife, Albright suggested as early as 1917 that all historical areas be administered as part of the national park system. Not until he gained the sympathetic ear of the newly appointed Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes under Franklin D. Roosevelt, however, did his plan for making the Park Service a "truly national entity" have a real chance of being put into effect. Since Roosevelt would soon be making organizational changes throughout the executive branch by virtue of Executive Order No. 6166, Ickes suggested that transfer of properties then held by the Departments of Agriculture and War could be accomplished as part of that general reorganization. [3] Albright had the opportunity to personally present his idea on April 9, 1933, when he was invited to take a drive with the President. A discussion of Civil War battles, in which Roosevelt had great interest, led Albright into the subject of the military parks still under the jurisdiction of the War Department. "The National Park Service ought to have charge of administering all of those parks," said Albright. "It's right." According to Albright the President "did not ask any questions, he simply said it should be done, and he told me to take up the plan with his office and find out where to submit our papers at the proper time." [4] Carrying now the personal approval of the President, the plan went forward as part of the general reorganization.

During 1933, agencies and personnel were transferred, combined and reshuffled as consolidation under the Park Service proceeded. At the end of the year, the Secretary of the Interior, reported that: "Officers of the Office of National Parks, Buildings and Reservations are convinced that the new organization, comprising as it does a consolidation of all Federal-park activities, under one responsible head, will be a smoothly functioning machine that will

measure up to the best traditions of the various organizations involved and furnish to the public service of the highest type." [5]

With the addition of properties so diverse, both geographically and in purpose, Park Service administrators were thrust not only into institutional preservation but were faced with a new responsibility—that of developing educational programs to make the public more aware of the Nation's history. Thus, Cabrillo National Monument as one of the transferred properties became a training ground for establishing policies in the virtually unchartered areas of preservation, interpretation of historic events and community relations.

Cabrillo — Planning Under the Park Service

Initial planning for Cabrillo got under way early in 1934. Colonel John R. White, Superintendent of Sequoia National Park, whose jurisdiction also included Cabrillo, arrived for his first visit to the monument on January 4th. White, like many of those involved in the early development of the national parks, came to his job with a colorful background. He had run away from home in his native England at the age of sixteen and immediately joined the Greek army. After having been wounded, he decided to come to America to take part in the Klondike gold rush in Alaska but, like many hopeful prospectors, he wound up sweeping out saloons. Arriving in the States too late to participate in the Spanish American War, he joined the Philippine constabulary when United States troops were withdrawn from the area. In this capacity, he advanced to the rank of Colonel, a title to which he was referred from then on. Having contracted tuberculosis, he came to the American West to "take the cure" and it was at this time that he became acquainted with the national parks. Visiting with Acting Director Albright in 1919, he asked for a job with the National Park Service to which Albright replied that he had nothing available for a man of Colonel White's experience. According to Albright, White replied, "Never mind the Colonel, what do you have? I don't care how menial it is, I want a job in the Parks." He was given the job of ranger in Grand Canyon National Park for the salary of one hundred dollars a month. (He had to provide his own uniforms and a horse.) Two years later, he was made Superintendent of Sequoia National Park. [6]

Though he came to be respected and admired by the people with whom he would have contact in San Diego, he had little patience with the slow grinding of the bureaucratic process and often found himself at odds with his superiors in Washington. On the other hand, he loved work in the field and viewed his assignment to make Cabrillo part of the park system with characteristic energy and enthusiasm.

His initial step upon arriving in the area was to contact the San Diego Chamber of Commerce in the hopes that they could put him in touch with "any persons particularly interested in the Monument." He found, however, "an almost complete ignorance on the subject and the place." [7] The manager of the publicity department of the Chamber promised his assistance in finding those who might be interested in the project and true to his job as publicist took White to the offices of the *San Diego Union* for an interview and photographs.

White's first report on Cabrillo was not particularly encouraging nor his recommendations ambitious:

> We then went to the Monument, which is situated at the extreme end of Point Loma, and contains only about 22,000 square feet in an ellipse around the old light house. The lighthouse building is now locked up, although formerly a concessioner there sold postcards and candy....
>
> Not very much can be done, but a tremendous improvement over actual

> conditions may be made at a minimum cost. Some sort of curbing or parapetting around the parking grounds, general cleanup of signs and posters, white washing of the light house, planting with native shrubs and flowers, etc. will make a big improvement [8]

The press dutifully reported his visit the following day and announced that money would be allocated to landscape the area and that a plaque commemorating Cabrillo would be placed on the grounds. [9] The article elicited immediate community response that was enthusiastic but showed a penchant for ambitious plans that proved to be somewhat beyond what the Park Service had in mind. In a letter to White, Arthur H. Hill, a local businessman, revealed a plan which he had discussed with a group of San Diego citizens including real estate developer and later State Senator Ed Fletcher. The plan included the erection of a "Vista House" which would "far surpass in fame the original Cliff House in San Francisco." [10] Architectural drawings by William Henry Wheeler featured a revolving dining room, an observatory and a promenade, the last two being "of course...absolutely free to the public." [11] In forwarding the letter to his superiors, White charitably ignored the grandiose nature of the plan and mentioned instead its value in "pointing out the commanding view from Point Loma." [12] His own move toward getting the improvement program under way was to request that a landscape architect from the Branch of Plans and Designs at San Francisco be sent to the site to make preliminary drawings.

From his first visit to the monument, White was aware of the potential of Cabrillo and the opportunity it afforded to acquaint the public with the Park Service. In a letter to the Director he wrote:

> From a publicity point of view affecting the Park Service and the Department of the Interior, El Cabrillo National Monument is strategically located, because there is no National Monument or National Park anywhere in Southern California. San Diego is a great tourist center, and practically every visitor drives out to Point Loma. There is a real opportunity to place the Department of the Interior before the public in a prominent way at El Cabrillo. [13]

Before the landscape architect arrived, however, the "interested citizens" sought by White had gathered under the auspices of the San Diego Historical Society, which was headed by former state senator Leroy A. Wright. Wright's flair for generating publicity and his political connections would come to prove invaluable in getting the Cabrillo project launched.

The first meeting of the new Cabrillo National Monument committee was held on January 19. One of its members, Lois Kimball, explained that she and her husband, who was principal of Cabrillo School on Point Loma, were very much interested in having a Portuguese or at least a combination of Portuguese and Spanish motif to the proposed memorial. [14] She submitted to the committee the plans of architects Gilbert Reynolds and Richard S. Requa which combined Spanish and Portuguese types of architecture. Primary features of the plans included: "a fountain of bright glazed tiles, a bronze tablet to be placed upon the bowl commemorating Cabrillo's discovery of California..." In addition, the plans provided for "a plaza surrounded by a low wall with embrasures to provide seats and an artistic Portuguese fireplace where picnic parties may carry on traditions of the famous spot". [15]

While the Spanish connection had been prevalent in the original plans for Cabrillo which were formulated in 1913, twenty years later emphasis shifted to the Portuguese. This approach certainly made sense given the large, active Portuguese community in San Diego. To further underline this connection, the committee voted to notify F. P. de Aragao e Costa, consul of Portugal in San Francisco, of their plans and to solicit his cooperation.

On January 23, members of the committee set about drafting some concrete suggestions to be submitted to Superintendent White when he returned. Discussions ran the gamut from the type of plantings to be made ("I am not favorably disposed to cacti. They are typical at the same time not very inviting") [16] to the more mundane aspects of parking and plumbing. Though most details were left for future discussion, there was consensus on the basic form that the committee wished the monument to take: the theme of monument should lean toward Portuguese; space should be set aside for a suitable memorial to Cabrillo whether in the form of a plaque or preferably a statue; and the lighthouse should be saved. The final point was raised by Col. George Ruhlen, the commanding officer at Fort Rosecrans, and at the suggestion of the Chairman a resolution was unanimously passed which said: "it be the sense of this committee that the old lighthouse remain as a permanent feature and that it be protected." [17] This was certainly a turnabout from 1913 when demolition had been the plan of choice.

Obtaining Funding — The First Step

Coming as it did in the middle of the Depression, the reorganization of the National Park Service was not accompanied by an increase in funding. In fact, 1934 saw direct appropriations for the agency cut by more than 50 per cent from $10,820,000 to $5,085,000. [18] Some of the shortfall was made up by appropriations through various programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and other agencies which had been set up to relieve the nation's unemployment problems. Even so, competition for available funds was fierce and superintendents each set up a clamor to get their piece of the pie. Colonel White was no exception and he used his growing influence with the local community to fan interest and create publicity for Cabrillo to assure that the tiny monument would not get lost in the bureaucratic shuffle.

When White returned to San Diego on February 5, 1934, the *San Diego Union* ran a large headline: "$50,000—Plans Approved by Park Official and San Diegans." A careful reading of the article below revealed that the headline was more than a little optimistic. In reality, Sen. Hiram Johnson, Sen. William G. McAdoo and Rep. George Burnham had all sent telegrams to Secretary of the Interior Ickes asking for a $50,000 appropriation for the project. Actually securing funds, however, took several more months of local and congressional pressure with accompanying foot-dragging on the part of the besieged bureaucrats in Washington.

Though no commitment to the project had been made by the national office, the landscape architects requested by White were finally sent in early February of 1934. After inspecting the site, they reviewed the suggestions submitted by local groups with W.G. Carnes, chief of Plans and Designs in San Francisco. In reporting to his superior in Washington, Carnes showed little enthusiasm for their elaborate development plans:

> Several San Diego architects sent up suggested sketches for the monument but they seemed to have all visualized the building of a very formal system of gardens, patios, wall and fountains, none of which have any bearing on the history of the spot, and while they might be suitable in connection with a civic center as an example of how Portuguese (or Spanish) influence can be carried into modern design, they would certainly be out of place on this wild sandy point [19]

He did agree, however, that restoration of the lighthouse should be the top priority and suggested that "if the government would restore the building and improve the grounds, the citizens of San Diego could raise funds for a statue or commemorative tablet of some kind." [20] Publicity for the project continued unabated in the local papers for the next few months and White kept up a barrage of letters and memos to his superiors touting development for

the monument. These were buttressed by letters and telegrams from Rep. George Burnham to both the Secretary of the Interior and National Park Service Director A. B. Cammerer such as the one sent on May 7th: "In Col. White's letter, he asked the Department to give immediate attention to the design of the monument...I would appreciate it if you would keep me advised on any action that might be taken in regard to this project." [21]

The badgering was not particularly appreciated by Washington and a memo sent from Verne E. Chatelain, Chief of the Historical Division to Isabel Story, head of Public Relations, exemplified the general feeling:

> I think that the publicity in this matter should be carefully guarded. Before any development at Cabrillo takes place a very careful study and consideration of problems involved will be necessary. White is taking us too fast. [22]

Director Cammerer, for his part, replied to Representative Burnham that: "Mr. White...has made recommendations...in this matter but there are no funds at the present and no work is contemplated." [23] In spite of this, Leroy Wright and his Historical Society were not discouraged. In an extensive, lavishly illustrated front page story arranged by Wright that was later picked up by the *Christian Science Monitor* for national distribution, the *San Diego Sun* announced that, "the lighthouse will be restored soon to its former glory if efforts to win an appropriation from the Public Works Administration are successful." [24] The article continued:

"Already Sen. William McAdoo and Congressman George Burnham have gone to bat with Secretary of Interior Ickes for the appropriation, according to Sen. L.A. Wright, head of the historical group."

More impetus was added to the effort by the opening of a new state highway, fortuitously named "El Camino Cabrillo", which extended 2.7 miles along the bluffs of Point Loma and encircled the old lighthouse. The highway was dedicated on July 17, and the officials taking part included a representative of Superintendent White, Rep. Burnham and Leroy Wright as well as assorted state and federal dignitaries. [25] When it became obvious that still no action was forthcoming on the monument, an exasperated White wrote to Cammerer and enclosed clippings of the event:

> ...You will note that this was sufficiently important to be attended by the State Director of Public Works representing the Governor of California, as well as by many other influential citizens.
>
> I sent Superintendent Tobin to represent me and tell of our plans, or lack of plans, for the development of the El Cabrillo Monument. [26]

With the completion of the road, he reasoned, "There will be such a demand now for comfort stations and other accommodations...that we should either do something immediately or we should revert the monument to San Diego city or county or to the state park system if they would be willing to receive it.'" [27] The chorus of demands for action continued and W. G. Carnes, noted to the Director, "The interest of the San Diego people in developing this area is unsurpassed by any I have yet encountered." [28]

The bureaucratic log-jam was finally broken when Congressman Burnham convinced Cammerer to visit the monument as part of a West Coast tour of national parks. Impressed by both the local enthusiasm and the beauty of the area, the Director agreed to act. On August 22, he informed Wright and Burnham that he would approve the project and that $38,000 would be allocated for its completion. [29]

With the definite commitment of funding, White then began a vigorous campaign to initiate work on the project and to have it completed by June 1, 1935. a date which marked the planned opening of a new San Diego Exposition. Said White: "It is highly important that the National Park Service do its share and have proper representation in connection with the exposition and we are fortunate indeed in having the Cabrillo National Monument where we may focus our activities." [30]

White, astute in his understanding that the future of the smaller monuments depended on exposure, appeal to tourists, and the interest of the community, set a precedent for Cabrillo by soliciting and encouraging local support. For their part, the community groups of San Diego realized the benefit of developing Cabrillo as a tourist attraction. Members of the Historical Society which led the effort recognized, however, that they, like the Order of Panama and Native Sons of the Golden West before them were long on ideas but limited in their the ability to raise funds. (Shortly before its involvement in the project, the treasury of the Society contained $20.71 with outstanding bills of $199.95). [31] Under the leadership of ex-Senator Wright, they applied a combination of political pressure and widespread publicity to get attention. Encouraged by Colonel White, they helped nudge the Park Service administrators into committing funds to what had at first been deemed by them a minor project.

From Plans to Reality — Beginning the Project

Though the funds for Cabrillo had been allocated, it now fell to White to get construction begun and completed by June of 1935, less than a year away. In a letter to W. G. Carnes, Chief of the Western Division of Plans and Designs he explained the urgency of the project. Invoking the names of Director Cammerer, Congressman George Burnham, the Chairman of the Board of the San Diego Exposition and even Harry Carr, "the well-known columnist of the *Los Angeles Times",* White imparted the message that this was an important project and must begin immediately. [32]

Carnes personally conducted an inspection of the monument from September 11 to 15 and his resulting report contains an account of the deterioration of the lighthouse and specific plans for its rehabilitation. [33] Realizing the historical importance of the structure, he arranged for detailed drawings to be prepared under the Historic American Buildings Survey. This program began in November 1933 in an effort to put unemployed architects to work making photographs and measured drawings of those buildings throughout the country deemed to have significant architectural and historical value. [34] Thus, rehabilitating the lighthouse became not just a matter of providing a tourist attraction but an attempt to restore, in as accurate a manner as possible, a piece of the nation's heritage. Using photographs and documents provided by the Historical Society as well original blueprints and drawings from 1855, Park Service engineers and members of HABS prepared detailed plans for the restoration. [35] When the project began in March of 1935, the building was found to be in very poor condition having been subjected to years of vandalism and the deterioration of age and weather. While the exterior walls were in generally good condition, the interior walls had to be stripped of their plaster and, in some places, "three layers of variegated colored wallpaper on canvas...[that] showed some of the past endeavors of the occupants to make the building a better place of abode." [36] Woodwork, doors, door frames, moulding, fireplace mantels, hardware, iron work and even the old square cut nails were boxed and stored as they were removed. In excavating the basement "a hundred or more of the old type Spanish tile were encountered" [37] that the engineers believed came from the old Spanish fort on Ballast Point. Since these remnants of the old building were to be replaced with new material, it was suggested that they be shown to the public as part of a museum exhibit. This was apparently not done and there is no record of what finally became of these artifacts.

Rebuilding continued and by the September 11, 1935 completion date, woodwork and flooring had been replaced, new railings and decks were installed to replace the old iron work and the "old original wooden steps of the [interior] stairway [that] were very badly worn and unsafe" were replaced with a metal stairway. [38] While the old metal framework of the tower was deemed in good enough condition to remain intact, plate glass was installed in the tower in lieu of the original wood and glass panels. Although historical accuracy was a stated goal of the project, these and other concessions had to be made to its planned use. In addition, electricity, modern plumbing, and fireproof doors and window frames were installed. [39] The budget for restoring the lighthouse had been set for $10,000 and an additional $3,750 was needed to complete the job. All work was done by contractors from San Diego and Los Angeles under foreman C.A. Potter. Potter was chosen for the position because he had been superintendent on the restoration of several old Missions and other historical landmarks in Southern California. [40]

In addition to the work done on the lighthouse, other projects included: construction of a comfort station, water system, sewer system, walls, walks and steps, landscaping and the installation of a commemorative plaque to Cabrillo.

In Commemoration of Cabrillo — The Monument Gets a Plaque

With funding having been accomplished and restoration of the lighthouse in the hands of the Park Service, the Historical Society turned its attention to planning a suitable memorial to Cabrillo. At the early stages of development of the project, there was still much discussion as to what form the memorial should take. In June 1934, Congressman George Burnham became interested in the matter through Wright and the Historical Society, and discussed it with Director Cammerer. Expressing his awareness of the community's enthusiasm for a large statue, Cammerer said, "it would, in my opinion, be impossible to secure the necessary authority for the expenditure of Federal funds at this time for such a purpose." [41] Though sympathetic to some sort of memorial to Cabrillo, he said that he "was not sure that the erection of a statue would be the satisfactory solution." [42] He added: "The area is small and any statue would, it seems to me, be in conflict with the main mass of the lighthouse which is the chief memorial feature there at this time and by such conflict lose importance." This comment exemplified a shift of the Park Service's interest from a memorial which had never existed to a tangible historic feature, the lighthouse. Yet, the Historical Society was determined to have if not a statue, at least a plaque, and Wright, in a letter to Congressman Burnham conceded: "I am inclined to agree with Cammerer that owing to the limited area, a bronze statue of heroic size would not be appropriate." He "therefore ordered a bronze plaque on which a brief statement as to the adventures of Cabrillo including a outline of a ship will appear." [43] Superintendent White had suggested earlier that since Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was a Portuguese, "the Portuguese of California if properly approached would be willing to contribute handsomely to the development of the Cabrillo National Monument and to a fund for the erection of the statue or plaque to Cabrillo." [44] It had also been suggested that a competition be held "among various artist and sculptors for the execution of this plaque" but the Park Service administrators decided to refrain from any involvement in a competition because, "there is always dissatisfaction among the unsuccessful entrants as to the deciding of the contest, etc." Therefore, "the opinion was unanimous that it was preferable to include this plaque in the Government program and not to leave it to the Portuguese people of California or to other interested but non-official groups." [45]

In spite of the efforts of the Park Service to avoid controversy, one began almost immediately involving the brass plaque that was to be installed at the monument. On Dec. 19, 1935, the Grand Council of Cabrillo Civic Clubs had been formed in San Francisco. Among the group's objectives was to foster civic progress by its members in memory of "John Rodrigues Cabrillo (Joao Rodrigues Cabrilho) the discoverer of California and to perpetuate the deeds

of the forefathers of this state." [46] Other objectives were to erect monuments and markers to Cabrillo, to honor and observe Sept. 28 of each year as Cabrillo Day in California and to erect a suitable memorial of Cabrillo in San Diego. [47]

It was with understandable interest that the Club followed closely the activities taking place on Point Loma during 1934. While visiting the National Park Service offices in San Francisco, Manuel F. Sylva, the president of the Cabrillo Civic Club, read the inscription inscribed on the plaque being prepared for the monument. Though the Park Service had followed through with its decision to provide the plaque, the inscription contained on it was prepared by Winifred Davidson, of the San Diego Historical Society. The wording, as submitted on March 20, 1935, contained the phrase, "Cabrillo's caravel...had been assembled at Navidad, Mexico, under order of the great conquistador, Hernando Cortez...." [48]

In a letter to Congressman Richard J. Welch, Sylva pointed out that "the inscription as to Cortez was absolutely incorrect, as Cabrillo was in the service of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Spain." More important to his group, however, was the spelling of Cabrillo's name. According to Sylva "the name of Cabrillo is as follows: Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in Spanish, Joao Rodrigues Cabrilho in Portuguese and John Rodrigues Cabrillo anglicized." Citing the fact that in American history, Christopher Columbus had been anglicized, Sylva requested that the name on the plaque be changed to John. "This may seem a trifle," he wrote, "but you can understand the feeling of half million of Californians of Portuguese origin who resent in the application of a Spanish name on one of its own." [49]

The plaque was recast with the reference to Cortez changed to Mendoza. However, the controversy concerning the spelling of Cabrillo continued. Congressman Welch thought Sylva's argument (not to mention the opinions of a half-million Portuguese-Californians) had merit. [50] Cammerer replied to Welch that he had turned the question over to his historical research staff. On August 22, Malcolm Gardner of the Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings rendered his opinion:

> It seems to me that the name should not be Anglicized in spite of the precedent set by our spelling of Christopher Columbus. Cabrillo comes to the notice of history as a servant of the crown of Spain, and history refers to him by the Spanish form of his name. Living at a time when class and creed were much more important than accident of national nativity, Cabrillo's birth on Portuguese soil is now only of sentimental value.
>
> I would recommend therefore, that the present Spanish spelling on the memorial be retained...if however, the Portuguese of California feel deeply about the matter, I would suggest not the English John, but a complete Portuguese rendition, Joao Rodrigues Cabrilho. [51]

Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray concurred that the Spanish spelling should stand and added a practical note: "to adopt the Portuguese spelling Cabrilho would change the name of the National Monument." [52] Though the question was settled for the moment, this and other matters dealing with Cabrillo as a Portuguese hero would continue to be a recurring issue throughout the monument's history and into the present day.

Extending the Boundaries — An Agreement with the Army

From the time of the first inspection of Cabrillo National Monument, Park Service engineers realized that it would be impossible to improve or develop the area without some extension of its one half acre boundaries. In his report of September 1934, W.G. Carnes said:

> The present monument boundaries were arbitrarily set some years ago when a society desired space to erect a commemorative shaft or memorial to Juan Cabrillo.... In providing the essential public facilities to serve a large visiting public, it is going to be necessary to utilize so much area outside the monument boundaries for such things as parking areas, water tank and comfort stations, that some consideration should be given to the desirability of requesting an extension of the boundaries. [53]

There was no doubt that more land was necessary. However, discussion centered on how best to accomplish an extension. Thomas C. Vint, head of the landscape and architecture division, suggested that the most logical approach might be to obtain another Presidential proclamation similar to the one establishing the monument in 1913. [54]

On the advice of the Director of the Park Service, the Secretary of the Interior sent a letter to the Secretary of War on December 22, 1934, explaining the problem. In view of the fact that visitation was anticipated to increase from 200,000 per year to a potential one million because of the Exposition, the necessity of providing for visitors was obvious. "However," he wrote, "the limited land area set aside in the original Presidential proclamation will not take care of these developments and I am very anxious to ascertain your viewpoint toward having the present monument boundaries extended by means of a second Presidential proclamation to set aside a reasonably sized area which will accommodate all of the development which Cabrillo National Monument will ever need." [55]

The War Department apparently felt little urgency in the matter since the Secretary of War took four months to reply. In April of 1935, he informed Secretary Ickes that after giving the matter serious consideration "it has been determined that, owing to existing installations in the area desired and to other installations proposed for such area, it will be impossible to grant the full use thereof for the purposes desired by the Department of the Interior." [56]

Although turning over more land to the Park Service was out of the question, the War Department would agree to a revocable permit to use land which included an area south of the monument boundary for a parking lot and a parcel of land southwest of the lighthouse on which a comfort station could be built. The permit, issued on May 23, 1936, included the following provisions: that the War Department reserved the right to revoke the permit and resume possession in the case of an emergency; that all proposed structures to be erected by the Department of the Interior be submitted to the War Department for approval; and that all construction, operation and maintenance of the structures and utilities be accomplished without expense to the War Department. [57] Except for repairs on the lighthouse itself, the improvements to the land around the monument had to be made with the cooperation and approval of the War Department. Though Sam Hendricks, who supervised the project, reported frustrating delays caused by the need to get authorization from the Army for nearly every detail of construction, he also praised them for "cooperating with the Park Service to the fullest extent." [58]

Sporadic requests were made by Superintendent White during the next few years for a more permanent addition to the monument. The coming of World War II, however, made any demands by the Interior Department moot. It would not be until 1959, after an intense campaign led by San Diego civic organizations, that the monument would, at last, receive additional land.

The Dedication of the Monument — 1935

The ceremony to dedicate the new plaque to Cabrillo was planned as part of the activities of the 1935 California-Pacific International Exposition just as the ceremonies in 1913 had

figured prominently in the Exposition of that year. Rather than celebrating Southern California's romantic and glorious past, the Exposition of 1935, coming as it did in the midst of the Depression, emphasized "the courage and ambition [of] forward-looking San Diego." [59] The new buildings, taking their places next to baroque edifices still standing from the preceding fair, represented progress, modernity and material development.

Unlike the dedication festivities at Cabrillo in 1913 with their emphasis on San Diego's Spanish past, the idea in 1935 was international cooperation and the theme was definitely Portuguese. Decidedly less flamboyant and political than the activities of 1913, the ceremony that took place on September 28, 1935, was formal and subdued. The plaque, which had been completed but not yet, mounted in its permanent place, was unveiled by Dr. Joao Antonio de Bianchi, Portuguese minister to the United States. Speaking to the small crowd gathered in front of the lighthouse he said: "Monuments are far better than any peace treaties. This is the way to bring together two nations who are both prosperous and peace loving. It gives me great pleasure to unveil this tablet to the great navigator, Cabrillo." [60]

The program was introduced by Leroy Wright representing the San Diego Historical Society and addresses were given by Rep. Burnham and Superintendent White, as well as various dignitaries from the Native Sons of the Golden West and the California State Historical Society. [61]

Presented with less fanfare than the preceding one sponsored by the Order of Panama, this ceremony commemorated a real, though modest accomplishment. In spite of its simplicity, it represented the result of dedicated effort and cooperation among the people of San Diego, the Park Service and the Army. It also foretold of the increasing identification of the Portuguese people of San Diego with Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and the monument dedicated to his name.

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CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER V

Forming an Administration For the Monument

In 1913, when the dignitaries departed from the dedication festivities, Cabrillo National Monument virtually ceased to exist for another twenty years. By contrast, the 1935 ceremony was a true beginning—that year over 170,000 people would come to visit the tiny facility. [1] Anticipating the increased popularity of the monument once the restoration was completed, Superintendent White began planning for its administration.

Although the reorganization of 1933 had added many more monuments to the charge of the National Park Service, policies to deal with the diverse properties had still to be developed. Historically the monuments, unlike their more spectacular counterparts the National Parks, had received little attention and even less funding to provide for their needs. Faced with lack of personnel and no money, they often turned to local communities for support. Even those monuments located in remote areas used the services of volunteer custodians and concessioners to maintain facilities as best they could. The departments of War and Agriculture, which had previously been in charge of some national monuments, had not dealt with the problem any better. In some places the Department of War had even leased the sites to local historical societies who gave tours and ran concessions for their own benefit. [2] The precedent thus had been set that the monuments were somehow supposed to be self supporting, and this was the situation with which White had to deal. His first attempt to solve the problem was to contact Leroy Wright of the San Diego Historical Society. Knowing the difficulty of obtaining any permanent personnel he wrote to Wright:

"I feel that the time has not come, if it ever comes, when the National Park Service will be justified in keeping a paid ranger to supervise the small monument. It seems to me that it would be better if we could secure the cooperation of the Army, together with perhaps the services of a concessioner." [3] He then asked for help in finding a local man, preferably one with a wife, who would be willing to take on the position.

The problem was solved rather easily because, at the same time, Wright was approached by Clifton Rock, a newspaper reporter and publicist, asking for his help in finding a job with the Park Service. Rock, well educated and articulate, had for reasons of health given up his job at a local newspaper. With his local contacts in the media and his experience as a publicist, he believed that his "resultant knowledge of public psychology [would be] of value in making interesting such a project as the 'Old Spanish Lighthouse.'" [4] He had no illusions about what the position would entail having already been informed that part of the responsibility of being custodian would mean "making Cabrillo Monument as nearly self-supporting as possible." [5]

Rock's plan for accomplishing this included creating a small maritime museum to be located in one of the downstairs rooms and a larger museum in the basement to display artifacts taken from the lighthouse during reconstruction—both would be free to the public. The entire facility, he said, could be financed by a tea room which would serve snacks and light lunches

and a gift shop selling souvenirs. In addition, he suggested charging admission to the tower of the lighthouse. "To my mind," he said, "there is an additional advantage in that an admission charge would tend to prevent vandalism, as it will make necessary a closer supervision of visitors." [6]

His responsibilities, as he saw them, would include: policing the grounds and outbuildings, maintaining the landscaping, and offering lectures and information to visitors regarding the lighthouse. All of this at no cost to the Park Service. White, of course, immediately saw the advantage of this arrangement and wrote to the Director asking if there were any precedents for leaving a monument such as Cabrillo in the hands of a caretaker or concessioner. [7] Should this be impossible, he suggested as an alternate proposal that a ranger and his wife, "people trained in national park service customs and ideals," [8] be assigned to Cabrillo. A third possibility involved combining a ranger with his wife as concessioner and White inquired whether such an arrangement was permissible under the law.

Precedents in this case were few, and some time went by as the Park Service attempted to arrive at a workable solution. Director Cammerer immediately eliminated the ranger idea:

> We won't have any money for the custodianship nor do I think that the job is justified there. I would say that he would be given a year to year permit for the concession (White to indicate what may be sold and possibly what should not be sold) then as consideration or part consideration have Rock designated acting Custodian with proper police powers. [9]

Inter-office memos circulated inquiring if a person could be both a paid employee of the Park Service and still serve as concessioner, and conversely, if a concessioner could perform Park Service functions without being an actual employee. A consensus was finally reached that it was not permissible under the law to appoint Mr. Rock as official paid caretaker and at the same time authorize him to operate a concession at the the monument nor could admission be charged to the tower. [10] Therefore, Rock was given permission to operate a shop and tea room at the lighthouse in exchange for acting as unofficial caretaker without pay.

In October, Rock signed a miscellaneous service permit for which he paid $5.00 that authorized him to sell postcards, souvenirs and curios, and to serve snacks, drinks and sandwiches. [11] In exchange, he was to maintain and operate the old lighthouse building and all the fixtures. Some of the provisions of the permit were to cause problems, not the least of which was the section which stated that the concessioner was responsible for "providing paper and towels for the comfort station and for the water and electricity used therein." [12] Mr. Rock was not greatly encouraged with his ability for making a living when faced with the possibility of providing toilet tissue and towels for an estimated 200,000 people. Quick to point out the unreasonableness of the Park Service arrangement, he wrote:

> My main work here — custodian, caretaker and official "greeter" — necessitates me regarding myself as an "employee" of the National Park Service, except that instead of the Park Service paying me a monthly salary I am expected, and have agreed to "scratch" for my livelihood. However, should a park man be put on this job, the Park Service would not only have to pay his salary but would also have to pay all incidental expenses and the full maintenance costs.... I might mention that my total gross income from the shop yesterday was 87 cents. Such an income as this points toward a Park Service subsidy in years to come unless the Service wishes to assume the full salary and maintenance costs. [13]

White immediately came to his defense with Washington pointing out that if "we can make a

sufficiently liberal arrangement with Mr. Rock, I think the government may be saved the expense of maintaining a permanent ranger at Cabrillo." [14] Perhaps knowing a good thing when they had it, Washington agreed to assume responsibility for these services and authorized disbursements accordingly. [15] The Park Service received quite a bargain. In exchange for the full time services of Rock and his wife at Cabrillo, the Park Service paid only $266 in total expenses for the year 1936. [16]

With some of the more troublesome financial details out of the way, Rock settled down to actually running the monument. His duties were varied and time consuming including at least two hours of janitorial work every morning and window washing in the tower on Saturdays. In addition, he functioned as official greeter to the monument's visitors and dispensed information on the voyages of Cabrillo, the story of the lighthouse and its restoration, and the significance of Ballast Point. [17] The connection between the San Diego Historical Society and the monument continued, with Rock often attending meetings to discuss joint activities that included, among other things, plans for a yearly Cabrillo celebration. [18]

His former association with the newspapers of San Diego was helpful in keeping articles on the monument frequently in the news. When Rock realized that only a small number of the monument's visitors were local residents, he encouraged a campaign by the Chamber of Commerce to educate the public on the "attractions that bring tourists from every part of the country," an effort aided by various articles in the local press. [19]

Community support took other forms besides help with publicity. When Rock complained of the lack of plantings for the grounds, the Superintendent of Balboa Park sent out 235 specimens of native plants in gallon cans. Lack of funds short-circuited this effort, however, and Rock reported that: "I am wondering what to do with these plants. Unfortunately the rabbits, of which we have a plague here,...have eaten [many of] them down to the bare stalk...also there is the problem of watering 235 plants." [20]

All administrative duties were handled by Rock which included a monthly written report to Superintendent White. The reports began as lengthy, informal letters containing everything from weather reports to his nomination for the prize question posed by a tourist: "On hearing a fog horn for the first time, a mid-Western woman asked, 'Is that really a whale bellowing? '" [21] After a request was made by Washington that his monthly report follow a standard form, the documents became more formal and much less informative. Rock's flair for a colorful story was not easily squelched, however. In his monthly report for September 1937, under Section 400 (flora and fauna), he made this observation:

> Heading 400 seems rather heavy for this item: Sequoia has its bear feeding as a public attraction and Cabrillo feeds its rabbits and birds. Mickey and Minnie, two California robins and Faith, Hope and Charity, three half-grown cotton tails are regular boarders. They are fed each afternoon at 4 p.m. at the steps of the lighthouse, nor are they bashful in the presence of visitors. Until we taught them better manners, the birds would fly into the lighthouse and menace Mexican glassware on the shelves of the gift shop. [22]

Aside from his "unofficial" role as Park Service representative, he had to devote time to making a living. That part of his association with the monument was the least satisfactory:

> I will confess that the earnings of the first few months have not met with my anticipation. Frankly, it is vital for earnings to increase materially to make it profitable for me to stay. Also frankly, I am anxious to remain as the work is pleasant, the associations equally pleasant, and the living conditions ideal; and I am hopeful that if earnings don't increase that something adequate can be worked

out, possibly in the way of a janitor work subsidy. [23]

With Rock's monthly income often amounting to less than a hundred dollars, [24] Superintendent White was aware that he stood a good chance of losing the services of the concessioner. In spite of White's frequent requests to Washington for some financial reimbursement for Rock, the reply was always the same: there was nothing that could be done for Mr. Rock in the way of compensation while he held a concession at the Cabrillo National Monument. However, if he divested himself of the concession, there were no funds to pay him as a full time caretaker. [25] The situation was eased somewhat when provisions for a janitor were included in the 1937 budget. With Rock relieved of part of his duties, his income began to rise and by 1938, his profits reached $2,163 for the year. [26] The janitor, like Rock, took on varied duties including clerical work. When Rock went on buying trips for the gift shop, Washington received the monthly superintendent's reports from "Mr. Podvin, Janitor." [27]

Devising a Plan for Interpretation

Along with concerns for the natural environment, one of the primary missions of the Park Service after 1933 became history. With the addition of so many historically oriented properties in that year, it was the goal of the Park Service to design specific interpretation programs for each site. Attempts began immediately to professionalize the informal talks and presentations that had been the norm at most of the monuments. In the words of Herbert Kahler, a historian for the Park Service, "Retelling facts without interpreting them, means nothing." [28] In spite of the Park Service's desire to provide consistency and accuracy in their educational programs, the old nemesis of lack of funds continued to make their best intentions difficult. Since the staff was insufficient to provide comprehensive interpretive programs for each park and monument, the Park Service once again had to look to local agencies to provide basic interpretive planning and services.

In the case of Cabrillo, the Park Service called upon the San Diego Historical Society. In 1935, at the request of Ansel F. Hall, Chief of the Field Division of Education, a committee was "appointed for the purpose of assisting Mr. Hall in the interpretation of the old lighthouse and its environs...." [29] The purpose of the committee was to develop a historical background for the story to be told at the monument and to develop a method to interpret this story to the general public. The committee was also requested to consider whether a museum should be developed for the lighthouse and, if so, what should be exhibited.

Leaving a national monument in the hands of a local historical society and a concessioner was not a desirable state of affairs in Washington's view, and staff members were sent periodically to check on the situation. On one such visit, Acting Chief of the Western Division Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings, Olaf Hagen, was appalled at what he saw at Cabrillo. Not only was most of the available space in the lighthouse taken up by a tearoom and curio shop but the merchandise offered was largely Mexican in design and origin and "they—as the sale of anything—detract from the atmosphere we wish to create or preserve in our historic sites." [30] Hagen recommended that the situation be remedied immediately, that a permanent custodian and assistant historian be appointed and that the necessary income for financing the monument be raised by charging admission to the tower. If this could not be accomplished then, he said, "I do not think that Cabrillo should be dignified with the name and classification of a National Monument." [31]

Superintendent White answered with some mild outrage of his own. Never very patient with the meddling of bureaucrats, he pointed out that the Park Service had repeatedly denied his requests for permanent personnel and that the present concessioner arrangement was the best answer to a bad situation. He also suggested that in the future: "the Acting Chief of the

Western Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings route all reports through my office at Sequoia as I am in charge of the monument." [32]

White's successor, E.T. Scoyen, had to deal with the same criticism from Washington visitors sent on inspection tours. When Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, criticized some proposed exhibits planned by the historical society and called for a detailed interpretive plan for the monument, Scoyen replied:

> The problem at the present time is entirely one of personnel, as our present allotments make it impossible to carry on any interpretive work in that area. Until this particular part of the problem is solved, I can see no way of working out a program different from that which exists at the present time.... In other words, it appears to me to be a question of appropriations. About which there can be very little hope at present. [33]

In spite of Washington's desire for improvement of the monument, the twin problems of lack of space and especially lack of money would not go away.

The Coming of World War II

While administrators of the monument continued in their efforts to deal with their problems, a situation of a much larger magnitude loomed. Although the monument had always been located on land surrounded by a military installation, the situation was often more to its advantage than detriment. Having the Army control access to its main road made security less of a problem and aided in the control of traffic. In addition military personnel could be called upon to help with minor problems and the guards even kept count of the number of visitors.

In the 1930's, Fort Rosecrans, though technically still a military base, had been virtually abandoned. A reporter visiting the site in 1935 found a commissioned officer, eighteen enlisted men and a dog named Bozo all that remained of the forces supposedly manning the coastal defenses. [34] The situation changed rapidly in 1940 when a massive construction project began on a cantonment for the Coast Artillery forces which were due to arrive in January, 1941. The six million dollar project called for barracks for 3,000 enlisted men and the installation of new long-range guns to replace the obsolete weapons still at the fort. [35]

An awareness of the move for military preparedness came to the monument as early as 1936. At that time, Rock reported that Army Intelligence had tightened up inspections at the upper gate to Cabrillo as a result of an incident in which a carload of Japanese tourists were unaccounted for and presumably wandering about the reservation. [36] The Army was especially sensitive to the situation, since two years before a Japanese citizen had been arrested in San Diego with maps and descriptions of the city's Army, Navy and Marine installations. [37] In 1940, Rock reported that: "A large increase in personnel in the military units with the Ft Rosecrans reservation has given the area in the proximity of Cabrillo National Monument a warlike aspect." [38] Tourists, who were "impressed by the preparedness program," were often given more of a show than they bargained for. According to Rock:

> Of great interest to visitors the last of January has been the anti-aircraft practice held by the Marine Corps near Cabrillo National Monument. Apparently, the old lighthouse has been a bomb target as "enemy" airplanes have been flying over us continuously for days. Each of these "enemy" craft tows a target at which the defending battery blazes away with tracer shells. Incidentally, it is amazing how frequently they score a hit. [39]

Rock looked upon his position of interpreter at the monument as an "excellent opportunity for public education of the nation's objective in defense" and with the permission of the Army, he began tying in these objectives with his own educational program. In the words of Rock: "I consider this an important adjunct to national defense: a readying of the public for what may come and a knowledge that their draftee sons are well cared for and in good hands." [40]

The coexistence of a military base gearing up for war and a heavily visited tourist attraction, could not continue, of course. Following a visit to the commanding officer of Ft Rosecrans in November of 1940, Superintendent Scoyen expressed concern that the work of the War Department would seriously restrict the freedom of the public to use the monument. In a memo to the Regional Director, he wrote:

> I am strongly in favor of national defense, and it is certain coordination can iron out most points of conflict. What we have to watch is that the War Department does not get far along with their plans, of necessity secret in nature, and not keep in mind the problems of the National Park Service. [41]

National defense soon took precedence over the concerns of the Park Service, however, and in February 1941, the Army and Navy Joint Defense Board requested that the monument be transferred to the War Department for administration by the Army as part of Fort Rosecrans. Plans were obviously afoot to make use of the lighthouse immediately. In March, Rear Admiral Blakely requested that the Regional Director send plans and elevations of the lighthouse which had been prepared when the structure was remodeled in 1935. [42] In a memo to Colonel White, now Director of the Western Region, Newton B. Drury, Park Service Director wrote: "while the paramountcy of national defense is recognized, every proper effort should be made to retain Cabrillo National Monument in its present status." [43]

An uneasy cooperation between the two agencies continued at the monument for several more months. Hours were shortened to half a day, and an FBI man and two guards were posted at the entrance gate. Visitors were permitted to make only two stops within the reservation, at the military cemetery and at the monument itself. In addition, all photography was prohibited. On May 12, 1941, the Secretary of War formally requested the Secretary of the Interior's permission to occupy and use Cabrillo National Monument for the duration of the war. At the same time the permit issued in 1940 that gave permission for the Park Service to use War Department land adjacent to the monument as a parking lot was revoked. [44] Rather than returning its land to the War Department permanently, however, the Secretary of the Interior issued the War Department a Special Use Permit on May 17, 1941, thus making it possible for the Park Service to reclaim its property after the war. [45] For a short time after the agreement was signed, the road to the monument remained open during restricted hours but visitors were not permitted to park, and construction on the base made travel along the road hazardous. [46] On June 3, 1941, the *San Diego Union* announced that the road would be closed to civilian traffic until further notice.

Military Use of the Monument During the War

In view of its location, it is less surprising that the monument was closed in 1941 than that the Army permitted it to be open so long, surrounded as it was by a defense revitalization project of such great magnitude. Although Ft Rosecrans had been allowed to deteriorate in the 1930's, the ensuing years made it obvious that a new coastal defense system centered in San Diego was imperative. The reasons were many: Consolidated Aircraft Company was rapidly expanding and increasing its production of patrol bombers for the United States Navy; a Navy destroyer base was being developed into a complete repair base to service all types of

units from the Pacific Fleet; some of the nation's largest aircraft carriers were based in San Diego and the San Diego Naval Air Station was in the process of being enlarged to provide a base for the air arm of the Pacific Fleet In addition, a Navy supply depot, the Naval Training Station, a Marine base, the Naval Fuel Depot and many smaller installations were all located in San Diego. [47]

The defenses provided for all these activities were woefully inadequate. Although an attack by land seemed unlikely, a plan of protection was drawn up nonetheless. Since an enemy approach from the East was improbable because of the rugged, mountainous terrain in that direction, the emphasis was placed on the avenues the enemy might make from the north and south. Protection against attack from the north was provided by several thousand Army troops stationed at Camp Callan and Marines at Camp Elliot In the south, the 11th Cavalry carried on frequent maneuvers along the Mexican border to forestall any attacks coming through Mexico. The problem lay not in defense of the land but that of the coast approaches from the seas were patrolled to a very limited extent by U.S. Navy planes. There was, however, virtually no protection from an air attack. A volunteer air raid warning service was being developed, however, there was no radar system. Even if enemy aircraft were spotted, no means of active defense was available. An inventory of the armament available for harbor defense in early 1941 revealed a collection of antiquated and obsolete equipment that was wholly unsuitable for the task. One member of the gun crew of Battery Wilkeson, a gun battery installed in 1900, reports that his superior officers made an interesting discovery immediately before the war—batteries Wilkeson and Calef, with a maximum range of 14 miles, could not depress their muzzles enough to fire at any ship entering San Diego harbor but were actually pointed directly at National City. [48]

Though the Harbor Defense armament was inadequate, the troops assigned to the area at the time were not. Enlisted men of the 19th Coast Artillery Regiment had come for the most part from the regular Army and the remainder were primarily selectees from the Middle West who had ten months training. The field officers were regular Army, and company grade officers were largely Coast Artillery Reserve who had been on active duty from six to eighteen months. The regiment was trained intensively in artillery drill, infantry drill and small arms firing as well as seacoast artillery target practice. [49]

Hollis T. Gillespie, who was assigned to the 19th Coast Artillery at the time, later recalled his experience of becoming a soldier amid the incredible physical beauty of Point Loma.

> Point Loma is a location, a piece of dirt, a peninsula, the location of a National Cemetery where I always hoped to be buried some day and spend eternity. That is the place where I saw an ocean for the first time, the place where the first "civilized man first set foot on the west coast of the North American continent, a place where you can stand by Cabrillo lighthouse and look down on San Diego bay with its sail boats and water so blue you could use it for ink.... Ft Rosecrans was something else. It was a live, breathing, active fort. It was a place where a lot of green country boys became men. [50]

The reality of war came suddenly to Gillespie and his fellow soldiers:

> ...Ft. Rosecrans was where the men of the 19th Coast Artillery set up three .30 caliber, water cooled machine guns as a first line of defense against the Japanese Air Force on the night of Dec 7, 1941, and slept or stood guard all night out in the sage brush on the hills of Point Loma so we wouldn't be taken by surprise and bombed in our barracks as they were that morning in Hawaii... [51]

It was the attack on Pearl Harbor that escalated the implementation of the Harbor Defense

plan. The project, which called for a network of artillery batteries and fire control facilities along the coastline from the Mexican border to approximately 25 miles north of the city of San Diego had been initiated in 1940. Only one battery, however, Battery Strong, had been completed and test fired by the summer of 1941. [52]

With the temporary impairment of the Pacific Fleet on December 7, military authorities believed that the enemy attacks on the Pacific Coast were not only possible but probable. [53] Action at Fort Rosecrans, which remained the center of the expanded coastal defense system, swung into high gear. Troops were moved to their gun positions immediately. Ammunition was hauled to the battery positions and made ready for firing. Field fortifications and beach defenses were strengthened and camouflage improvement was initiated. The Harbor Entrance Control Post was moved from its position in the old lighthouse at the monument to a room in the Harbor Defense Command Post structure. Through the ensuing months, construction on a large scale of armament and base-end stations [54] was continuous. Twenty-six new base end stations with portable searchlights to serve them were completed in the next two years. In addition, decoy rockets and installations were put into place in an attempt to draw attention away from the actual positions. In 1942, a bomb-proof transmitter station was completed and, in February 1943, the first radar in the Harbor Defense went on the air—a joint Army-Navy endeavor. [55]

In spite of the intense effort expended on modernizing the Harbor defense system, it became obvious with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan on August 6, 1945, that the plans had been obsolete even as they were being implemented. With the end of the war, the concept of harbor defense using long-range artillery was abandoned and the guns scrapped. [56]

However, as the Army prepared to withdraw from Point Loma, the Navy saw the property fitting nicely into its expansion plans. The period of changeover from Army to Navy jurisdiction in the decade following the war proved to be a time filled with uncertainty for the future of Cabrillo National Monument. Though the Navy was eventually seen as the primary obstacle to the expansion of Cabrillo, it was the Park Service administration in Washington which nearly engineered the permanent closing of the monument.

The Return of the Monument to the Park Service

Although the monument was tightly guarded and inaccessible to the public throughout the war, Colonel White made it clear that he had no intention of abandoning the property permanently. Four months after the monument's closing in June 1941, he met with Major McCauley, who was the Secretary of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, Clifton Rock, and Colonel Ottosen of the Coast Artillery Corps at Ft Rosecrans. Both McCauley and Rock were fearful that, after the War, the Army might have permanent designs on the area and advised White that it would take constant pressure on the part of the Department of the Interior to have the monument returned after the emergency was over. [57]

In 1943, White was granted access to the monument for inspection and was alarmed by what he saw:

> The "Old Spanish Lighthouse" has been camouflaged and is occupied as a U.S. Naval Signaling Station. On the parking area south of the lighthouse a wooden observation tower has been erected and a large subterranean observation post consisting of concrete rooms and appurtenances constructed. The main highway to the monument has been torn up for a distance of several hundred feet and huge piles of dirt are nearby, excavations from the foundations of the great battery which is under construction near the monument. There are many other construction projects, batteries and observation posts not far from the monument

[58]

Not only had the grounds been altered beyond recognition, but Colonel Ottosen was emphatic in stating his belief that the War Department would not surrender the monument at the end of the War. In fact as a national defense measure "... it would be necessary permanently to exclude the public from Point Loma and the Cabrillo National Monument." [59]

Rather than being concerned at the prospect of losing the monument, the Park Service's Regional Office in San Francisco viewed the circumstances as a fortuitous excuse to rid itself of a property that seemed more trouble than it was worth. In a memo to Regional Director, O. A. Tomlinson, Acting Regional Director Herbert Maier expressed his opinion that it was probably too early to take steps toward disposition of the monument following the war. However, he suggested one possibility that might be considered would be to allow the War Department to operate it as a fort or a historic area even though this would mean "that it would no longer be a monument." Penciled in later was the notation, "Any great loss?" [60]

By the time a recommendation reached the Director in Washington, several more opinions had been gathered from the staff. Herbert Kahler, Acting Supervisor of Historic Sites, was blunt in his evaluation: "Because the area is memorial in character and has no outstanding historical significance, I recommend that it be disestablished as a national monument" [61] After further discussing the matter with the chiefs of the branches of Plans and Design and Natural History, Conrad Wirth, the Chief of Land Planning, wrote his evaluation to Director Newton B. Drury. In it he concurred with his associates that since they had been given the opportunity: "Why not dispose of Cabrillo National Monument if we can." [62] The reasons were almost identical to those given by Roger Toll in 1932 when he inspected the monument for the Park Service and argued against its acquisition. The area was more of a memorial than a national monument; there was no evidence that Cabrillo ever set foot on the property; the main feature of the area was a lighthouse which bore no relationship to Cabrillo's discovery of the area; and finally, since it was completely surrounded by War Department properties, the Army should be responsible for it. It was a convincing case, but Associate Director A. E. Demaray interjected a note of caution. Though he had no serious objection to disestablishing the monument, he believed that it was not advantageous for the Park Service to initiate the action.

> Doubtless the group interested in having Cabrillo established as a national monument will not be pleased and protest will be made to Congressman Izac representing San Diego County. My suggestion would be that we let nature take its course. If the War Department does not want to return it to the National Park Service after the war, let the Department initiate legislation transferring the area to, and as part of, Fort Rosecrans. [63]

The matter appeared to be dropped until the war was over, and once more Colonel White made contact with the civic groups of San Diego. If he knew of the movement afoot in Washington to quietly dispose of the little monument, he gave no indication in his reports. Accepting an invitation on March 12, 1946, to the annual meeting of the San Diego Historical Society, White gave the keynote address. His subject was the growth of the National Parks system and one of his primary points was the fact that "we had a great many historical parks and monuments in the East and practically none in the West." The talk was extremely well received and "a great many of those present took occasion to state their interest in the retention by the Service of the Cabrillo National Monument." [64]

The hope of the Park Service administration that the War Department would solve its disposal problem by demanding to keep the monument was not borne out. To the contrary, White reported that the acting commanding officer at Ft Rosecrans could see no objection

from the Army point of view for permitting public access to Point Loma. On the other hand, there might be a problem with the Navy since the upper gate on the main road to the monument had been turned over to them. This gate was now situated in the middle of the Navy Electronics Laboratory buildings which were located half within and half outside the Fort Rosecrans Military Reservation. After speaking to Captain Hord, the Commanding Officer of the Laboratory, White concluded that even this might not be a problem. He reported that, according to Hord, "if the Army requested the return of the monument to the Department of the Interior and the opening of the gate, the Navy would not oppose the request." [65] The question would need to be resolved, however, by the Commanding Officer of the 11th Naval District at San Diego.

White realized that it was unlikely that the Park Service would take action on the matter and also knew the power of public opinion in influencing the policies of both the Service and the War Department. Believing that a demand for the return of Cabrillo National Monument must come from the people of San Diego, he nonetheless helped the process along by visiting the Historical Society and the Chamber of Commerce which, he said, "has reawakened interest in this matter and these organizations will foster a movement for the return of the monument" [66]

In spite of a seeming consensus in Washington during the war that the Park Service would do well to rid itself of Cabrillo, the stance softened somewhat by 1946. In a memo to the Director, Ronald F. Lee, Chief Historian, rendered his opinion that while disestablishment of this particular monument was not a bad idea in itself, it might set a dangerous precedent. Such an action, he said, could "carry possible implications regarding the permanence of the arrangements under which other national monuments have been set aside and might at some future time weaken the position of the Service in defending boundaries of its areas." [67]

In addition, it appeared that disestablishment was not a simple matter legally. The Chief Counsel's office advised the Director that the area could not be abolished as a national monument without legislative authority. The best that could be done would be to designate it a national historic site and seek a cooperative agreement with the State of California for its administration. Director Drury did not favor this alternative and pointed out that when such an arrangement had been made at Mound City Group National Monument, it had led to a great deal of criticism. [68]

In the meantime, the interest of the local public in re-opening the monument accelerated. Appearing on a weekly radio forum with a presentation entitled, "Our Lost Viewpoint," Clifton Rock made a statement that Ft Rosecrans might again be opened to the public in the near future though probably on Sundays only. The local press picked up the story and mistakenly quoted Rock as saying that the area would be open the following Sunday. The announcement caused a minor riot as over a thousand people appeared at the gates demanding admission to the reservation. [69]

By September 1946, the newspapers reported regularly on progress toward reopening the monument. Citing an unattributed rumor, the *San Diego Tribune* said that the Chamber of Commerce feared Cabrillo might be turned over to the War Department permanently. [70]

On September 21, the *San Diego Journal* ran a lengthy article entitled, "Reopening of Cabrillo Shrine Tangled Mess of Confusion." The paper reported an impending visit to the monument of Herbert Kahler. Whether or not the paper knew that Kahler was responsible for the move for disestablishment, it was adamant in its message to him: "Somebody had better send storm warnings to Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler of the National Park Service," the article said. In spite of the fact that the Chamber of Commerce had sent "reams of letters" to "this, that and the other department trying to have the park reopened," the article continued,

there was still a great deal of confusion as to who currently had jurisdiction over the property. Since inquiries to the War Department had been referred to the Department of the Interior, the newspaper suggested that the property might have been returned. If this were the case and "Interior really is going to 'unload' it on War, permanently closing it to the public, there'll be another war. Look out, Mr. Kahler!" [71]

The *San Diego Union* was considerably more sedate in reporting Kahler's visit. According to its report, Kahler had told the Chamber of Commerce that he would do everything in his power to induce the War Department to open the monument to the public. Ronald Lee, contacted in Washington after Kahler's visit, denied the rumors that the Park Service wanted to permanently surrender the property to the War Department. On the contrary, he said that the Service was well aware that the it was the only national park property south of Sequoia and that in the three year period prior to the war it had attracted over 2 million visitors. [72]

The push to re-open the monument received a boost with the involvement of California Senators William F. Knowland and Sheridan Downey. Responding to their inquiries, Acting Secretary of War. John Sullivan wrote to the Senators in November 1946: "The War Department which took over Cabrillo Park from the Interior Department's National Park Service under a temporary permit, has agreed to swing open the gates again provided the Navy offers no objection." [73]

On November 4, 1946, Thomas Bomar, assistant general manager of the Chamber of Commerce was notified by J. B. Olendorf, 11th Naval District Commandant, that the the district was not opposed to the monument becoming public provided that appropriate security measures for the Navy's installations could be maintained. [74] Five days later, the *Evening Tribune* ran a front page article headlined: "Monument Freed to the Public — May Again Visit Lighthouse." Appropriately, the official re-opening occurred on November 11, 1946—Armistice Day. Once again free to enjoy the spectacular view, the local populace turned out 12,000 strong to celebrate, in the words of the *San Diego Union*, "the return to life as it has been preserved for San Diego." [75]

Early the following year, bureaucratic formalities had at last been satisfied. On January 28, 1947, the Interior Department permit giving the Army control over Cabrillo National Monument was officially revoked, thus returning jurisdiction to the National Park Service. [76]

In the absence of any written records of the transaction between the Department of War and the Department of the Interior, it is difficult to speculate whether the delay in returning the monument was due to deliberate intention or merely bureaucratic inertia. There is no doubt, however, that the campaign waged by the Chamber of Commerce, the Historical Society, and the local newspapers (aided and abetted by the indomitable Colonel White) had its effect. If the military believed they could quietly usurp the tiny property with the complaisance of the Park Service, both agencies seriously underestimated the emotional attachment that the people of San Diego had for their monument and the lengths to which they would go to get it back.

CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER VI

The Park Service Regains Cabrillo

Following the re-opening of Point Loma to civilian traffic on November 11, 1946, the public was once again permitted to drive to the end of the point and enjoy the view. For several months afterwards, however, that was all they were able to do, since the facilities at the monument remained closed. John R. White, with his usual impatience, wrote to the Director in February 1947:

> The total travel for the month was 7,122 cars and 24,929 visitors. This large travel, very much more than reaches most of the National Parks in the winter months was entirely uncared for by the Service or by the Army. The buildings, repaired and erected by the National Park Service at a cost of $50,000 still are closed and there are no comfort station facilities for this vast number of people, a condition which is disgraceful to the Service and to the Army. [1]

Officials finally began to take action to improve the situation in March, when the commanding officer of Fort Rosecrans made an inspection tour of the area with representatives of the Park Service. [2] Plans were made at that time to refurbish and re-open the facilities. Clifton Rock was again awarded the concessioner's contract and $1,000 was allocated for the administration of Cabrillo for the rest of the year. For the first time in the monument's history, the Park Service agreed to hire a full time employee, designated as janitor (CPC-4). [3] The salary offered, $2,020 per year, did not bring on a great rush of applicants and the choice was finally made by Rock, who conducted the interviews, in June 1947. [4] Donald M. Robinson, a former Navy petty officer, was chosen for the position and began work immediately. [5]

As the only Park Service employee on the premises, Robinson assumed the administrative duties that had previously been handled by Rock. His first report to the Superintendent was submitted on August fifth and was as succinct as Rock's were colorful and informative. The concessioner was now able to devote additional time to his shop, which became much more profitable than before the war even though the tearoom was no longer in operation. [6] Rock did not completely abandon his former responsibilities, however, and when Robinson was off duty two days a week, he filled in without pay. [7]

The extra space in the lighthouse left vacant by the discontinuation of the tearoom was quickly appropriated by Robinson as "museum space." With the aid of the historical society and interested citizens, he began collecting artifacts for display [8] which included, "the first piano brought to San Diego," a desk used by an early postmaster of the city, a spinning wheel, a hope chest [9] and an extensive shell collection for which he planned to build display cases. In addition, he obtained a flagpole "through the cooperation of the Navy and installed by the Army" [10] and an anchor which he placed on the south side of the main walk leading to the lighthouse. [11]

Robinson's enthusiasm for the project was not matched by the officials in the Regional Office. His superintendent's reports were often liberally annotated by his superiors with such comments as: "Unless we watch this, it could well develop into an antique shop under the name of a National Park Museum." [12] The Regional Director was concerned enough with the situation to advise the superintendent of Sequoia that until a museum plan could be developed for Cabrillo, he should be cautious in allowing Robinson to accept donations "which might later prove embarrassing to the Service...." [13]

The concession continued to be a thorn in the side of the regional administration—a situation only aggravated by Robinson's attempts to turn the lighthouse into a museum. A committee set up at the Regional Office to review the problems of Cabrillo reported in March 1948 that:

> ...the matter of the concession is a problem. Certainly the Lighthouse should not be given over to it as at present but should probably be restored in time to the appearance it presented during its active years in the 1850's. It is hardly suitable for a museum. [14]

The situation reached a critical point in 1949 when the Regional Office decided that the increase in Rock's profits for the year was excessive and demanded through the chief of concessioners in Washington, that his mark-up on items sold be limited to 75 per cent over the delivered cost. This would, in effect, reduce his income by approximately $4,000, "which on the basis of 1948 volume, would leave an amount equivalent to what is considered a fair salary for the concessioner." [15] Rock replied with an emotional fifteen page letter listing his years of faithful service to the Park Service, the responsibilities he had assumed without pay and the losses he had incurred when the monument closed during the war. E.T. Scoyen, Col. White's successor at Sequoia, supported Rock's position—though in a style more logical and less impassioned than that of his energetic predecessor. [16]

White, by this time retired, could not resist entering the argument, however. After visiting Rock, who had been admitted to the hospital shortly after the fray began, he wrote to the Regional Director:

> [Rock] has been much run down in health and I cannot but feel that it is in some measure due to the difficulties he has experienced in obtaining a contract from the Department which will give him a reasonable return...I feel sure that a little encouragement from you and from Director Drury would do much to help Mr. Rock on the road to recovery. [17]

As word of Rock's illness spread, the Regional Office received several requests to assume the concession. Associate Director A.E. Demaray, sent from Washington to evaluate the situation, arrived at the decision that the concession should be discontinued since the space was badly needed for public use. In addition, he said, facilities such as those offered by Rock's gift shop were available outside the monument area. In consideration for Rock's years of service, however, he was permitted to continue the operation until his health forced him to retire. [18]

A Statue for the Monument

The original purpose for the establishment of Cabrillo National Monument in 1913 had been, according to the Order of Panama, to provide a suitable place for a "heroic statue of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo." [19] When the monument reopened to the public after the war, it still possessed a restored lighthouse, a remarkable view and a bronze plaque, but no statue. The situation was remedied through a set of circumstances that not only contributed to the folklore of the place but exemplified the extraordinary relationship which the community of

San Diego had developed with the Cabrillo (both the man and his memorial) over the years.

Versions of the story, as told by the two men most closely involved, Lawrence Oliver and State Senator Ed Fletcher, differ slightly in detail but agree in substance. According to Oliver, founder of the Portuguese-American Social and Civic Club, the saga began in 1935 when Alvaro De Bree, a young Portuguese sculptor, was given a commission by his government to create a statue of Cabrillo to be presented as a gift to the state of California. The statue, when completed, was to be exhibited in the Portuguese exhibit at the San Francisco Exposition of 1940. [20] In 1939, Oliver received a request from the Committee of the House of Portugal asking for funds from his association to help defray the costs of the exhibit. When sending his donation, Oliver wrote to the committee explaining that the Portuguese community of San Diego was interested in acquiring the statue once the Exposition was over. At about the same time, Clifton Rock received a letter from J. R. De Faria, historian of the Cabrillo Civic Club of San Francisco, describing the statue and enclosing a photograph. After consulting with the San Diego Historical Society, Rock contacted Col. White, then serving as chief of operations in Washington, to use his influence in getting the statue for the monument. [21]

While much information concerning the statue circulated through the community, no one had actually seen it. One group of San Diegans from the Heaven on Earth Club made a special fact finding trip to the Exposition but had no luck in locating the elusive 14,000 pound, 15 foot sculpture. Two landscape architects from the Park Service appeared, at first, to have better luck. In a report to the Regional Director, the two described a plaster statue 4-1/2 feet high with a post and cross projecting 18 inches above. The plaster was covered with a green mottled coating designed to resemble marble. Both architects worried that the statue, if subjected to the elements, would dissolve. Therefore they suggested that if it was acquired for the monument, it be installed in the stairwell niche inside the lighthouse. [22]

While plans were being made for this statue, which turned out to be a smaller replica of the original, the genuine one had yet to be located. Purely by chance, Oliver mentioned his search to a family friend, Anna Lewis Miller of San Francisco, only to discover that the statue was crated and stored in her garage. The sculpture had been put there either because it was too large and heavy for the exhibition space, it was broken on arrival, it was delivered too late, or some combination of the three. In any event, the piece having been discovered, now needed to find its way to San Diego. For this, Oliver enlisted the aid of State Senator Ed Fletcher. [23]

Fletcher, according to his recollection of the matter, was told by the Portuguese commissioner, Antonio Ferro, that although the statue was a gift to the State of California, he believed that the statue should be placed in San Diego since Cabrillo first landed on Point Loma. The governor, Culbert Olson, had a different plan, however, having promised the statue to the city of Oakland. Fletcher accused Olson of playing politics owing to the large number of Portuguese voters in the area, [24] but there is also, no doubt, some truth to the assertion that since the Portuguese organizations of the Bay Area had arranged and helped pay for the transportation of the statue, they should have kept it.

By the time the it was located by Oliver, the governor had already accepted the statue on behalf of the State of California and announced that it would be located in the City Park of Oakland. Fletcher had other ideas:

> Having been a State Senator for four years with Governor Olson, I had a thorough disgust for many things he stood for. I resented the fact that the statue did not go to San Diego where I thought it belonged. [25]

After checking with the State Legislative Council, Fletcher received its legal opinion that

while the Governor had a right to accept the statue in the name of the State of California, only the legislature had the authority to decide how it should be disposed. Fletcher immediately introduced a bill in the state senate which would give the statue to San Diego. The bill passed with no opposition and was sent to the assembly where it was referred to committee and eventually killed "owing to the opposition of the assemblyman from Oakland." [26] Now at a legal impasse, Fletcher's "only thought was to get possession, as that is nine points of law, so lawyers say." [27]

Fletcher arrived early on a Saturday morning at Anna Miller's house armed with a copy of the state journal that listed passage of the Senate bill. For good measure he had a letter from the president of the State Park Commission asking her to release the statue. To add further credence to the request, he had Frank Jordon, Secretary of State, affix the golden seal of the State of California. Satisfied with the official looking documents and eager to get rid of the crate that had cracked the floor in her garage, Miller gave permission for the statue to be removed. As it was being loaded aboard a moving van:

> ...she called me to talk over the phone to the Vice-Consul of Portugal who protested its removal and threatened court proceedings. I also got another telephone call from an attorney in Oakland who threatened an injunction. The lady was in tears, but it was too late. I promised her she would never regret it and left with the statue.. [28]

By the time the governor could object, the statue had been loaded aboard a railroad freight car and was on its way to San Diego.

Having reached its destination, it was put in the city garage for safe-keeping, and a committee was formed to decide exactly where the plundered prize should be located. In March 1940, the committee recommended that rather than moving the statue to the lighthouse, it should be placed "near the terminus of Harbor Drive close to the water" since this area, known as La Playa, had a large Portuguese colony. [29] Fletcher and Oliver however preferred that it be part of the monument and met with Rock to win Park Service approval for the matter. [30] By May, the furor showed no signs of abating with Governor Olson ordering the statue returned to San Francisco. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the statue was found to be broken and the cost for repair estimated to be as much as $5,000. Rock, amused by the local brawl, wrote to Scoyen that he considered it a "wild western tempest in a teapot." [31] In any event, he suggested that it would be unwise for the Park Service to become involved. "The complications," he wrote, "sort of make the statue out of the question this year, and it might be wise to use the money in some other way." [32] Scoyen wrote to the Director on December 12, 1940:

> I agree with Mr. Rock that it is regrettable that we are unable to secure this statue for our monument However, the circumstances in which San Diego secured the likeness of the great Portuguese navigator would make it absolutely impossible for us to accept the donation. [33]

On January 25, 1941, an Oakland assemblyman introduced a bill to transfer the statue to the city of Oakland, but it was killed in committee. Though Fletcher reported "a bitter fight that continued for years," [34] the participants eventually ran out of steam and the statue stayed in San Diego.

Having been by now repaired and mounted on a base, the statue stood at the west end of the Naval Training Center facing Ballast Point, where, "it was under guard day and night by the United States Navy" [35] — presumably safe if legislators from the north came to take it by force. The official dedication of the site took place on Sept 28, 1942, the 400th anniversary of

Cabrillo's landing. The dedication was to have been part of a quadricentennial exposition but due to the war, the festivities were cancelled. Instead a small commemorative ceremony was held, attended primarily by members of the Portuguese community, Senator Fletcher, Lawrence Oliver and dignitaries from the military and the city. The main address was delivered by Dr. Euclides Goulart da Costa, consul of Portugal at San Francisco, who unveiled the statue with the words: "May the statue of this Portuguese of honor and courage serve as a perpetual reminder of the friendship between the American and Portuguese people." [36]

Unfortunately, the statue could not remind anyone of anything since the military base on which it was located was closed soon after. The statue waited out the war "in about as unsuitable a place as could be found; surrounded by the cheap, temporary utility buildings of the Submarine Experiment Base [and] surrounded by a high barbwire fence." [37]

The prize was too hard won for it to be left indefinitely at the mercy of the military, and after the war interest was rekindled to give the statue a more suitable home. In 1947, the San Diego Historical Society formed a committee with the purpose of having the statue moved from Navy property to a site at Cabrillo National Monument. [38] Since the controversy regarding ownership of the statue had died down, the Park Service became less concerned with its dubious lineage and more interested in the practical consideration of how and where it was to be moved. White examined the statue and wrote to the Regional Office that "I feel it belongs in the Cabrillo National Monument and...the San Diego Historical Society feels that it should be there." [39]

The Chief of the Museum Bureau in Washington, after examining photographs judged the work to be "a satisfactory piece of memorial sculpture" and declared that it appeared suitable "from an artistic standpoint." [40] Restricted by its usual funding limitations, the Service agreed to accept the statue with conditions: "This service has no objection to placing this statue at Cabrillo National Monument provided that a suitable base will be furnished and the statue reerected without expense to the Service and that the Navy Department will interpose no objections." [41]

In past instances, when private groups had attempted to obtain a statue for the monument, plans had been abandoned because of lack of funds. This time, the organizations involved took no chances. Through their efforts, the City of San Diego agreed to take responsibility for the project. On January 20, 1948, the city council passed a unanimous resolution which stated that the "cost of moving said statue and erecting it at the new location will be borne by the City of San Diego." [42] Working with the the City, the Regional Office in San Francisco created plans and drawings for the transfer. As is the case with many arrangements involving large agencies, there were long delays, and at times, it seemed the project had been abandoned. Over a year later, on May 24, 1949, the manager of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce wrote to the City Manager saying that the Navy was very anxious to have the statue removed and inquiring as the the status of the project. [43] Goaded into action, the two agencies finalized plans and the City accepted a bid for $1,645 for moving the statue. [44] There were some minor setbacks as Custodian Robinson noticed that the scale on the accepted plans was wrong and that:

> Another change needed is the distance of the statue from the present monument using the drinking fountain as a center line. The distance shown on the plans is sixty feet, and should be thirty feet. As sixty feet would place the statue inside the lighthouse. [45]

Details were soon ironed out, however, and things began moving ahead as planned. On September 1, 1949, Superintendent Scoyen received an invitation from the Portuguese

American Social and Civic Club to the "rededication of the statue of Joao Rodrigues Cabrilho, discoverer of California" [46] at the monument on September 28—a ceremony which had apparently been planned without the knowledge or blessing of the Park Service. Scoyen took this development in stride, however, and wrote to the Regional Director that "they have gone ahead with their plans and have issued invitations in the name of their Society and the National Park Service...but I believe no harm has been done and the arrangements so far are satisfactory..." [47]

In the manner of last minute arrangements, the statue was actually moved on September 26, only two days before the dedication ceremony. So hurried was the project that the possibility of a disaster did cross Robinson's mind. Recalling the incident, he said: "We put it up there so fast, we were worried that the concrete [on the base] was too wet...we thought maybe the weight of the statue would smash down on it—but we were able to get away with it." [48]

A plaque, which had been designed by the Portuguese club, was also somehow lost in the planning shuffle but on September 23, the Regional Director wrote that though it would be impossible to have the plaque designed and cast for the dedication ceremony, "we are placing the design...on our plans list. We will place this job in high priority and hope to be able to forward drawings to you in October." [49]

The ceremony to dedicate the statue was held on September 28 as scheduled with the appropriate pomp, circumstance and dignitaries. The Mayor of San Diego, Harley E. Knox, formally presented the statue to the National Park Service and Dr. Manuel Rocheta, chancellor of the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, D.C., delivered an address. In his statement at the ceremony, Superintendent Scoyen described the life of the explorer Cabrillo and the sculpture which represented him:

> Cabrillo was a great navigator and during his life sailed many seas. It also appears true that this representation of him has had a rather restless and wandering existence. For ten years it has been in search of a home. This problem has finally been solved and here on this National Shrine it will stand until the winds and storms of many decades very slowly wear it away. [50]

The monument had waited since 1913 for its statue of Cabrillo and on September 28, 1949, the wait had finally come to an end.

Extension of the Monument's Boundaries

While the acquisition of the statue provided a focus for the symbolic meaning of Cabrillo National Monument, during the next ten years administrators had to deal with a more practical issue as well. Nothing, aside from the constant shortage of funds, provided more controversy than the question of space or, more precisely, the lack of it. Limited in size to less than half an acre and constantly at the mercy of the vagaries of military policy, it is no wonder that the Park Service had responded with such eagerness when presented with the possibility with disposing of Cabrillo after World War II. When this plan was short-circuited by the efforts of San Diegans, the Service responded with the only other alternative, an attempt to permanently secure more land from the Army and Navy.

Trying to obtain land from the military was not a new issue and had been dealt with intermittently throughout the Park Service's administration of the monument Acquiring permanent rights to any military land proved impossible in the 1930's and the best that could be done was to obtain a five year revokable permit, issued on May 23, 1935, for a parking lot and comfort station adjacent to the monument. The permit, because of its short duration and the fact that it forbade any permanent buildings, made long range planning for the monument

impossible. [51] The question arose again when the time came for renewing the permit. However, the military's openness to the suggestion of extension seemed to depend on the opinion of the commanding officer of Fort Rosecrans at any particular time. [52] With the coming of the war, the boundary question, along with all other matters related to the monument, was placed on temporary hold.

Early in 1948, rumors abounded that the Army was about to declare the land of Fort Rosecrans surplus. The Chamber of Commerce believed that this would be an excellent opportunity for the Park Service to acquire the additional land it had sought. In a letter to Representative Charles K. Fletcher on January 8, San Diego Chamber of Commerce manager Arnold Klaus suggested that he "contact the proper individuals in the National Park Service...to take steps to acquire any of this surplus property for the expansion of Cabrillo National Monument." [53]

After receiving correspondence from both Fletcher and the Chamber of Commerce, Director Newton B. Drury informed the Regional Director in San Francisco that it was time for the Park Service to take a stand on Cabrillo:

> While the record shows that most of us have blown both hot and cold as to this monument, several members of the staff feel that, if enlarged, it might contribute significantly in telling the story of Portuguese discovery.... Perhaps we have in the past been too greatly concerned with current inadequacies and purely local aspects of the situation.
>
> At any rate, Mr. Klaus' inquiry brings to a head the desirability of making up our minds.... [54]

The Park Service was to have competition in its quest, however, from, strangely enough, the City of San Diego. The *San Diego Union* ran a large front page story on February 22, touting the idea of Philip L. Gilred of the planning commission. According to his plan, the entire military reservation would be turned over to the City and turned into a vast city park that would "dwarf all other City parks in the west, from the standpoint of both size and scenic view." [55] To further complicate the situation, an equal number of rumors persisted that the Navy desired all the land on Point Loma and had plans to close the entire area to the public. [56] The Army, for its part, denied any and all claims and promised to "study the matter." [57]

While lower level officials in the Army, Navy and Park Service Regional Office reviewed "confidential maps" and hypothetically divided the spoils, [58] the problem eventually reached the top. In a terse letter, Gordon Gray, the Assistant Secretary of the Army informed the Secretary of the Interior that "current plans do not contemplate declaring any portion of Fort Rosecrans surplus." [59] However, an investigation was underway to study the feasibility of making some land around the immediate area of the monument available to the Park Service.

Promises from the Army were to prove useless, however, since according to the Commanding Officer of the Naval Electronics Laboratory:

> We received information from Washington just a few days ago indicating that the Army has prepared to pull out, lock, stock and barrel, from the Point Loma area and turn the entire Fort Rosecrans reservation over to the Navy for use or disposition. [60]

He told Scoyen that, as far as he knew, the Navy would have no objection to the Park Services plans and further counseled:

> The mighty red-tape wheels in Washington grind exceedingly slow, but don't get discouraged. We aren't, and I am sure everything will work out to our satisfaction. [61]

As it turned out, the Park Service would have good reason for discouragement—for its troubles, far from being over, had just begun. During the following four years, a multitude of correspondence was exchanged among Park Service officials, the Army, the Navy, the Chamber of Commerce and every Senator and Representative who could be convinced to become involved. Further complicating matters were news stories in the local press that announced the expansion of the monument as an accomplished fact. On April 30, 1950, the *San Diego Union* published a story which not only said that 61 acres had been transferred by the Army to the Park Service but included a map and development plans for the area. The story came as news to the participants in the negotiations and after meeting with Admiral Baker, Commandant of the Naval District in San Diego, Superintendent Scoyen reported that the Navy claimed jurisdiction over the area in question. Furthermore, while Baker would agree to "allowing the Park Service to *use* the land in question...he would not agree to inclusion of any lands south of the present monument in a proclamation extending the Cabrillo boundaries." [62]

The advent of the Korean War brought an abrupt end to all discussions. In a letter to the Managing Director of the San Diego-California Club on May 9. 1951, the Commandant of the Eleventh Naval District explained that the transfer had "been held in abeyance due to the suspension of authority to transfer or to dispose of excess and surplus real property." [63] Unlike World War II, the Korean War did not bring a closure of the monument and activities there continued. Far from abandoning the idea of expansion, Park Service officials continued during the war to pressure military authorities for a resolution to the boundary problem.

By 1952, discussions seemed permanently bogged down as the Navy and Army disagreed as to which of them actually held jurisdiction over various portions of land. Realizing that the prospect of acquiring the 61 acres adjacent to the monument were increasingly dim, Custodian Robinson decided that the time had come to concentrate on his most immediate problem, the desperate need for parking space. In spite of the fact that the Navy denied having control over the three acre plot of land that Robinson requested, he "spent a few days with the Army running down the title to this area, and I found that a permit classified as secret was issued to the Navy on July 1, 1951, giving them a five year permit covering the area south of the monument." [64] After further discussions with Captain Bennett of the Naval Electronics Laboratory, and with some intervention on the part of Representative Bob Wilson, [65] Robinson reached an agreement for use of the parking area. Four years of correspondence, discussions and negotiations had yielded only a five year sublease on a three acre parcel of land — the same area that had been used by the monument since 1934. [66]

The following years were to bring even more promises and delays by the military. Endless correspondence followed by futile meetings on the local, regional, and national levels made the project seem hopeless. While both the Army and Navy made public statements giving their approval to expanded lands for the monument, [67] no one in the hierarchy of either service was willing to make the idea a reality. Though Robinson was often successful in getting military officials on the local level to agree to expansion, the proposal was invariably scuttled higher up. In frustration, Robinson wrote to the Superintendent of Sequoia in November, 1954:

> It seems that the Navy is taking a stand to acquire all of Fort Rosecrans Reservation. Our local representatives, Civic Groups, and local citizens are up in arms as to the Navy acquiring this land without considering the expansion of

> Cabrillo National Monument. Representative Bob Wilson will be in San Diego, December 3rd, for a show-down conference on this subject. I am attending this conference to fight for our share of this acreage. [68]

Bob Wilson's aid had been sought earlier in the struggle. Pressure on him to actively participate, however, continued to increase. Letters were sent from the San Diego Visitor's Bureau, the Cabrillo Club of California and other civic clubs. Petitions and letters from individual citizens flooded his office. [69] Although securing the additional acreage would indeed be, "a feather in [his] cap," [70] Wilson had more personal reasons for taking on the project besides its popularity with his constituents. Coming from a family long associated with lighthouses (his mother was born in one and both his father and uncle were lighthouse keepers), he had always had a sentimental attraction for the lighthouse located on Point Loma. [71] Furthermore, his membership on the powerful House Armed Services Committee put him in the perfect position to address the problem on a direct level.

It became obvious in 1955 that the delay in acquiring a firm commitment from either the Army or Navy in the preceding years had been tied to a pending land deal between the two services. In June of that year, the Navy publically announced plans to acquire additional acreage from the Army as part of a two and a half million dollar public works authorization bill. Though the Navy refused to provide details, officials did admit that the land transfer had been pending for over two years and that there had been considerable controversy over financing, details of which were being ironed out at "high military levels." [72] Concerned that once the transfer had been made, the Park Service would have little chance of wresting it from the control of the Navy, Wilson was urged to push for acquisition of land for the monument at the same time. While negotiations continued on a higher level, the local population redoubled its efforts to apply pressure on those in charge, even though, no one was quite sure who that might be. Both the Army and Navy complained of "a barrage of propaganda" and told the Park Service that rather than helping the situation, it was making it worse. [73] If that were not enough, providing a survey of official boundaries that could be agreed upon by all the involved parties became a major obstacle. [74] In addition, the Navy became quite insistent that they wanted all of Ft Rosecrans at the time of transfer, that they did not wish to deal with the Park Service until after that time and that while they might consider a long term lease, an outright deed to the land was out of the question. [75] In a letter to Wilson, Robinson complained bitterly of the Navy's actions:

> It seems now as in the past the Navy will not keep its word as to their agreements.... We have been informed by the 11th Naval District that should the Navy require all of Fort Rosecrans from the Army, they would be willing to work out a permit basis for the land desired for the expansion of the monument. This would not be satisfactory as a Navy permit is never a sound investment. [76]

Though he understood Robinson's frustration with the Navy, Scoyen was somewhat abashed by the letter. In a personal memo to Robinson, his superior suggested that in the future, he might be more diplomatic because: "Should the Navy ever gain possession of the letter I am sure if they did not demand an explanation of your remarks, they would resent them very much." [77]

Any resentment the Navy may have felt has gone unrecorded but it is evident that officials in that service were still in no hurry to settle the matter. By June of the following year, even the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, whose help had been enlisted by Wilson, was becoming impatient with the impasse. In a letter to the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Chairman Carl Vinson reminded him of Wilson's request for action on the project:

> Since no project has been submitted to the Committee covering this proposal, although considerable time has passed since this transfer became the subject of discussion in the Department of Defense, I feel that it would be well for me to be brought up to date as to the current status of the proposal in order that I may advise Mr. Wilson in the premises. [78]

Six months later, the Secretary of the Navy assured the committee that the project would reach the Armed Services Committee in about two months and as soon as the project was approved, the Navy would immediately request the Army to transfer Fort Rosecrans. At that time, Wilson planned to "insist that the 64 acres in question be transferred directly to the Interior...." [79] In the interval of time during which negotiations had been made, references to the project by participants became almost impossibly garbled and contradictory. On February 8, 1956, Rear Admiral C. C. Hartman, the 11th Naval District commandant, had been quoted in all the local newspapers as saying that the "U.S. Park Service...may have as much land as it needs to enlarge the Cabrillo National Monument area on San Diego's Point Loma." [80] However, precisely how much this was varied according to the person involved and the particular year, month and day of the week. The area in question at various times was referred to as 75 acres, 77 acres, 64 acres and 80.6 acres "more or less." [81] Surveys were made, boundaries redrawn and legal descriptions were rejected by one or another of the agencies in a continuing bureaucratic comedy of errors. In spite of what seemed interminable delays, the House Armed Services Committee at last approved the proposal to transfer approximately 80 acres to the Park Service in July of 1957 and the Senate committee followed soon after. [82] Just when it seemed that the situation might actually be getting under control, [83] the Director of the Park Service received the following news from Elmo L. Buttle, Chief of the General Services Administration (Acquisition and Disposal Division):

> The Bureau of Yards and Docks, Department of the Navy...has advised us that the Department of the Interior is interested in acquiring property to enlarge the Cabrillo National Monument... We wish to advise you that it is now the general policy to require reimbursement at fair value for all transfers of real property...[Y]ou will be informed as to the payment required as soon as possible. [84]

After some hasty searching for a loophole in the ever increasing morass, Scoyen, now Associate Director of the Park Service, informed Buttle that "the transfer could be made without reimbursement on the basis of our certification that no funds were available and that GSA would determine the best interest of the Government would be served by the transfer of the property for the purposes requested." [85]

With one more obstacle cleared away, a proclamation was drawn up by the Department of the Interior for the President's signature on August 11, 1958. [86] Not even Presidential Proclamations were speedily dispatched in 1958, however, and by November President Eisenhower had still not signed the document. [87] On February 2, 1959, over ten years after the first serious efforts began to expand Cabrillo's boundaries, the President finally signed Proclamation 3273 assigning "approximately eighty acres of land contiguous to and completely surrounding the present site of the monument...." [88] Cabrillo, no longer a tiny speck on the tip of Point Loma, at last had some room to grow.

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CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER VII

Initiating an Interpretive Plan for Cabrillo

In its early years, Cabrillo, like many other parks and monuments, operated without benefit of a master plan. Left to their own devices, superintendents and caretakers often devised ways to make their particular area more appealing to tourists thereby gaining recognition and having more bargaining power when budget appropriations were determined. Donald Robinson in his early days as custodian of Cabrillo developed, in his words, "a gimmick" to do just that. [1] In December 1952, he opened a whale watching station in one of the Army's old fire control facilities overlooking the Pacific. Within a week over 6,500 people visited the improvised observatory. [2] The resulting publicity in the local papers caused a minor crisis at the monument when on January 4, 12,780 visitors inundated the tiny area resulting in an enormous traffic jam along the entire point In a letter to the Superintendent of Sequoia, Robinson reported:

> Reinforcement was needed to cope with visitors. The Naval Electronics Laboratory Security Guards were helpful in directing traffic and parking cars. This is one indication that Cabrillo has a new field to develop, the migration of whales passing Cabrillo National Monument could become one of the greatest highlights of the monument and possibly one of California's greatest attractions. [3]

The year 1955 provided another opportunity to call attention to the monument since it marked the 100th anniversary of the lighthouse. Robinson planned an elaborate ceremony in conjunction with the Coast Guard under the mistaken notion that the Point Loma light was the first in California, "if not the entire Pacific Coast." [4] The Regional Director, however, was lukewarm to the idea of a major celebration. In a letter to the Director, he pointed out that the first lighthouse on the Pacific Coast was on Alcatraz Island not Point Loma and therefore he opposed putting the Service in a "position of seeming to endorse a ceremony which might exaggerate the relative importance of the Point Loma Light in the history of the Lighthouse Service on the Pacific Coast." [5] More important, however:

> ...we feel any such ceremony should be conducted with a due regard for the historical value involved. First, it should be recognized that Cabrillo National Monument was not established primarily to preserve the lighthouse, which is of secondary interest, but to honor the achievements of Cabrillo. Therefore, a celebration commemorating the opening of the lighthouse should, in our opinion, be conducted in such a manner as to preserve the overall perspective. [6]

This controversy pointed out, once more, the necessity of developing some basic interpretive plan. While the regional and national administration of the Park Service still viewed Cabrillo as primarily commemorative in nature, individual superintendents often took advantage of the monument's other attributes to generate publicity and increase tourist travel. Without benefit of a written plan, however, their ideas were often subject to vetoes by the Regional Office for

being inappropriate. Yet, it was this variety of attractions that made Cabrillo so popular. Clearly the time had come for some workable policy to be formulated—a plan that would enable the monument to take advantage of its unique assortment of attractions, both natural and man-made.

In drawing up the initial outline for the monument's interpretive plan, Robert H. Rose, the park naturalist of Sequoia-Kings Canyon, made a convincing argument for taking as much advantage as possible of Cabrillo's general appeal. He listed five subject areas which he believed appropriate for development as interpretive themes: the voyage of Cabrillo and the discovery of the coast of California, the old lighthouse, the shore line and the littoral zone of the sea, marine life, and the modern scene. Within the modern scene classification, Rose pointed out the immense amount of activity going on in the harbor below the monument:

> ...submarines surfacing and slowly cruising in and out of the harbor, incessant air patrols; radar screens in operation; fishermen busy about their daily work...one is reminded of all those factors which make the locality one of the great defense bastions of our Pacific Coast. [7]

His visit to the monument convinced Rose that "the interpretive story of Cabrillo cannot be limited to a single historical item." Rather than dictating to the public what it should be interested in when visiting the monument, he believed that, "visitor interest and reaction should to a large extent, determining what should be included in an area's interpretive program."

A phenomenon at the monument which surprised Rose was the fact that visitors often took the initiative in seeking out answers to their questions about the area, "through queries of the personnel on duty, viewing exhibits, charts and maps,...climbing the lighthouse stairway and trekking about to the Whale Observation Station...." It would be a mistake, he believed, to try to limit this interest by insisting on some narrow interpretation of the purpose of the monument. Though history was indeed an important part of story, "the historical phase of the area is but one single element in the whole panorama of items engaging visitor attention." Summing up the situation he said, "...not only is Cabrillo National Monument the setting for an important historical event in America's past but it is also right in the midst of nationally significant natural and human history still in the making." [8]

In spite of his articulate presentation of what seemed a logical argument, Rose's emphasis on the monument's variety was considerably modified by the Region. In the developmental outline finally accepted by the Regional Office in February 1955, more emphasis was placed on the reasons why the monument was unimportant than on utilization of the area's strengths. A short history of Cabrillo's voyage in 1542 was followed by the statement, "...all of these themes [the Spanish voyages of exploration and discovery] are part of the history of Cabrillo National Monument; but they are minor themes, not in themselves of such outstanding significance as to be worthy of national commemoration." [9] Much of the document was devoted to a discussion of the biological and botanical aspects of the monument including the habits of whales and other marine mammals as well as a description of the *agave shawii*, a Mexican species of century plant "which is not found elsewhere in the United States...." The Regional Office made quite clear in this document what would *not* be included in the interpretive plan:

> Cabrillo National Monument is not considered to be the place at which to tell the story of such general subjects as the geology of the San Diego area, oceanography, marine life of the Pacific shoreline, Southern California fauna and flora and merchant and naval shipping and aircraft... [10]

Instead, interpretation was to be limited to the story of the explorer, Cabrillo, for which an interpretive center was to be provided in addition to the the already existing commemorative plaque and statue. In addition, though subordinate to the major idea, there were themes of "minor value" including restoration of the lighthouse to its condition in 1855 and maintenance of the whale lookout. It appeared that a strange ambivalence had developed in the minds of the regional administration in dealing with Cabrillo. On one hand those in charge of developing an interpretive plan acknowledged the natural and historic aspects of the place. On the other, they deemed it necessary to constantly remind the superintendent that the monument's sole purpose was to honor the explorer. Before Cabrillo was forced to accept this designation as an unimportant monument with limited interpretive potential, two developments intervened, the extension of Cabrillo's boundaries and the advent of Mission 66.

Mission 66

The reorganization of the Park Service in 1933 defined and extended its responsibilities and aims and, from that time until the onset of World War II, the Service had a period of extensive growth. With the War, however, a number of factors nearly shut down the agency. Because of the limitations placed on travel, tourist visits slowed to a standstill. Permits were issued to the military to use portions of some parks for warfare training. Most park operations were discontinued and the agency lost two-thirds of its employees. Even the Park Service offices in Washington were closed to make room for essential wartime use. [11]

The end of the war brought on the opposite effect and the neglected and obsolete park facilities were suddenly inundated with an unprecedented number of tourists. The National Park System, which had been designed to accommodate 2.5 million visitors a year, was now faced with twice that number. What was needed, in the view of Director Conrad Wirth, was an overall master plan for the parks that would encompass the next ten years. Hoping to capitalize on the fiftieth anniversary of the Service which would occur in 1966, Wirth called his plan Mission 66 and set about selling the idea to Congress and President Eisenhower. Rather than a definite blueprint for each park's development, Wirth described Mission 66 as, "An intensive study of all the problems facing the National Park Service—protection, staffing, interpretation, use, development, financing, needed legislation, forest protection. fire—and all other phases of park management." [12] Fortunately for Wirth and the National Park Service, the President was enthusiastic and Congress responded with appropriations which would total nearly one billion dollars in the next ten years. [13]

Cabrillo and Mission 66

Although each park and monument in the system would undergo extensive changes during Mission 66, the effect on Cabrillo was even more extreme, tied as it was to the extension of the monument's boundaries. In May 1956, Wirth informed Representative Bob Wilson that $212,000 had been allocated to Cabrillo for the purpose of refurbishing the lighthouse, establishing a trail system and building a visitors' center northeast of the lighthouse. [14] This development was contingent on the Army and Navy reaching some agreement on the extension of the monument's boundaries. Although this extension had always been deemed important, Mission 66 gave the project a new sense of urgency. In a letter sent to Wilson, the San Diego Chamber of Commerce Director stated his concern that if a speedy solution to the land problem was not found, Cabrillo might well be deleted from the program. His fears were borne out when in 1958, the Interior Department announced that the money designated for Cabrillo had been diverted to other projects and that the improvement program would be delayed for three years. [15] With the presidential proclamation in 1959 extending Cabrillo's boundaries, however, planning for the project resumed and the following ten years were to bring about the most extensive changes in the monument's history.

Until 1959, with its miniscule plot of land, minimal visitor facilities and dependence on the administrators of Sequoia National Park, Cabrillo had been a second-class citizen in the National Park System. In spite of its large number of yearly visitors, the monument had to beg, cajole and enlist local pressure and support for even the most minor of considerations. Now, however, it was ready to take its place as an equal member of the system.

In 1956, Donald Robinson was promoted from his position as Custodian to Superintendent of the new facility. [16] Though he had, over the years, taken on many of the responsibilities of administrating the monument, he now assumed full charge, as Cabrillo became a separate entity with its own staff and budget. [17] His charge, as he saw it, was to develop a master plan and to increase visitation to the monument, thereby assuring that increased funds would be allocated to it. [18]

Part of the overall scheme for Mission 66 was to have each park and monument develop its own master plan and interpretive prospectus. With its new independent status, Cabrillo had, for the first time, the opportunity to define its purposes and goals and to plan for its future. This new status also brought an increase in personnel and the monument was fortunate in obtaining F. Ross Holland, an energetic young historian. Holland, who arrived in 1959, immediately started cataloguing the museum items that were part of the collection in the lighthouse. He also began to set down, in written form, the historical importance of the monument and to articulate the priorities that would eventually become part of the master plan.

Holland disagreed with Robinson's attempts to emphasize the natural history of the area. This approach, he believed, was to the detriment of its historical significance. "To some degree—to a great degree—the accent was on the natural history side of it," said Holland. "All the money was going into natural history. That was one of the points of frustration I had with the then Superintendent." [19] His general displeasure with the natural history emphasis was not aided by the fact that he had to share his small office in the basement of the lighthouse with a "Pacific coast rattlesnake and a sidewinder. They were in cases but they could get out of those things." [20]

Holland was also frustrated by the historical inaccuracies that had crept into events associated with the monument:

> One of the things that sort of became special, a special bane to my existence was that people talked about Cabrillo [as having] discovered California and they kept talking about it. The Chamber of Commerce and the Visitor's Bureau were particularly bad about it. Cabrillo didn't discover California, before he came here...there had been people in the western part of California, parts of the Coronado expedition, and it didn't take a great deal of reading to know that...what Cabrillo had discovered was the West Coast of the United States...[and] ultimately I did win my point. [21]

In addition, Holland attempted to change the popular misnomer of "the Old Spanish lighthouse." Though no one has been successful in discovering how the term crept into common usage, several theories exist. One is that stones from the old Spanish Fort Guijarros were used in constructing the lighthouse. Another holds that the Captain Israel, one of the early lighthouse keepers, had a wife of Spanish descent. Still a third possibility is that a local guide named Ruben invented the name at the turn of the century to capitalize on the Spanish craze that was in vogue at the time. [22] In any event, Holland sought to discourage the use of the term in all publications and publicity produced by the monument.

Robinson, on the other hand, was less interested in historical accuracy and more in catering to

local tradition: "...well, they changed the name, dropped the name 'Old Spanish' and I disagree with them...because the name had just as much right to be called 'Old Spanish' as Cabrillo has to be called Cabrillo National Monument [even though] Cabrillo never landed there...[the name] is part of the history." [23]

Robinson was apparently not above inventing his own folklore for the monument, a fact that also irritated Holland. Said Robinson:

> You know at that time there were lots of arguments and are still lots of arguments of whether Cabrillo died of a broken arm or a broken [right] leg...the statue, the only part of that statue which was broken in shipment from Portugal to the United States was the right leg, right above the knee cap. So, I just used that story for years and these hard-nosed historians, Ross Holland, he didn't want me to use [it].... [24]

It is easy to see how the earnest young historian, bent on bringing an air of professionalism to the monument's historical program, would clash with the battle-worn Park Service veteran who was willing to stretch the truth for the entertainment of visiting tourists. In spite of the ongoing personality conflict between the two men, a great deal was accomplished during the next few years that would help set a course for the future of the monument.

In his quest to get Cabrillo on firm historical ground, Holland did extensive research into early Spanish exploration as well as the origins of the old Point Loma lighthouse. To provide a forum for the research, he enlisted the aid of Joan Jenson, chair of the Department of History at California Western University. Together, they began a journal called the *Western Explorer*. [25] Written in a scholarly format, the journal published articles "concerning Southwestern archeology, anthropology, geology and related sciences, and particularly works on the history of the early exploration and settlement." [26] The journal existed for several years as a quarterly publication until it was discontinued in favor of publishing papers in conjunction with an annual historical seminar.

As part of his duties, Holland was sent by the Regional Office to the National Archives in Washington, D.C., to research West Coast lighthouses in general and the old Point Loma light in particular. His extensive findings were eventually published by the Park Service in 1981 as part of a historic structures report and also formed the basis of reconstruction work on the building.

According to Holland, however, the most important contribution he made to the monument was his work on the initial interpretive and master plans. Although he essentially agreed with the Regional Office's emphasis on Cabrillo the explorer, he sought to expand and elaborate on the theme—making it part of a larger historical context. Attempting to base the events commemorated by the monument on firm historical ground, Holland wrote:

> Cabrillo's...discovery and exploration of [the West coast] laid the foundation for subsequent expeditions, all of which culminated, 227 years after Cabrillo's voyage, in the settlement of the western shores of the United States...The period of Spanish exploration is an important chapter in the history of the United States and well worth commemorating...The interpretive program will do a real service to the public in familiarizing them with this portion of our American heritage. [27]

Although the main emphasis was to be on the period of Spanish exploration, the prospectus, for the first time, attempted to tie together the disparate elements that made up the varied history of Point Loma. In his plan for an extensive museum display, Holland outlined the area's later developments. The Spanish-Mexican period and the building of Fort Guijarros,

the establishment of the lighthouse, whaling, the coastal defenses and the development of Fort Rosecrans, and finally the establishment of the monument were all to be dealt with as part of the continuum of history. On the other hand, the scenic view, the Naval installations and the contemporary harbor were not to be emphasized as part of the interpretive process since they would take the focus of attention away from the historical themes. In keeping with Holland's strong feelings about overemphasis on natural history, the interpretive prospectus included only a self-guided tour of trailside and wayside exhibits of local flora and fauna as well as seasonal displays relating to whale migration. [28]

The final master plan now in use for the monument has changed from the original prospectus somewhat. However, the reasoning on which the initial plan was based remains the same. By emphasizing several strong themes in the historical evolution of the monument, the way was cleared for future administrations to develop their own variations according to the changing interests of both the public and the monument personnel.

Administration of the Monument Under Donald Robinson

While F. Ross Holland devoted his energy to working on a master plan and other administrative details, Robinson spent much of his time with the day-to-day running of the facility. In keeping with the precedent, set in 1935, of involving the Portuguese community in the monument, Robinson took an active part in the celebration of Cabrillo Day and other related activities. He soon discovered that the "Portuguese community" did not exist as one entity but was divided into two primary groups represented by separate organizations, the Cabrillo Civic Club of Califomia and the Portuguese American Social and Civic Club. Since there was considerable rivalry between the two groups, the functions they sponsored occurred at different times and Robinson had to represent the monument at each:

> We used to go to two banquets...one banquet one night and one banquet the next....I'd get up and I'd be the speaker for Cabrillo at one banquet and then turn around the next night and go back and give the same thing....So I thought, well, this is crazy. Why don't we just have one great big celebration.... [29]

The first combined ceremony took place at the monument on September 28, 1958 with Joseph Segal, Portuguese Consulate, San Diego Mayor Charles Dail and Admiral Charles C. Hartman as speakers. A single banquet sponsored by the two clubs followed the ceremony. [30]

In addition to becoming involved with the Portuguese-American groups of San Diego, Cabrillo often played host to visiting dignitaries from Portugal. The monument became a routine stop for Portuguese ships coming into San Diego harbor. Each ship brought a gift, a gesture that, in one instance at least, brought problems to the Superintendent. In 1957, a delegation from the Portuguese Navy represented by Commodore Manuel Rodrigues, officer in charge of the Portuguese mission in the United States, announced that it would present a plaque to the monument honoring Cabrillo. According to Robinson:

> ...they already had this plaque made up, we didn't know anything about it. Well, you know the Superintendent has the same authority as the Director and the Regional Director, with the exception of certain provisions. One, he cannot accept plaques, memorials or markers. O.K. this was on a Friday and they came and said, "We would like to dedicate this on Sunday."...now did you ever try to get ahold of anyone in Washington on Friday afternoon? Now...I've got to dedicate this. I can't insult the Portuguese government.... [31]

After consulting with U.S. Naval authorities, Robinson agreed to accept the plaque, with the

provision that "we wouldn't promise what we'd do with it." Further complicating the problem was the fact that the Portuguese wanted to unveil the plaque by draping it with the Portuguese and American flags. "Well," said Robinson, "we are not allowed to use the American flag to drape over anything except coffins." [32] The Navy came to the rescue by providing red, white and blue bunting and the ceremony proceeded smoothly, attended by: "267 crew members of the recently-commissioned Portuguese destroyer escorts, an honor guard and band from the San Diego Naval Training Center and more than 100 San Diegans of Portuguese ancestry." [33] Commodore Manuel Rodrigues, Rear Admiral C.C. Hartman, and De Graff Austin, chairman of the the county board of supervisors, all spoke at the ceremony. [34]

Spanish interests were represented at the monument as well. In March 1957, the Spanish ambassador to the United States came to San Diego to present to the city reproductions of charts made by early Spanish explorers. As part of accompanying ceremonies, the ambassador laid a wreath at the monument where he said that, "Spain early was spurred to exploration and conquest of Califomia by the threat of Russian invasion." [35]

Aside from his ceremonial duties, Superintendent Robinson had other problems to deal with. When the concession ceased operation at Cabrillo, it became necessary to create a replacement facility that would provide tourists with books, publications and other items related to the monument. In 1956, Robinson, with the aid of a seven-member group interested in the project, set up the Cabrillo Historical Association. The non-profit organization, modeled after other cooperating organizations within the National Park Service, had as its long range goals the building of a research library, a museum and outdoor exhibits at the monument. [36] Its more immediate function, however, was to continue to provide service to the public at the lighthouse. Members of the original board of directors included Ethel M. Skinner, who had worked for the concessioner Clifford Rock, and Rock's wife, Mildred. [37] In addition to providing personnel to the monument, the association, in 1959, also agreed to sponsor *The Western Explorer*, the publication to be edited by Ross Holland. [38]

Land acquisition and right-of-way through the monument again became issues to be dealt with in 1959. Ironically, the monument found itself on a different side of these issues than previously. Instead of attempting to convince the military to increase Cabrillo's land, administrators were now in the position of protecting their own from incursions by the city of San Diego and the Federal Government. Plans for two projects developed almost simultaneously: a sewer treatment facility for the city and a Federal saline water conversion plant, both adjacent to and requiring access through monument lands.

In the case of the sewer treatment plant, Cabrillo's old ally, Bob Wilson came out in favor of the city acquiring 40 acres of surplus land for the construction of its facility. In spite of the monument's own claim to a need for the land, Wilson introduced a bill in Congress in September of 1959, authorizing the Navy to sell the parcel, located just north of Cabrillo, to the city. [39]

At the same time, the Interior Department proposed acquiring a plot of land southwest of the monument boundaries to be used to construct an "atomic powered salt water conversion plant." [40] Early opposition to the plant centered on its having a nuclear power source. The Atomic Energy Commission issued a recommendation in 1960 that the plant use conventional power since "an atomic accident...might affect visitors to the Monument." [41] As a result, the facility was constructed to operate without nuclear power.

In July 1960, the city made application for a right-of-way through Cabrillo's western boundary for a road and utility lines to the sewage treatment plant. Part of the road would

also give right-of-way to the saline water plant. In spite of the monument administration's objections, a twenty-year special use permit was issued to the City of San Diego on October 1, 1960. [42] Ground-breaking ceremonies for the Saline Water Plant were held on January 7, 1961, and the facility was dedicated on March 10, 1962, with Secretary of the Interior Udall and Governor Brown participating in the festivities. [43]

Strangely enough, in spite of the monument administration's initial opposition to these projects, both worked out to their advantage. In 1963, according to Tom Tucker, who was then superintendent, the entire saline conversion plant was airlifted to Guantanamo Naval Station to provide water to military personnel in the event that their water supply was cut off by the Cuban government. As a result, the facility's Point Loma office space was offered to the monument until its own administrative offices could be built. [44] Likewise, through the efforts of Don Robinson, dirt removed in constructing the San Diego's sewage plant became the fill dirt on which Cabrillo's expanded parking lot was constructed. [45]

In assuming the role of superintendent in 1956, Robinson took on other duties besides that of managing the affairs of Cabrillo. In 1938, President Franklin Roosevelt had named the two smallest of Southern California's Channel Islands as a national monument. [46] Jurisdiction of Anacapa and Santa Barbara islands was transferred from Sequoia National Park to Cabrillo after the latter became a separate entity. Up until that time, virtually nothing had been done to provide services of any kind to the islands. Because the Park Service had only a small boat capable of making the trip to Anacapa, the closer of the two islands to the harbor at Oxnard, patrols of the area were sporadic at best. [47] Given the limitations of budget and personnel, the most that could be done was to provide limited ranger service to Anacapa beginning in the summer of 1959. [48]

Having responsibility for the Channel Islands was a problem for Ross Holland as well. In addition to developing a master plan for Cabrillo, he had to develop a similar plan for Channel Islands—without ever having seen the area. Said Holland:

> As a matter of fact, I began writing the master plan to Channel Islands having never seen it. I tried to work from pictures and work from descriptions and such because I could not persuade the then superintendent that I needed to get out there to see it in order to write a master plan for it. So the result was that...I have a beautiful description of Anacapa Island, [that is] labeled Santa Barbara and I have a beautiful description of Santa Barbara but it's labeled Anacapa.... [49]

In addition to dealing with the daily responsibilities of running the monument, the staff of Cabrillo had, as part of their publicity duties, the task of keeping before the public the aims and general plans of the Park Service. Although Cabrillo would not see many tangible results of Mission 66 until after 1963, Robinson often made discussions of planned projects the subject of speeches and presentations to civic groups. [50]

Newspaper articles appeared regularly in the local press, explaining Mission 66 and how it would affect the monument. In 1958, the *Evening Tribune* carried a long article with the banner headline, "Cabrillo Statue to Have 5th Home." The article explained how, as part of the development program for the monument, the statue would be moved from its location near the lighthouse to a new spot overlooking the place on Ballast Point where it was believed the explorer had landed. [51]

In November, 1958, a similar article explained how the monument's attractions would be divided into three areas with the Cabrillo statue in one place, the lighthouse in another and the natural history aspects of the area developed through exhibits and trails. [52] By 1962, details revealed to the press by Robinson were even more elaborate, as he explained plans

and drawings of a two-story museum complete with a promised diorama highlighting the voyage of Cabrillo and featuring exhibits that "the Park Service hopes to obtain from Spain and Portugal." [53] Though not a shovel full of dirt had yet been turned to augment these plans, the people of San Diego were being constantly reminded of the great things in store when the money was finally appropriated.

Increases in Personnel — Thomas Tucker Becomes Chief Ranger

As more land under the monument's jurisdiction became available for public use, additional personnel was required to provide services. On January 20, 1962, District Park Ranger Thomas Tucker of Yosemite National Park reported to Cabrillo on temporary assignment. As part of his duties, Tucker had to reorganize the ranger staff in order to provide visitor protection for the recently opened tidepool area of the monument. [54]

Besides administrating these newly accessible public areas, Tucker was in charge of ranger operations at Anacapa Island. This, according to Tucker, was his most time-consuming and difficult assignment. Previous to his taking over operations there, rangers assigned to the island lived in the most primitive conditions imaginable. Said Tucker:

> We were so poor we had no equipment. The two rangers who had been at Channel Islands the year before had existed, not subsisted, but existed in a 9X9 umbrella tent. And the winds at Channel Islands were pretty fierce so probably midway in the summer that tent was really air conditioned...the seams had all ripped out and the the panels kind of flopped in the wind.
>
> There was no transportation. The rangers got there by virtue of an arrangement that the superintendent had with an operator [who had a] water taxi called the Cinnamon Bear...the rangers would be dropped there...they were like vagrants [with] no visible means of support. [55]

To help alleviate the situation, Tucker made arrangements with the Civil Engineering Laboratory at Point Magu to obtain surplus equipment. An Atwell Shelter, approximately 32 feet long and 14 feet across and shaped like a Quonset hut, was transported in sections and erected on the island. In addition, chemical toilets and a fifty gallon water drum were assembled. [56] Patrolling of the islands was also improved by a cooperative arrangement with the California Fish and Game department. By coordinating their patrols, rangers at least had access to boat transportation on a regular basis. [57]

It soon became obvious that Tucker's temporary position should became permanent and in May 1962 he was named chief ranger. [58] With the transfer of Donald Robinson to Crater Lake National Park in August 1963, [59] Tucker was made first acting, then permanent superintendent of Cabrillo.

Tucker's superintendency would usher in a new age for Cabrillo. From its shaky beginnings as a memorial to a little known explorer, the monument had had difficulty being taken seriously by regional and national Park Service officials. Depending largely on community interest and local pressure, Cabrillo had struggled through its early years with only a concessioner in charge of day-to-day operations. Long range planning was almost non-existent and policy decisions were made on a situational basis.

After the war, a great deal of emphasis was placed on acquiring more land and on attracting additional visitors to the site. Under Donald Robinson, both goals were achieved. With the aid of strong local support, the monument acquired vitally needed land from the military. Robinson's emphasis on natural history, specifically the whale migration, offered tourists

another reason to visit the area. As a result of these efforts, visitation increased from 419,820 in 1948 to a high of 1,063,700 in 1961. [60]

The addition of professional historian Ross Holland to the staff provided another dimension to the monument. For the first time, a serious attempt was made to place the memorial aspect of the monument on firm historical ground and to integrate the event commemorated there into a larger context. His research efforts were also to provide the basis for the development of a workable interpretive plan.

With its independent status, its increased acreage, and tangible plans for expansion, Cabrillo began by the mid-1960's to be perceived as less of a local attraction and more the fully equipped Park Service operation it was to become. It would be through the funds provided by Mission 66 program, an increase in staffing, and the creative and enthusiastic administration of Tom Tucker that the promise would be fulfilled.

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CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER VIII

The early years of Tom Tucker's superintendency were spent, for the most part, seeing to the completion of projects begun in the previous administration. The most important of these projects was the visitor center and administration building. Having struggled through many years in temporary quarters under fairly primitive conditions, Tucker admitted that the staff would have been happy with a large tent, as long as it had restroom facilities. [1] Plans for the center as envisioned by the Regional design office were considerably more elaborate, however. So elaborate, in fact, that they were to run into objections from San Diego officials.

The project construction proposal, submitted in February 1963, called for a multi-story structure that would house a bookstore, interpretive facilities, a library and administrative offices. In addition, space was to have been provided in an adjoining building for a museum and an auditorium. [2] Initial plans, prepared by an architect in the Regional Office for a site he had never seen, contained a serious design flaw, according to then park historian Ross Holland. The plans showed two buildings on separate mounds of land and connected by a passageway. Said Holland:

> I'd stopped by the design office and saw the architect. He had this building there and I said, "Well, gee, that looks very nice, but what are you going to do about the valley between these two mounds."
>
> And he said, "There's no valley...the maps don't show one.
>
> Well, at that point, you know I'd spent over three years at this park and I'd come out every day and looked out towards it and seen that valley...but he argued vehemently, would not accept the fact there was a valley. [3]

The plans ran into other problems as well. According to Tom Tucker, Under Secretary of the Interior James Carr had also seen the drawings. [4] A friend of Mayor Frank Curran and frequent visitor to San Diego, Carr thought the building's massive fort-like appearance completely inappropriate to the landscape of Point Loma. Sure that city officials would object to the design of structure, he requested that a meeting be set up between representatives of the Western Office of Design (WOD) and city and county officials to review the plans. [5] A meeting was held on December 11, 1963 in the city manager's chambers and was attended by the chief architect of WOD, the city manager of San Diego, representatives of the mayor, the city planning department, county officials, and the chamber of commerce as well as the city lobbyist in Sacramento and members of the press. The group was presented with a model of the proposed structure and, as Carr had anticipated, officials were concerned with its massive appearance and the lack of sensitivity to San Diego's Spanish heritage and mission architecture. [6] As a result of the meeting the plans were scrapped and in February 1964, Frank L. Hope and Associates, a San Diego architectural firm, was given a contract to provide final plans and specifications for the building. [7]

These plans were presented on April 30th to a much smaller audience than had been present at the original meeting. This time participants were limited to San Diego city councilman

Walter Hahn, Richard Pourade of the Copley Press and Lucile Mortimore, representing the San Diego Chamber of Commerce. Though the plans were notably lacking in the Spanish arches and red tile roofs that the local representatives had envisioned, architect Hope pointed out that the use of stone on the facade of the building and copper roofing would echo features already present in the monument area. Apparently satisfied with what Hope called the "Spanish Fort influence," the plans were approved by those present. [8] Ironically, it would be these stone and copper details that were later eliminated because of the cost. As finally revealed to the public, the plans called for three one-story buildings: the first containing the visitor center, the second an auditorium and exhibit area; and a third administrative offices. The three were to be connected by covered walkways supported by large fir columns. [9]

Having moved rather quickly through the design problem, Tucker announced in late May that bids for construction of the new center would be opened on June 17th. The winning bid of $250,550 was submitted by the Gussa Construction of El Cajon. Groundbreaking ceremonies for the project were held on July 19th with Mayor Frank Curran, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors Frank Gibson and Tony Codina, representing the Portuguese community as the key participants. [10]

The buildings were completed and official occupancy occurred on March 17, 1966. Original plans called for the dedication to take place on August 25th to correspond to the National Park Service 50th anniversary. Due to the fact that landscaping of the site could not be completed by that date, however, the ceremonies were postponed until late October. [11] Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall served as keynote speaker at the dedication with James K. Carr, now the Director of Public Utilities in San Francisco, as Master of Ceremonies. [12] Udall dedicated the the Cabrillo National Monument Visitor Center "to the memory of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and those of all lands who will come here in search of history." In his remarks, the Secretary emphasized the "million dollar view." "And now," he said, "we have a splendid million-dollar Visitor Center to go with it." [13]

The Cabrillo Festival

Secretary Udall's comment on the view at Cabrillo emphasized one of the major problems that had often faced administrators at the monument. As former Superintendent Tucker has said on more than one occasion, "Cabrillo is one of those rare National Park Service areas whose significance is overwhelmed by the totality of its surroundings." [14] Keeping the purpose of the monument, which is the commemoration of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, before the public had been an issue that oftentimes caused disagreement between local administrators and those on the regional level. When a custodian or superintendent placed what the Region believed was too much emphasis on the lighthouse or the whale migration, he was quickly reminded of why the area was established. The Tucker administration attempted to address this problem by creating a focus for the monument's primary commemorative function. This was done by initiating the Cabrillo Festival in 1964. [15]

Ceremonies honoring Cabrillo were certainly not new for the populace of San Diego. The first Cabrillo celebration in 1892 was created in the hopes of promoting the city as the birthplace of Southern California, and the establishment of the monument itself in 1913 was part of a bid to "perpetuate the deeds of the Spanish." [16] Until 1934 when the Park Service became responsible for the monument, the explorer Cabrillo usually had been grouped together with other Spanish historical figures such as Balboa and Father Junipero Serra. The change of emphasis from Spanish to Portuguese received a great deal of impetus when John R. White, the first administrator of Cabrillo, became aware that while there was virtually no Spanish community in San Diego, there were a sizable number of Portuguese. In addition, the Grand Council of Cabrillo Civic Clubs had been formed in San Francisco during this time to "recognize Portuguese contribution to California and to civilization in general." [17] Manuel

Sylva, the group's president, took an active interest in assuring that the monument acknowledge Cabrillo as a Portuguese hero. [18]

From the dedication ceremony in 1935 onward, the monument routinely participated in the community's annual Cabrillo Day celebrations on September 28th and the superintendent was often chosen as principal speaker at events sponsored by Portuguese civic groups. In 1964, however, Tucker and his staff made plans to extend its traditional wreath laying ceremony into a more comprehensive event.

Monument historian Ross Holland suggested that the various groups planning Cabrillo Day activities join efforts and create a nine day celebration. Organized under the the auspices of the San Diego Junior Chamber of Commerce, a program was designed to combine the Cabrillo celebration with the Junior Chamber's Harbor Days. [19] Although originally planned to have some fifty events, due to "financial and planning difficulties," the first celebration fell somewhat short of expectations. [20] In 1965, there was some doubt as to whether the Festival was to continue. [21] However, a less ambitious program under the auspices of the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce and the Portuguese organizations was staged with considerable success.

Over the years, the Festival has featured traditional Portuguese dances, a re-enactment of Cabrillo's landing and seminars on related historical subjects sponsored by the Cabrillo Historical Association. The event has also hosted dignitaries representing the Portuguese government, officials from the Park Service and the Department of the Interior, as well as state and local representatives. Though it began as primarily a Portuguese-sponsored celebration, efforts have been made in recent years to include elements of Mexican and Spanish cultures. A representative of the President of Mexico was included in the 1978 Festival and, in the following year, Spain, Mexico, Portugal and the United States were all represented for the first time. [22]

According to John G. Rebelo, Jr., a former president of the Cabrillo Festival, the activity has become a focal point for community pride among the Portuguese of San Diego. Rebelo credited the efforts of the monument for the longevity of the Festival:

> I think the assistance that the National Park Service has given, probably has been the stabilizing force over the years. Without that assistance, I don't think the festival would have been able to survive...the manpower that they have up there, the dedication to the cause, which of course being Cabrillo National Monument, they are very task oriented to Cabrillo. [23]

Rebelo stressed the importance of continuing to include other communities in the festivities and voiced some concern that young people would not be as dedicated as their elders to the ethnic traditions represented by the festival. The difficulties in keeping this interest alive is the greatest challenge he saw for the Cabrillo Festival in the future. For the present, according to the monument's *1985 Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services:* "It [the Cabrillo Festival] is one of the major mediums through which the park tells Cabrillo's story to the local community." [24]

Relations With the Community and Special Programs

One of the main priorities of his administration, according to Superintendent Tucker, was the forging of strong ties with the people of San Diego. [25] When in 1967, separate headquarters were established for Channel Islands in Oxnard, the staff of Cabrillo was freed to concentrate on specific programs for the San Diego facility. [26]

Tucker regarded one such project as a pioneer program in public relations. Although Superintendent Robinson and Clifton Rock before him often spoke to community organizations about the monument, Tucker wished to formalize these presentations into a program he called "Parks to the People." The talks began with service clubs, schools, women's groups, "anyone who would listen to us," [27] but the emphasis later changed. In July 1975, with additional funding available for bicentennial activities, Parks to the People became an outreach program that offered presentations about Cabrillo and other national parks, to "senior citizens, hospitalized servicemen and children in back-country schools." [28] Though highly successful and well-received, the program had to be discontinued when money was no longer available.

The vagaries of funding coupled with ever-increasing tourist visitation have, over the years, placed a burden on Park Service personnel in their efforts to provide continuing services and programs. [29] Because of this, volunteers in the Service have always been an important part of the system. In 1970 the Volunteers in the Park Act formalized many volunteer activities by authorizing the Service to pay for transportation, meals, uniforms and other expenses for those individuals who worked in the parks and monuments without pay. [30] Cabrillo took advantage of this program at its inception and volunteers soon became an active part of the interpretive activities. In addition to assisting at the information desk and conducting tours, they performed living history demonstrations that were staged for visitors at the lighthouse. [31] The V.I.P. program still plays a large and important part in extending interpretive services to monument visitors.

Besides encouraging volunteers to offer service to the monument, Superintendent Tucker became himself a volunteer in the community. In order to counter the virtual collapse of the aircraft industry in the 1960's, the mayor of San Diego began an active campaign to strengthen tourism in the city. Gathering together business leaders involved in the tourist industry, Mayor Frank Curran inaugurated the Hospitality Oriented Services and Trades or HOST committee. The aim of the group was to provide informational programs for those most likely to have direct contact with visitors such as waiters, taxidrivers and bartenders. They in turn could then pass information about local activities to their customers. Through the efforts of Tucker, a member of the committee, rangers at the monument were also included in the program. They thus became, according to Tucker, members of the public relations system for the community as well as for the Park Service. [32]

As part of the HOST program, an attempt was made to coordinate whale watching activities at the monument with those of fishing boat operators, motel owners and scientific institutions to provide for those who came to the area to observe the migration. [33] Such programs had a positive effect on both tourism in the city and at the monument.

Increased visitation was not, unfortunately, followed by additional funding. Although the facility attracted 87,000 tourists in the month of November 1968, Tucker announced in December of that year that Cabrillo would cut its schedule from a seven day to a five day program. The reduction in services were necessitated by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act passed by Congress the preceding June which placed curbs on the number of vacant government positions that could be filled. [34] The resulting shortage of staff caused reduced hours. As in the past, the monument administration was put in the difficult position of encouraging visitors while at the same time being unable to provide for their needs.

The Mayor's Committee for the Statue That Never Was

The monument, with its close proximity to downtown San Diego, had always enjoyed a close and cordial relationship with the City. The proprietary interest that local officials always had for the monument had worked to its benefit, both in acquiring land from the military and

applying political pressure to maintain and increase its programs. In 1967, however, a plan inaugurated by the Mayor Frank Curran was clearly at odds with Park Service policy for Cabrillo and the situation required the utmost in tact from every level in the administration.

In May 1967, Superintendent Tucker informed the Regional Director that Mayor Curran had announced a plan to build at the monument, a 150 foot statue of Cabrillo "overlooking San Diego Bay and facing northward as symbolic of the explorer's northward trek and lighted up at this vantage point so as to command attention of the visitors to San Diego, as well as those at sea." [35] Tucker had hoped that due to the tremendous amount of money involved in the project, the idea would fade away, but it appeared that this was not to be the case. On the contrary, support seemed to be growing and Tucker pointed out to his superiors that "because of the prominent forces behind the proposal, a delicate situation is created." [36] Due to the sensitive nature of the problem, he asked for guidance in stating the Service position. Wrote Tucker: "I am sure that Director Hartzog *will* be involved through our Congress people, and no doubt through the Secretary; and I am equally sure that is *not* a matter that can be dispensed with by hiding behind a number of glib explanations having to do with Service policy." [37]

The initial response from the Region was surprisingly mild considering the enormity of the project. Because "the natural scene on Point Loma...has been so disturbed by various existing and proposed developments that there seems little point in attempting to guard it from one more development," [38] the Regional Director agreed to recommend the project to the Director with certain provisions. First of all, the lighthouse, in view of its popularity with the public, should "not be overwhelmed by a huge statue." With this in mind, the new statue would be permitted only if located in the present visitor center area and not "in the general vicinity of, or at the same elevation as the lighthouse." Secondly, the government of Portugal must be satisfied with the proposed memorial since the existing Cabrillo statue was a gift from the Portuguese people. Thirdly, no funds could be appropriated from the Service for any part of the project including lighting, and permanent private funding must be provided for future maintenance and repair of the statue. Last of all, the Service had to approve both the structure and design of the project and this decision must be approved by the Director. [39]

The mayor considered this an endorsement to proceed with his plans and named August Felando, president of the American Tunaboat Association, to head the committee on the project. The first order of business for the group was to enlist the aid of Congressman Bob Wilson and contact other agencies in regard to the project—in particular, the Navy and the Federal Aviation Administration. Plans were also made for committee member Mario T. Ribeiro to approach the Portuguese government. [40] The mayor chose the Cabrillo Festival to bring the project to public attention for the first time and personally asked the Portuguese Ambassador for support in his plan to create a "Maritime Pacific Monument which will identify the momentous historical explorations which resulted in the discovery of the Bay of San Diego in 1542 by the famous Portuguese explorer and navigator, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo." [41]

In the interest of historical continuity (and, no doubt, in the hopes of assuring government approval), the committee made much of the fact that Cabrillo National Monument had been created in 1913 to allow the Order of Panama to erect "a heroic statue of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo." [42] Though the Order of Panama no longer existed, the Native Sons of the Golden West, named in a subsequent proclamation in 1926, was still an active organization in the state. Since the Native Sons had never exercised their option to create a suitable monument, the Mayor's Committee gave them a second chance. August Felando became a member of the local parlor (chapter) of the organization and received encouragement from its president, Clyde H. McMorrow: "If you can line up a little new life blood to give the Parlor a transfusion," he wrote, "maybe we can get it going to fulfill some to these purposes for which

it was intended." [43] As their first act of involvement, the Native Sons submitted a proposal for the project to the Federal Aviation Administration in October 1967. [44] Permission was necessary from this agency because of the height of the proposed statue.

As plans for the monument became more concrete, the Regional Office began to offer specific objections to the proposed project. Committee member, Carl Reupsch contacted the Director in Washington outlining a proposal for an elevator and an observation platform to be located at the top of the statue, likening the structure to the Statue of Liberty. [45] Almost simultaneously, the Regional Director was registering his objections to the very same features. [46] In spite of growing alarm within the Service at the enormity of the project, no indication of its disapproval was presented to San Diego authorities.

The project reached front page status when Mayor Curran announced it to the public during his State of the City message on January 15, 1968. Revealing an architectural rendering the mayor said, "A city that wishes to maintain its position in the sun must think in terms of bold new concepts...[the monument] lighted at night, would be visible for miles in every direction from sea and air and would set San Diego apart from most other port cities of the world." [47] The new memorial, as he envisioned it, would be part of the city's 200th anniversary to be celebrated in 1969, with the Portuguese government taking an active part in the bicentennial festivities. Having revealed his grand plan, the mayor then announced that while members of his committee were travelling to Portugal to enlist the support of that government, he would pay a personal visit to Interior Secretary Udall to secure his support [48]

With the enormous amount of publicity generated by the announcement, not only in the local media but statewide as well, the Acting Regional Director admitted that in spite of his office's reservations about the idea, it would be politically unwise to protest too strenuously. Writing to Director Hartzog's office, he said, "...in view of the international goodwill aspects of the situation which will be involved if the Portuguese government should contribute substantially to the financing of the statue, we believe the Service has no alternative but to cooperate gracefully and cheerfully in the project." [49] The Director, however, was considerably less willing to be cheerful. In attempting to explain the situation to the Under Secretary of the Interior, he wrote:

> We think the Architect has selected an acceptable site, although we are quite dismayed at the size of the structure. The introduction of an elevator and viewing platform is something that we had not contemplated. In fact, we think the whole design is of a much larger scale than was contemplated at the time the memorial was authorized by proclamation. [50]

Although a complete rejection of the project seemed out of the question at the moment, the Director hoped that it would be possible to "negotiate for a smaller structure without an elevator although we would accept a viewing platform at some reasonable height to be reached only by a stairway." [51] To head off any misinterpretation of the Park Service's position, Superintendent Tucker spelled it out for the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce. No part of the construction, design or maintenance of the statue, he said, could be paid for with government funds. The new project could not distract from the lighthouse, the monument's principal landmark. The monument was a free tourist attraction on Point Loma and was therefore not in competition with Sea World, the San Diego Zoo or Disneyland. The general feeling concerning the proposal was summed up by Tucker's statement, "Cabrillo has already been memorialized by the monument, but if it is the will of the people [to construct a new one] so be it." [52]

For the next few months, plans gained momentum as the Mayor's committee produced a

feasibility report and cost estimates on the project. [53] Park Service objections raised at the Regional level continued to center on the elevator and became even more strenuous when it became obvious that the committee planned to charge the public for its use as the chief source of income for maintenance. [54]

While the mayor reiterated the importance of securing approval for his project from the Secretary of the Interior as soon as possible, not all the public reaction was positive. Besides the usual letters to the editor in the local papers deploring the use of millions of dollars while children went hungry, more powerful opposition grew as well. The San Diego Chapter of the Sierra Club passed a formal resolution disapproving the proposal saying, "it would be a distracting invasion upon the total esthetic values of the Monument, whose apex of interest is the completely charming old lighthouse." [55] Hamilton Marston, a member of one of San Diego's oldest and most influential families, wrote the Mayor a personal letter concerning the statue. In it, he questioned whether a city of the future should be represented by an idea so firmly rooted in the past:

> ...I have been moved by the sight of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, but, moving as the statue is for us, I am not sure the French, if they felt the same way towards us, would send us such a gift now, and I am not sure we would want it if they did. There is a very 1903 spirit to the whole thing—valid and moving but not 1968. I know that I would not want to see such a statue in our harbor, anymore than I would want to see the stone face of El Capitan carved in the likeness of George Washington. [56]

In a later press conference, the Mayor referred to the letter without revealing the source. He said, however, that such a view was in the minority and reaction to the project was predominantly favorable.

Several months before the Mayor had gone public with his idea, committee member Mario T. Ribeiro had been dispatched to Portugal to discuss the project with government officials, since the inclusion of the Portuguese government was an integral part of the plan. After meeting with the a representative of the minister of Foreign Affairs and the Department of National Information, Ribeiro seemed satisfied that his "mission [had] been of definite value and [had] served the final purpose." [57] On the advice of the Portuguese ambassador, the committee made a formal application for funding to the Foundation Calouste Gulbenkian, a multi-million dollar private foundation. [58]

Although the committee had been led to believe that the foundation was enthusiastic about the project, translating enthusiasm to cash proved to be impossible. On April 9, 1968, the committee received final word from the foundation that due to political involvement in Africa, neither the Portuguese government nor the foundation were in a position to contribute funds. In a letter explaining the situation, Ambassador Pedro Theotonio Pereira, a trustee of the foundation, wrote: "Portugal is making a gigantic effort in Africa to save what belongs to her. That effort is being made exclusively by the Portuguese people at its own cost...the contribution of the Portuguese to the second centennial of the foundation of San Diego will not be one million dollars to make a reality of such a project." [59]

With no monetary assistance forthcoming from the Portuguese government, the committee designed a plan to obtain local donors, the names of whom would be engraved on a brass plaque to be displayed at the statue. This proposal immediately brought objections of the Park Service which had specific prohibitions against such plaques in national parks. [60]

Though no mention is made in official correspondence about the Portuguese rejection of financial support for the project, a reversal of policy on the matter by the Director's office

occurred soon after. Up until this time, objections had been made to specific elements of the proposal but the idea of completely disallowing it had never been seriously considered. On May 2, 1968, however, in a terse memorandum to the Secretary of the Interior, the Acting Director rejected the proposed design for the project and the disapproval was endorsed by Secretary of the Interior Udall. Basing his rejection on the "relatively unimpaired condition," of Point Loma, Acting Director Harthon Bill wrote: "We are convinced that what we build, or allow to be built, in national parks or on such scenic heights as Point Loma, should stand as examples to the Nation—examples, not 'bigger is better' but of structures truly appropriate to the environment in which they are placed." [61]

The matter appeared settled at the Washington level. However, it was up to Superintendent Tucker to inform the Mayor of the apparent collapse of his project. In a memo to the California Coordinating Officer of the Park Service, Tucker wrote of the consequences of the action taken by Washington:

> The reasons given for disapproval in the attached correspondence are not based on fact, nor does the memorandum reflect field knowledge of the area, or a cognizance of the caliber of the mayor's committee...This could, no doubt, cause a major breach in the relationships previously enjoyed between the Service and the City of San Diego. [62]

The Mayor's reaction to the rejection was one of surprise and confusion since he had not been privy to any of the Park Service's interoffice discussions of the past year. According to Tucker, Curran entertained a strong belief "that perhaps our Service generally disapproved of the project [from the beginning] and was utilizing less than candid means to discourage further progress." [63] Hoping to discover the specific objections of the Park Service to his idea, the Mayor dispatched the chairman of the committee to Washington to meet personally with the Director, Vice President Humphrey's liaison officer with the nation's mayors and congressmen Bob Wilson and Lionel Van Deerlin. [64] As a result of these meetings, the Director agreed to make a personal visit to San Diego to confer with the Mayor. The outcome of the visit was a promise by the Director that he would appoint a special subcommittee to the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments to review the matter. [65] Chosen to serve on the committee were: Joe B. Frantz, Chairman of the Department of History, University of Texas; Nathaniel A. Owings, architect of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, San Francisco; and Dr. Melvin Payne, President, National Geographic Society. [66] In addressing the subcommittee as to their purpose, the Deputy Director wrote:

> We approach the matter with only one basic assumption—that something will be done to memorialize Cabrillo. The problem is one of doing the best thing—best in historical perspective, best from the standpoint of location and integration into the site plan for the monument as a whole, best from the standpoint of taste and artistic value, and best as an appropriate interpretation of Cabrillo. Your recommendations can greatly influence present thinking of the sponsors of this project and the future well being of this national monument. [67]

Unfortunately for the Mayor's plan, the special committee was no more impressed with the enormous statue than the Director had been. When asked by August Felando whether there was any way to design an acceptable statue at the proposed height, Nathaniel Owings replied that he felt it was indeed impossible. Joe B. Franz, the chairman of the team stressed, however, that it was not the group's mission to express a negative spirit but to be constructive and find a solution. This "solution" was suggested by Owings' architectural firm and involved a complete redesign of the project. Using the existing statue as a "precious jewel to be placed in a proper setting," [68] the new plan called for the sculpture to be set in an amphitheater.

The backing would be a masonry wall 30 feet high which would contain an enormous battery of floodlights creating a shaft of light 400 feet above the structure. To complete the image, a reflecting pool was to be constructed at the foot of the statue with an avenue of flags leading to it. [69]

As part of his contribution to the project, Owings agreed to provide the preliminary sketches and to present them to the Mayor and his committee. The project was "agreed to in principle by the National Park Service" [70] with the exception of the flags and the fountain, and the revised plan shown to the Mayor at a meeting of the Cabrillo Historical Association on July 18, 1969. [71] After a polite but somewhat tepid approval by the Mayor's Committee, Owings made a formal presentation of the revised plan at the Cabrillo Festival Banquet. In attendance were 500 guests including government officials from Portugal. After the event, the Regional Office wrote to the Director: "Our obligations have been discharged as we see them. A design has been created which is acceptable to both the National Park Service and the City of San Diego." [72]

Though politely accepted by the Mayor's Committee, the new plan did not engender the enthusiasm of the old, and the entire project was allowed to die. Although "obligations had been discharged," by the Park Service, an acceptable design produced and all the formalities observed, Mayor Curran had no illusions about what had been done to his idea to create a memorial on the order of the Statue of Liberty. Said he in a later interview: "It got squashed by the National Park Service." [73]

As long as it appeared that the Portuguese government might play a large role in the promotion and financing of the project, the Park Service was willing to consider it, within certain guidelines. It would seem that when this was no longer the case, the concept of an enormous statue on Park Service land came to a swift end. In an attempt to help Superintendent Tucker deal with local consequences of the rejection, the Director appointed a committee of distinguished men to come up with an acceptable alternative. In the view of the Mayor, however, their solution lacked the romantic grandeur of the original.

Considering the enormity of the project, the fact that it would have changed the nature of the monument irrevocably, and the delicacy necessary to deal with the high level of officials involved, the Park Service managed the situation with admirable tact. Although the result was indeed to "squash" the Mayor's idea, there is no indication that the incident provoked any lasting enmity between the monument and the city of San Diego. Lest anyone think that the matter is permanently settled, however, it should be noted that the idea of an enormous statue for Point Loma appears to resurface in some mutated form every few decades. The April 1986 issue of *California Magazine* carried an item which described the plan of a Spring Valley man for, "a West Coast version of the Statue of Liberty featuring a 150 foot male in briefs standing on a 150 foot concrete base that would house a revolving restaurant, gift shop and theater." [74] It might well be that some future superintendent of Cabrillo will again face the Colossus of San Diego.

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CABRILLO

Administrative History

CHAPTER IX

The Development of Planning Within the Park Service

By the target date of 1966, the Mission 66 program was deemed a success due, in large part, to the millions of dollars that Congress eventually allocated for it. In May of that year, Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. was already announcing a new program called "Parkscape U.S.A." According to Hartzog, different problems had arisen since 1956: "At that particular time, our parks were threatened because of neglect," he said. "Today we face the problem of urbanization, and growing population, and more and more leisure time." [1]

In order to accommodate the increasing number of people who made use of the parks, the Director emphasized the importance of broad and inclusive master plans. Speaking to the Service's planning staff on July 7, 1967, Hartzog said, "...parks are for people. Now this does not mean that parks are for all people, for all purposes at all times. I simply say that parks are for people and I am willing to defend that any time, any place." [2] In Hartzog's view, "...the greatest role in determining the quality of service to people in my judgment is played by the master plan." [3]

To implement the formation of master plans, a team was to be organized for each park consisting of members from its regional office and service center. Hartzog was very clear as to the role of the master plan team as it approached its task in a particular park:

> These things can only come about as you folks on the master plan team become the "cutting edge of innovation." That's your role. You're an interloper. When you go to a park and start suggesting to the superintendent that this or that or something else be done, you're an interloper, and if you don't like that role, you ought to tell us so we can move you into some other job in which you'll be happier.... If you're going there to look at the park through the same glasses as the man who's there, we have too many people on the job.... I'm looking for you to bring to these programs imagination and creative thinking. [4]

In addition, according to Hartzog, the job of the planning team was to listen carefully to the man in charge. Speaking of the superintendents, Hartzog said,

> Surely, he is parochially oriented, and if he doesn't stay parochially oriented, I'm going to move him...I want him to know the local problems. I want him to know the local issues. I want him to communicate them to me because, generally, we don't get in trouble on national issues; we get in trouble on parochial issues. [5]

The basic points that were to be dealt with in the master plans were well laid out by the Director. Of primary importance was the need to define the purpose of the park not, he said, "on the basis of what you think the purpose of the park is," but "what Congress said the purpose of the park is." [6] The importance of regional planning was also to be stressed and the park planned "in the environment in which it is located." [7] Since master plans for many

parks were initially formulated before the impact of the automobile and the enormous number of visitors could be anticipated, the team was reminded to keep in mind the carrying capacity of a park and what effect this would have on resource management. Finally, master planning teams were exhorted once again to remember that the parks should be planned "for people as well as for the protection of resources." [8]

Although Hartzog's initial thrust in planning was to make the parks responsive to the needs of the people who used them, the temper of the times made it necessary for planning teams to balance this with increasing public interest in environmental issues. The responsibility that the Park Service had always had of reconciling the problems of use with preservation became even more sensitive in the ecologically aware 1960's and 70's, and the master plan became the primary vehicle for providing an appropriate balance. [9] With the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, all federal agencies were required to prepare a detailed environmental impact statement for "major federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment." [10] Thus, master plans prepared by the Park Service after that time included environmental assessments as part of the process. In addition, the legislation called for more citizen participation through public hearings and, as a result, the federal planning process moved from behind closed doors into the public arena. [11]

Conservation and preservation had always been a primary concern of the national parks set up for that purpose. The new mandates, however, made it necessary for historical monuments such as Cabrillo to take a broader look at the totality of their resources and to place their use under public scrutiny.

Master Planning for Cabrillo National Monument

The master plan for Cabrillo, according to Superintendent Tucker, had been in an almost constant state of revision since the first drafts were produced by Ross Holland in the early 1960's. [12] The last draft had been submitted and revised by the region in 1964 and by 1968 it was already obsolete. In a letter to the Regional Director in April 1968, Tucker explained that the last submission had been based on the supposition that the monument boundaries would be extended by 43 acres when the Interior Department's office of Saline Water was added permanently to Cabrillo. This did not come to pass, however, the Navy having acquired the property instead. [13] In addition, the separation of Channel Islands from the monument's jurisdiction and a proposal that a fee station be established (an idea later dropped) all pointed to the need for additional review of the existing draft. [14]

The Regional Office agreed with Tucker's evaluation and a master plan team was formed consisting of the superintendent, three members from the Western Regional Office, and three from the Denver Service Center. Among those chosen was F. Ross Holland, Jr., former historian at Cabrillo, who at that time was assigned to the Service Center. [15] In March 1972, the team produced a planning directive that spelled out the purposes of the master plan study and the problems to be addressed. The monument was described as a "small, compact and heavily visited urban area" and once again its singularity was emphasized:

> Although the word "unique" is probably over used in describing units of the National Park System, this national monument deserves the title. Established in 1913 solely to memorialize the sixteenth century discovery of the U.S. west coast, the monument and its resources now encompass many more recreational opportunities and visitor activities. In fact, these other resources often combine to overwhelm the primary historic significance of the park—at least to the visitors' eyes. [16]

This point, of course, had been made by every administrator who had ever had the misfortune

of trying to explain the problem to his superior. Now, at least, some substantive effort was being made to resolve it in a way that would give future superintendents more leeway in developing the monument's potential. In addition to creating "a balanced interpretive effort between the historical resources and the natural resources, while retaining the primary significance of the park," [17] the master plan team had to address other issues as well. They included: reducing the peak period pedestrian and vehicle congestion while separating the visitors from the cars; studying ways to reduce adverse impact on the fragile resources, such as the ocean tidepools and the easily eroded steep hillsides: and considering the possibilities of future boundary expansion. [18] It was the last point that would later cause the most serious problem with the monument's reluctant neighbor, the United States Navy.

In the initial stages of the planning process, however, the largest stumbling block was also the oldest—how to broaden the commemorative theme of the monument to include its other resources. The ingenious solution that evolved made use of the "nautical theme" so evident to anyone visiting the monument for the first time. Cabrillo, the lighthouse, the whale lookout, even the Navy ships and commercial and pleasure boats cruising the harbor, suggested to the team a unifying factor—man's relationship with the sea. [19] Opposition to this interpretation was immediate, just as it had always been in the past. This time objections came not from the Regional office but from Frank Collins who was in charge of reviewing master plans at the Denver Service Center. In his comments on the plan, Collins said:

> I felt that the plan does not give sufficient emphasis on what is probably the most significant result of the exploration: the overlay of the a whole new culture on the native cultures of the area and the development of a new subculture that still exists today in the now dominant Anglo-American culture in Southern California.... This really is the significance of Cabrillo's explorations. I think the plan is remiss in not tying this story to the strong, influential and very interred [sic] in Cabrillo National Monument Portuguese community in San Diego. [20]

Doug Cornell, the team captain, strongly disagreed with this interpretation saying, "I think he misses the basic point that Cabrillo National Monument commemorates an historical event but is not itself an historical area. He believes we should dwell more on the cultural influences of the Portuguese and Spanish—a story I feel can be and is better told elsewhere." [21] After meeting with the Regional Advisory Committee on Planning Directives and Management, Regional Director Howard Chapman suggested that no attempt should be made to change what had always been considered the theme of the monument. Instead, the theme of man and the sea should be added to that of the commemoration of Cabrillo as the purpose of the monument. [22] In justifying this addition Chapman wrote, "We feel that a park's purpose must sometimes be interpreted to be more than what was stated in the establishment legislation." [23] For perhaps the first time, the Regional Office had acknowledged that Cabrillo might represent more than what the Order of Panama had originally intended in 1913. Park Service policy had at last caught up with what the monument's administrators had been attempting to point out since 1933.

In drawing up the master plan, the team carried forward its idea of expanding Cabrillo's purpose and uses. The prime mission of the monument, as stated in the 1964 draft of the master plan was: "to convey to its one million annual visitors a sense of the heroic exploits of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and his crew." [24] In the 1974 draft, this theme was expanded by the statement: In purpose, the monument performs as a magnificent observation platform from which the visitor has an overview of the spectacular impact of the relationship between man and the sea, in the historic as well as in the contemporary sense." [25] The point was reiterated in the section on resource management and visitor use: "The commemorative role of the monument will remain the dominant theme, while the varied resources of Point Loma will be utilized to serve the National Park Service mission of environmental awareness." [26]

To implement this broadened interpretation, three distinct management zones—commemorative, historic, and natural—were drawn up. The visitor complex containing the view building, the museum and auditorium as well as the overlook with the statue of Cabrillo was designated the commemorative zone. It would, according to the plan, function as "the focal point of visitor use and to provide for the primary interpretive role of the monument." [27]

The old Point Loma lighthouse and its surrounding area was designated the historic zone. Because the asphalt paving and exotic landscaping had made the lighthouse a "historic structure in a contemporary setting," [28] the plan provided for removing the road and parking spaces from the area. In addition, "restoration of the lighthouse and installation of an historically accurate larger diameter Fresnel lens" was called for. [29]

For the first time, mention was made of the gun emplacements, related bunkers and observation posts located within the monument grounds. Although considered too scattered to be included within the historic zone per se, they were nonetheless to be "maintained as historic sites" and would later "be assessed for their significance in the interpretation of coastal defenses." [30] This came in direct contrast to previous policy at the monument which had considered the leftover evidence of the world wars as a nuisance at best and a hazard to unsuspecting visitors at worst. In 1961, Superintendent Donald Robinson had informed the Regional Director that "in view of the recent vintage of these installations, the fact that the fort itself [Fort Rosecrans] is not within monument boundaries, and the rather tenuous position of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo theme, we do not feel that any effort should be made at present to include the coastal defense bunkers in the interpretive program at this monument." [31] While the 1974 master plan did not designate any specific program for the bunkers, it did leave the way open for their future use as a historic resource.

The third management zone as outlined by the plan encompassed the remainder of the monument lands and was designated the natural zone. In these natural areas, "facilities [were to be limited] to those required for interpretation of the various natural resources, their relation to man and his environment and a limited variety of recreation experiences." [32]

In dealing with the resources within the monument's existing boundaries, there was little in the proposed master plan to provoke disagreement or controversy with the public or agencies outside of the Park Service. However, in its presentation of ideas for the future, the plan ran head-on into serious opposition. The negative response expressed by the Navy showed how tenuous the uneasy truce was between the two agencies, each of which had developed its own agenda for use of the land on Point Loma.

The Monument's Relationship with the Navy — Keeping the Peace

The Navy had been a presence on Point Loma since 1904 when the La Playa Coaling Station was established as the first onshore naval activity in the San Diego area. From that time forward, various tracts of land on the Point had been transferred from other agencies to the Navy for such purposes as a fuel annex, an electronics laboratory, a neuropsychiatric research unit, a submarine support facility and various training centers. [33] Every few years rumors surfaced in the local press that the Navy was about to abandon its facilities on the Point and elaborate schemes to turn the entire area into a city or state park or an extension of Cabrillo were proposed with more optimism than ever seemed justified.

In 1970, the Department of Defense (DOD) initiated a joint armed services survey to be conducted by the Navy that would study the installations and operating space required by the DOD in Southern California. The purpose of the study, designated Project WIRE (Western Installations Requirements Evaluation), was to recommend to the Secretary of Defense "the

best means of assuring long-range continuance of essential military operations in the Southern California area." [34] In explaining the project to the Regional Office, the acting Superintendent of Cabrillo said that "it appears to be a reaction by the Department of Defense to the threats made by public and various other governmental groups to encroach on military lands." [35]

Although the real estate study issued by Project WIRE does not appear to have found its way to the monument, Superintendent Tucker did receive a copy of the response sent to the project chairman by Captain M.D. Van Orden, commander of the Naval Electronics Laboratory Center. [36] In a scathing critique of the report, Van Orden stated that the document seemed to imply that "the highest and best uses for government lands in the Point Loma Complex are civilian housing, commercial development, or assignment to National Parks." [37] He criticized the "volume of pseudo-logic backing these 'highest and best uses,'" and feared that the "uninitiated" might be persuaded to believe that "there is no need for maintaining the present Naval activities on Point Loma." Van Orden enumerated the reasons why the Navy should retain its facilities on the Point, not the least of which was a $20 million building constructed as an office and training center. In conclusion he wrote: "This Command feels that publication of this particular study should be prohibited and that its ultimate use should be questioned. Its release can only add to the land-grabbing activities now in vogue which make difficult the retention of vital and irreplaceable Navy property." [38] Some thirty years before, Superintendent John R. White had accused the Navy of trying "to hog the whole of Point Loma." [39] Now it seemed that the tables had turned.

The Command's worst fear that its entire installation would be turned into an enormous public park never came to pass. As a result of the study, however, three parcels of land totaling approximately 54 acres were declared surplus and later added to the monument. [40]

With both public and governmental pressure on the military to surrender nonessential land, it is understandable that the commanding officer of the Naval Electronics Center would be sensitive to the threat of more "land-grabbing" in the future. In this context, the draft copy of Cabrillo's master plan released for public review in 1975 brought an immediate and heated response. In question was a paragraph titled "Boundary Revisions" which stated in part that "the monument boundary should be projected to ultimately include the entire southern tip of Point Loma and its offshore areas." The sentence in particular that raised military hackles said that "...the title of excess lands [would be] transferred to the Department of the Interior with the provision that existing essential military and Coast Guard uses may continue but that any new development may be undertaken only with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Interior." [41] The idea that the Navy should have to ask permission of the Secretary of the Interior to build on its own land brought cries of outrage. In a letter to Superintendent Tucker, Captain N.D. Harding, the Commander of the NELC, wrote:

> As you know, I feel that the Navy has no quarrel with you on the matter of land transfers on Point Loma if the language is *always* couched in the framework of "if and when the Navy no longer needs it,"..[h]owever, we must oppose violently master planning and proposals from other agencies to "withdraw" land now in our custody that is being used and for which we have plans for future use. [42]

Harding went on to say that "using it as a tenant, at the sufferance of the Secretary of Interior, is not acceptable." In conclusion, he posed the question to Tucker "...how would you like it if we produced a master plan that 'withdrew' the military lands on Point Loma (all of the Point) and allowed the Cabrillo Monument to stay only until we need it for defense purposes, before which time improvements to the Monument would have to be cleared with the Secretary of Defense?" [43]

The Navy position was reiterated by the Commandant of the Eleventh Naval District, Rear Admiral F. B. Gilkeson, in a letter to the Department of the Interior. [44] In it, he once again stated that the Navy had no intention of withdrawing from Point Loma. On the contrary, activities in the area were expected to increase. Therefore, he said, implementation of Cabrillo's master plan was based on the fallacious idea that the Navy would soon disappear from the scene. In his comments on the environmental assessment accompanying the master plan, Gilkeson complained: "Although the objective of an environmental assessment is to discuss the unavoidable effects of the proposed plan on the existing facilities and environment, nowhere are the unavoidable adverse impacts of the plan on Navy installations discussed." [45]

Military indignation was soon placated, however, for as the Superintendent had assured Captain Harding earlier, "the National Park Service [had] no intention of attempting to pirate lands from our Navy friends on Point Loma." [46] The offending section on Boundary Revisions, as it appeared in the final Master Plan, was changed to read: "This expansion would envision a diminishing of the military need for operational sites on the southern most tip of Point Loma. Title to these lands would be transferred to the Department of the Interior as the existing military uses diminished, and the lands become available for transfer." [47]

In contrast to the Navy's objection to the master plan, the general public offered virtually no opposition. Public hearings held in April 1975 brought approving comments from such agencies as the City Parks and Recreations Department, the Planning Department and the Chamber of Commerce. The only adverse response came in the form of a petition signed by thirty-five residents of the neighborhood adjacent to the military entrance on the Point. In the petition, the signers stated their concern that increased use of the park would result in more traffic and have an overall adverse impact on the area. [48] The master plan answered this objection by stating that except for special occasions, the monument's capacity for daily visitors would not be reached for many years. When, however, "visitation levels approach these capacities" measures would be studied to deal with the problem, probably involving the increased use of public transportation. [49]

The revised master plan was accepted in July 1976 and, with its adoption, the monument finally had a workable blueprint on which to base both its day-to-day operations and its plans for the future.

Operations at the Monument in the 1970's

Moving through the planning process was an important part of the monument's activities in the 1970's. The completion of long range projects and daily operations were based in large part, however, on the availability of both funds and staffing. For example, structural rehabilitation of the lighthouse had been discussed in the early 1960's and was a major goal mentioned in the 1964 master plan. [50] Because of lack of funds, however, the project was postponed several times. [51] In 1967, Superintendent Tucker once again announced Park Service plans to begin the restoration in fiscal year 1968 but cuts in the Service's historic structures program resulted in further delays. [52] Besides causing the postponement of actual construction, the delays provided more time for controversy to develop concerning the details of the project.

A visit to the monument by Director Hartzog in 1968 resulted in some interdepartmental wrangling that pitted historical accuracy against visitor use. In keeping with the Director's philosophy of "parks for the people," he sent a memo to the Chief of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation and the Associate Director of Planning and Development concerning his recent visit to the monument. In the memo Hartzog stated that there was "a terrible circulation problem" in the lighthouse. To remedy this he suggested that

the Regional Director "arrange for a staircase to be cut in back of the second level of the house which would exit through the lean-to kitchen and then close the tower." [53]

Historian Ross Holland immediately countered with the assertion that such an idea should be "vigorously opposed." [54] "To accommodate all visitors by disrupting the historical integrity of the structure," he said, "would be sacrilege." As is often the case with such disagreements, memo followed memo and arguments were marshalled for both sides. In the end, however, Holland won his point that "the lighthouse is simply too small to diddle with" [55] and plans for the Director's stairway were dropped.

In 1972, however, the problem of congestion within the lighthouse was alleviated by closing the tower. This step was necessitated by the structural damage being done by the constant flow of visitors up the narrow stairway to the tiny area that housed the lens. [56] Traffic problems around the lighthouse were eliminated the following year by closing the original loop road to vehicles. As for major structural repairs, however, the project continued to be postponed. Not until April 1981, a year after Superintendent Tucker retired, was work completed on the long planned structural preservation project. At that time the lighthouse was reroofed, and the second floor replastered, a drainage system installed and the basement damp-proofed. In 1983, the project was extended to the badly deteriorated tower when the lantern, and the metal and glass framework enclosing the lens, were all repaired. [57] Little, according to former Superintendent Tom Tucker, happens quickly in the Park Service. Attempting to have long range plans implemented involved, he said, "writing, writing and writing and justifications." [58]

Not all projects initiated during Tucker's superintendency had to wait until his retirement to be completed. The transfer of 56.6 acres of land from the Navy, in the works for several years, was authorized by a presidential proclamation issued on September 28, 1974. The land was put to good use when, in the early summer of 1975, the Bayside Trail, a two-mile hike along the sheltered side of the point, "made it possible to explain the abandoned military installations, man's use of the land, and native and exotic plants in the area." [59] Though begun as a guided tour, staffing shortages later necessitated making the trail self-guided.

Some of the changes that took place during Tucker's superintendency were not specific to Cabrillo. They occurred because of social changes that came about within the country as a whole and were eventually reflected in Park Service policy. The most notable example is in law enforcement. According to Tucker, until the 1960's and 70's the popularly held view of the park ranger as naturalist, guide and interpreter was generally the case. With the increase of drug-related and violent crimes, and especially. Tucker said, a riot that took place in Yosemite in 1969, it became necessary for rangers to receive formal law enforcement training. [60] At Cabrillo, this meant that rangers participated in training at the San Diego Police Academy and, for the first time, carried guns. [61] Although many of the larger parks had personnel whose only duty was law enforcement, the size of the staff at Cabrillo necessitated that even those rangers whose primary duty was protection also participate in interpretive duties as well. Conversely, interpretive personnel also received law enforcement training. In the peculiar jargon of the time, the Superintendent's Annual Report of 1978 stated:

> Our service orientation is further typified by our awareness and sensitivity to the public's high expectancy of other than law enforcement services. As a small park, close contact with the public has not been sacrificed in the quest for mobility and fast response time....[I]n response to the possible adverse effects of protective "working personality" traits (as per the socialization process), our staff members continue to benefit from shared interpretive and protection duties. [62]

Gone forever were the days, it seems, when reports from the person in charge of Cabrillo contained nothing more complicated than a leaking roof or the exploits of pet robins Mickey and Minnie.

In spite of continued budget tightening on the part of the federal government, many programs and projects were developed at the monument through the utilization of the talents of staff members, volunteers and funding provided by the Cabrillo Historical Association. The Association, which by 1978 had grossed $197,013 of which $31,211 went to the Park Service, [63] financed everything from new carpets for the museum to research projects and publications. [64]

Rangers with photographic talent produced multi-media slide shows, and a local artist made a series of paintings detailing the exploits of Cabrillo which later became the basis for a film. [65] Funding through the Park Service made possible a much needed tidepool inventory completed in 1979. Although the monument administered the tidepools through a series of agreements with the Navy and Army, little had been done formerly to study the area and to assess the damage being done by increased public use. [66]

Some projects such as the outreach program, Parks to the People, were funded on an intermittent basis then finally discontinued. Others, such as the living history demonstrations produced by volunteers, went quietly out of fashion—deemed by a later administration to be "somewhat contrived and...often more 'cute' than appropriate." [67]

By the end of his tenure as superintendent in 1980, Tom Tucker had presided over some of the most dramatic changes in the monument's history. In those years, the monument grew from a lighthouse with snakes in the basement and offices in a storage building to a multi-faceted facility that attracted 1,288,500 visitors in 1980. [68] To guide an institution through a labyrinth of bureaucratic rules, changes and delays, to protect it from the pressures of a city, an ethnic group and a military establishment each with its own agenda, and to maintain the goodwill of all required the talent of a diplomat as well as an administrator. This was a talent that Tom Tucker possessed in abundance and the monument, in its most expansive period, benefited a great deal from his abilities.

Cabrillo in the 1980's — Doris Omundson

During his long tenure at Cabrillo, Tom Tucker supervised the largest construction and development program in Cabrillo's history. To his successor, Doris Omundson, fell the less glamorous task of preserving and rehabilitating some of the monument's older resources—in particular the statue of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. When Superintendent Scoyen of Sequoia National Park spoke at the dedication ceremony of the statue in 1949, he said that the statue would stand until "the winds and storms of many decades very slowly wear it away." [69] Little did he realize how prophetic his words would be and that the "winds and storms" would do their work in less than four decades. Although deterioration of the statue had been noted for years, the measures previously taken, including coating the statue with a preservative in 1967 and silicone in the 1970's, seemed to have done more harm than good. [70]

Admiral August Souto Cruz of Portugal, attending the Cabrillo Festival in 1981, noted the poor condition of the statue and mentioned that it reflected badly on his country. Superintendent Omundson, believing the sculpture to be the most important symbol of the monument's purpose, began, soon after, a concerted effort to save the piece. [71]

At her request, a condition report was issued by National Park Service Conservator Gregory Byrne on March 13, 1984, which concluded that the deterioration was due primarily to two

factors: the nature of the stone itself which appeared to be "oolitic limestone joined by mortar to sandstone" [72] and the effects of erosion from wind, weather and salt air. The conclusion of the report was straightforward: "Without measures to abate moisture related damage, all the sculpture's distinguishing surface features will most likely be lost within the next 25 years if it remains in its present location." [73] The report further recommended that the statue be moved indoors and that a reproduction be made to take its place.

Within the next year, the superintendent traveled to Portugal where she met sculptor Joao Charters de Almeida who expressed interest in reproducing the statue. In addition, she enlisted the aid of various Portuguese organizations and community groups and explained the aims of the project to the public.

A visit by the sculptor to the site in March 1985 established the feasibility of making a mold from the original statue. This would then be used to create a reproduction in a more durable stone. [74] The most serious obstacle was, not surprisingly, obtaining the funds. Unlike other statue projects in Cabrillo's history that had expired for lack of money, this one found a benefactor. In April 1985, Marian Reupsch, long involved with the Cabrillo Historical Association, pledged up to $100,000 to fund the project. The superintendent quickly made arrangements to have the casting done, ship it to Portugal and contract for the sculptor to begin the replacement statue. [75] Though the 1984 condition report suggested that the original statue be put into storage or returned to the State of California after the replacement was completed, an alternative plan was announced by Conservator Byrne in May 1986. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Byrne said that he would, with the aid of old photographs, refurbish the sculpture. When the work was completed, it would then be displayed in the monument's museum. [76]

In June 1986, Doris Omundson was transferred to Lava Beds National Monument as part of what Regional Director Howard Chapman called "a statewide reshuffling of superintendents designed to broaden their experience." [77] Local critics of the move, however, connected it with the dissatisfaction of some members of the Portuguese community with Superintendent Omundson's handling of the statue project. Coming as it did in the middle of work in progress, the transfer engendered some controversy and resulted in letters of protest from the Cabrillo Historical Association President Dr. Raymond Starr, the Fort Guijarros Museum Foundation and other supporters, including some from the Portuguese community. [78] It remains for a later chronicler of the monument, one blessed with the benefit of historical perspective, to gauge the effect of the controversy on Cabrillo's history. In the meantime, the project continues and Superintendent Omundson leaves the monument a legacy of having saved one of its primary artifacts from the ravages of time.

A Look to the Future

The appointment of Gary Cummins to the superintendency in August 1986 brings a new perspective to the problems and potential of Cabrillo. Trained in both history and archeology, Cummins hopes to broaden both the themes and the uses of the area during his tenure. [79]

His introduction to one of the developing problems at the monument came with the 1986 Cabrillo Festival. Although attempts have been made in the past few years to extend the range of the festival to include both Spanish and Mexican elements, the event is still viewed as primarily a Portuguese celebration. On September 21, the *San Diego Union* published a story concerning the refusal of Pedro Temboury, Spanish consul general in Los Angeles, to take part in the Festival. According to the account, Temboury planned to boycott the event as long as he perceived that Spain was put into a secondary position to the Portuguese who, he believed, have received an inordinate amount of credit for the discovery of San Diego Bay. Joaquin Munoz, the consul general of the previous year, was said to have complained about

the 1985 festival because the priest who gave the invocation blessed only the Portuguese explorers and sailors. [80]

The controversy has received more impetus with the publication of a new biography of Cabrillo written by Harry Kelsey, historian at the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History and published by the Huntington Library. While the book provides no conclusive evidence that Cabrillo was born in Spain, Kelsey presents a convincing case of circumstantial evidence that he was Spanish. According to Kelsey, "If Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was indeed Portuguese, neither the man himself nor his friends nor his relatives nor even his enemies seem to have mentioned the fact in the hundreds of pages of testimony that document the family's 'calidad' (quality) and 'limpieza de sangre' (purity of blood)." [81]

Although most historians would view the matter of Cabrillo's nativity to be a relatively unimportant footnote in history of Spanish exploration, the implications could have an effect on the future management policies of the monument. In spite of the fact that the monument owes its 1913 establishment to the recognition of Spain's historical and cultural contributions to Southern California, there has been increased identification between the Portuguese community of San Diego and the facility over the years. This identification began with the inception of Park Service administration in 1935 and was solidified by the creation of the Cabrillo Festival in 1964, an event looked upon as a Portuguese celebration.

According to Regional Historian Gordon Chappell, "the question of Juan Rodriguez' origin was not one the NPS could solve with any amount of money or historical expertise.... The historical documentation thus far discovered provides no conclusive answer, and until such documentation should be found, it will remain a matter of controversy." Thus, he concludes, the matter must be decided by "the scholarly community of historians." Until that happens: "It is simply not a question the National Park Service can settle, and one in which we probably should not take sides." [82]

Even though the issue remains to be resolved in the scholarly arena, the emotional attachment of the Portuguese community to the explorer remains. Therefore, it will require the utmost in diplomacy on the part of present and future superintendents to assure that the Cabrillo Festival, the monument's primary vehicle "to take the Cabrillo story to a wider audience," [83] does not deteriorate into a petty battle between ethnic groups in the community.

While Superintendent Cummins emphasizes that the story of Cabrillo will continue to be the primary interpretive thrust at the monument, he hopes to broaden and enrich the visitor's understanding of how this event fits in with the entire history of San Diego Bay and Point Loma [84] The same elements that attracted Cabrillo to the port also influenced the building of the Spanish Fort Guijarros and the military installations of both World Wars I and II. These connections between the location of Point Loma and its uses for defense and commerce have been pointed out by past administrators of the monument and articulated in the first comprehensive interpretive plan created by historian Ross Holland. It is Cummins' intention to draw on these elements through the use of archeology as well as history and to work with local institutions such as the Fort Guijarros Foundation and other community groups with similar interests. [85]

Some of the problems that will need to be addressed by Cummins have to do with the Cabrillo's natural resources. Poaching in the tidepools and the waters adjacent to monument land is a growing problem, according to the superintendent. [86] Through cooperative agreements with the Navy and the Army Corps of Engineers, the monument has been granted jurisdiction over the tidepools adjacent to and abutting the existing U. S. Coast Guard Point Loma Light Station as well as those located between the Coast Guard Station and the Cabrillo boundary. [87] The situation is complicated, however, by an unsettled jurisdictional

dispute between the Federal Government and the State of California over the tidelands. While the Federal Government contends that its jurisdiction extends 300 yards beyond low tide, the state maintains that it ends at the high tide mark. This difference of opinion has resulted in continuing conflict between State Fish and Game laws and National Park Service regulations. California regulations prohibit the taking of any plant or invertebrate marine life 150 feet beyond mean low tide in the Point Loma Reserve. Park regulations, however, extend this prohibition to within 300 yards of mean low water. [88] Until this matter is settled and some satisfactory method of enforcement is developed, danger to the fragile tidepool area will continue.

Another of the issues facing all National Park superintendents in the 1980's is not new but merely a variation on an old theme. No longer blessed with the largesse of Congress through programs like Mission 66, parks and monuments in recent years have had to rely more than ever on private sources of funding. Former Superintendent Tucker views this development with considerable alarm. Speaking of Doris Omundson's dual role of superintendent and development officer he said:

> ...she is not only allowed to but is persuaded that she should go out into the community and beat the bushes for funds...I think this is a sad commentary and a very poor premise and I feel that when the nation begins to pass around a tin cup to get funds to build aircraft carriers and tanks and those kinds of things, then I think that all the services ought to do that. [89]

The Park Service, he believes, by soliciting private funding "is pressed into service to do things that are contrary to the best interests of the philosophy of the National Park System." [90]

For Superintendent Cummins, however, the need to acquire funds is simply a fact of life—necessary if not particularly pleasant. He believes that it is the job of the superintendent to not only seek private financial sources for monument projects but to handle these donations skillfully so that they do not interfere with Park Service policy. In addition, according to Cummins, superintendents must also know how to refuse those private interests who offer projects that could be detrimental to the overall well being, goals or philosophy of the area. [91]

In this respect, Cabrillo has not really begun a new era but only come full circle. The original statue for the monument was to have been built from donated funds, the present statue was donated and the reproduction currently being built is part of that tradition. Unfortunately, the Park Service has always been forced to "pass the tin cup." It is perhaps the mission of superintendents like Cummins to use large measures of sophistication and skill to fill the cup to the monument's best advantage.

In Conclusion

Had the Order of Panama decided to place its memorial to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo on any piece of land in San Diego other than the one it chose, the story of Cabrillo National Monument would be decidedly different. Located on a promontory that affords to the visitor one of the most magnificent views in the world, the monument has always suffered from an embarrassment of natural and historical riches that has made it difficult both to define and to administer. Unlike many properties in the National Park System, Cabrillo was considered a local attraction long before it achieved any national significance. Honoring the "discoverer" of California was only part of the reason the local populace petitioned the federal government for permission to erect a monument. A significant part of the plan was to build it on a spot that would attract national and international visitors—an idea that only made sense in tourist

oriented town. When, twenty years later, the area became part of the National Park System by default rather than design, hope once more flowered among the local populace that suitable recognition of "the Plymouth Rock of the West" [92] would at last come to pass.

San Diego has been accused by one Park Service historian of "pious mouthings" in connection with its penchant for grandiose schemes for the monument that never seemed to happen. [93] While this is true to some degree, such criticism does not take into account the very real contributions both individuals and organizations have made at every critical juncture of the monument's development. Blessed with the political expertise of influential businessmen who knew when and how to apply appropriate pressure, Cabrillo, which started out as one of the Park Service's most insignificant properties, was able to compete successfully for the appropriations that saved it from early obscurity. When it appeared that the military might quietly absorb the property after World War II without opposition from the Park Service, judiciously applied local pressure was the factor that opened Cabrillo's gates to the public once again. Luck as well as skill played a part in the lengthy negotiations that resulted in the monument's first boundary extension. Had not a sympathetic San Diego congressman been a member of the powerful Armed Services Committee, the local campaign to acquire land from the military might never have been successful.

Contributions of the local populace to the development of Cabrillo National Monument is, of course, only part of the story. The monument has been blessed from the beginning with administrators who saw the enormous potential of the area and were often willing to stand up to their superiors when its welfare was at stake. Under Superintendents White and Scoyen, with the assistance of Clifton Rock, the monument survived its first tenuous steps. Through the persistence of Superintendent Don Robinson, as well as the aid of local citizens and politicians, the monument succeeded in acquiring the land necessary to make it a viable part of the National Park System. The managerial skill of Superintendent Tom Tucker, along with his personal popularity, were the major factors in establishing Cabrillo's place in that system during the tremendous growth period of the 1960's and 70's. Superintendent Omundson, in her five year tenure, had to deal with the difficult and controversial issues that face all Park Service managers today. Government money for programs and projects has once more slowed to a trickle and superintendents must return again to outside sources for funding. This situation brings, as it has in the past, all the inherent contradictions between private agendas and public policy.

In the nearly seventy five years of the monument's history. custodians and superintendents have had to deal with problems common to the entire National Park System as well as those unique to the area. In turn, each of these administrators has called upon his or her particular talents to guide the monument through periods of bureaucratic insensitivity, local pressures and possible diplomatic blunders.

John R. White, superintendent of such great natural wonders as Sequoia National Park and Death Valley National Monument, saw from the beginning the potential of Cabrillo to become "a bright star in the National Park galaxy." [94] If he were to return today, he would no doubt agree that his "bright star" has taken enormous strides toward fulfilling that promise.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

Plate I. Col. D. C. Collier (left) is shown here with New Mexico's Lt. Governor Spry at the 1915 San Diego Exposition. Collier founded the Order of Panama, the organization that promoted the idea of creating Cabrillo National Monument. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate II. Clifton Rock became concessioner and caretaker of Cabrillo National Monument when the monument came under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service in 1933. *Courtesy Lester Earnest.*

Plate III. Eivind T. Scoyen, Col. White's successor as superintendent of Sequoia, supervised the administration of Cabrillo until 1956. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park.*

Plate IV. John R. White, superintendent of Sequoia National Park until 1947, was also in charge of Cabrillo National Monument during its early years. *Courtesy Sequoia*

National Park.

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[69]Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, *The Architecture and, Gardens of the San Diego Exposition* (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1916), 6.

[70]Pourade, *Gold in the Sun*, 125.

[71]Hal Rothman, "Protected by a Gold Fence with Diamond Tips: A Cultural History of the American National Monuments" (Ph. D. dissertation, the University of Texas at Austin, 1985), 1-3.

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[1]John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 154-62.

[2]Hal Rothman, "Protected by a Gold Fence with Diamond Tips: a Cultural History of the American National Monuments" (Ph. D. dissertation, the University of Texas at Austin, 1985), 178-79.

[3]*Ibid.*, 108-09.

[4]Minutes of Cabrillo Committee, San Diego Historical Society, 23 January 1934 (on file San Diego Historical Society).

[5]Presidential Proclamation No. 1773, 12 May 1926 (copy on file, Cabrillo National Monument).

[6]*San Diego Union*, 12 May 1926.

[7]*San Diego Sun*, 25 January 1934.

[8]Paul A. Ewing to Director, National Park Service, 16 June 1926, National Park Service Records, Cabrillo National Monument File, RG 79, NA.

[9]F. H. Tuthill to Director, National Park Service, 29 October 1928, RG 79, NA.

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]A. E. Demaray to F.H. Tuthill, 6 November 1928, RG 79. NA.

[12]Unsigned memo from Office of Corps Area Quartermaster, Presidio of San Francisco to Commanding General, Ninth Corps Area, AGO File No. 333.1, CAQM, RG 94, NA.

[13]*San Diego Union*, 16 January 1869.

[14]George Wharton James, *California Romantic and Beautiful* (Boston: the Page Company, 1914), 293.

[15]F. Ross Holland, Jr. and Henry G. Law, *Historic Structure Report: The Old Point Loma Lighthouse Cabrillo National Monument, San Diego, California* (Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1981), 58-74.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]*Ibid.*, 84.

[18]Mrs. H.E. Cook to Col. John R. White, 30 March 1935, RG 79, NA.

[19]*San Diego Union*, 13 August 1930.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]War Department to Adjutant General's Office, 7 June 1930. AGO File No. 323.34 1, RG 94, NA.

[22]Memo from Corps Area Quartermaster to Commanding General, AGO File 331.1, RG 94, NA.

[23]*San Diego Union*, 19 April 1931.

[24]John Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 352.

[25]Newton B. Drury to Horace M. Albright, 10 November 1932, RG 79, NA.

[26]Roger W. Toll to Director, National Park Service, 4 May 1933, RG 79, NA.

[27]Roger W. Toll, "Cabrillo National Monument: Report to Director", 1933, RG 79, NA.

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]*Ibid.*

[30]John Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 354.

[31]*Ibid.*, 353.

[32]C. L. Wirth to Horace Albright, 18 May 1933, RG 79, NA.

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[1]John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 353.

[2]William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), 23.

[3]Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Howe Brothers, 1985), 295.

[4]*Ibid.*, 296.

[5]U. S. Department of Interior. *Annual Report of the Department of Interior, 1933* (Washington, D.C., U. S Government Printing Office), 155.

[6]Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service,* 91-92.

[7]John R. White to Arno B. Cammerer, Director, National Park Service, 8 January 1934, National Park Service Records, Cabrillo National Monument File, RG 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*San Diego Union*, 5 January 1934.

[10]Arthur H. Hill to John R. White, 6 January 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]John R. White to Director National Park Service, 11 January 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]Minutes of Cabrillo Committee, San Diego Historical Society, 19 January 1934 (on file San Diego Historical Society).

[15]*San Diego Sun,* 20 January 1934.

[16]Minutes of Cabrillo Committee, 23 January 1934.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]John Ise, *Our National Park Policy,* 359.

[19]W.G. Carnes to Thomas C. Vint, 23 February 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]Representative George Burnham to Director, 7 May 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[22]Verne C. Chatelain to Isabel Story, 3 May 1934. CNM File, RG 79. NA.

[23]Director to George Burnham, 8 May 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[24]*San Diego Sun,* 10 May 1934.

[25]W. L. McFadden, "El Camino Cabrillo, New Highway to Point Loma Officially Opened to Public," *California Highways and Public Works,* 12 (August 1934), 10-11.

[26]John R. White to Director, 23 July 1934, CNM File, RG 79. NA.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]W.G. Carnes, "Report of Inspection of Cabrillo National Monument," 26 September 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[29]*San Diego Tribune,* 22 August 1934.

[30]John R. White to W. G. Carnes, 24 August 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[31]Minutes San Diego Historical Society, 17 August 1933 (on file San Diego Historical Society).

[32]John R. White to W. G. Carnes, 24 August 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[33]W. G. Carnes, "Report on Inspection of Cabrillo National Monument," CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[34]William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service,* 59-60.

[35]W. G. Carnes, "Report on Inspection of Cabrillo National Monument," p. 2, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[36]Sam D. Hendricks, "Final Construction Report on Alteration and Restoration of the Lighthouse, Project No. F.P. 619," 31 December 1935, p. 4, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[37]*Ibid.*

[38]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[39]*Ibid.* There has been some to criticism as to the quality and appropriateness of the reconstruction done by the Park Service in 1933. F. Ross Holland discusses this in detail in F. Ross Holland, Jr. and Henry G. Law, *Historic Structure Report: The Old Point Loma*

Lighthouse Cabrillo National Monument, San Diego, California (Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1981).

[40]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

[41]Director to George Burnham 13 June, 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[42]*Ibid.*

[43]Leroy A. Wright to George Burnham 19 June 1934, Cabrillo National Monument File, San Diego Historical Society.

[44]John R. White to W.G. Carnes, 24 August 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[45]W.G. Carnes to John R. White, 26 January 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[46]Promotional booklet published by Grand Council of Cabrillo Civic Clubs, 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[47]*Ibid.*

[48]Typescript titled: "Original wording for Cabrillo plaque", CNM file, San Diego Historical Society.

[49]Manuel F. Sylva to Richard J. Welch, 13 August 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[50]Richard J. Welch to Director, 16 August 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[51]Gardner to Director, 22 August 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[52]Marginal note by Arthur E. Demaray on memo of Malcolm Gardner to Director, 22 August 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[53]W. G. Carnes, "Report on Inspection of Cabrillo National Monument," p. 6, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[54]Marginal note by Thomas C. Vint on W.G. Carnes, "Report on Inspection of Cabrillo National Monument," CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[55]Secretary of Interior to Secretary of War, 22 December 1934, CNM, RG 79, NA.

[56]Acting Secretary of War Woodring to Secretary of Interior, 6 April 1934, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[57]Permit issued to Department of Interior (National Park Service) by Department of War, 23 May 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA. The permit, though renewable, was issued for a period of only five years. This caused contention because the Park Service felt that it made planning for long term development impossible.

[58]Sam D. Hendricks, "Final Construction Report." p. 9, CNM File, RG79, NA.

59

American Automobile Association, *Westways,* 26 (October 1934), 1.

[60]*San Diego Union*, 29 September 1935.

[61]*Ibid.*

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[1]Visitation figures provided by United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

[2]Hal Rothman, "Protected by a Gold Fence with Diamond Tips: a Cultural History of the American National Monuments" (Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Texas at Austin, 1985), 329.

[3]John R. White to Leroy Wright, 11 January 1935, National Park Service Records, Cabrillo National Monument File, RG 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[4]Clifford Rock to John R. White, 8 July 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]White to Director, National Park Service, 29 July 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]Director to Tolson and Moskey, 5 August 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[10]A. E. Demaray to White, 31 August 1935. CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[11]Miscellaneous Service Permit, 1 October 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[12]White to Director, 5 October 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[13]Rock to Tobin, 17 December 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[14]White to Director, 23 December 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[15]Tolson to White, 14 January 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[16]*Budget of the United States Government for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1938,* U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 434.

[17]Annual Report to the Superintendent, December 1935, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[18]Monthly Report to the Superintendent, October 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[19]*San Diego Union,* 16 January 1938.

[20]Report to Superintendent, June 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[21]Report to Superintendent, August 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[22]Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1937, CNM File, RG 79, NA. The reports to the Superintendent were written by Clifton Rock and sent to Superintendent White in Sequoia. White, in turn, submitted them to Washington, often times adding his own comments in the form of a Superintendent's Report.

[23]Rock to White, 11 June 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[24]Financial Report to the Superintendent, 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[25]Unsigned memo to Acting Associate Director Tolson, 18 June 1936, CNM File, RG 79. NA.

[26]Memo from Director to Under Secretary of the Interior, 21 February 1940, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[27]Report to Superintendent, 27 September 1938, CNM File, RG 79. NA.

[28]Kahler to Chatelain, 30 December 1933, Castillo De San Marcos National Monument File, RG 79, NA, quoted in Rothman, p. 331.

[29]Leroy A. Wright to Advisory Committee, 5 March 1935, Cabrillo File, San Diego Historical Society Manuscripts Collection.

[30]Hagen to Chatelain, 9 January 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA. (The letter is misdated 9 January 1935 but attached as cover letter to a report of 9 January 1936).

[31]*Ibid.*

[32]White to Chatelain, 4 February 1936, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[33]Scoyen to Regional Director 18 December 1940, CNM File, RG 79, NA. Changes in position within the Park Service administration seemed to have been quite frequent, especially during the War years. E.T. Scoyen, (according to *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials,* U. S. Department of the Interior, 1986, 139), replaced White as superintendent of Sequoia National Park from 1939 to 1941 and again as superintendent of Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Parks from 1947 to 1956. In 1940, when this letter was written by Scoyen, White was serving as Director of the Western Region, a position he held until 15 July 1941. See Russ Olsen, *Administrative History: Organizational Structures of the National Park Service — 1917 to 1985* (n.p., 1985), 61-63.

[34]Paul Michael Callaghan, "Fort Rosecrans, California" (Masters thesis, University of San Diego, 1980), 183.

[35]*Los Angeles Times,* 18 November 1940.

[36]Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1940, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[37]*San Francisco Chronicle,* 11 December 1934.

[38]Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1940, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]Report to Superintendent, January 1941, CNM File, RG 79 NA.

[41]Scoyen to Regional Director, Region Four, 12 November 1940, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[42]Confidential memo from Regional Director to Clifton Rock, 11 March 1941, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[43]Director Drury to White, 13 February 1941, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[44]Confidential memo from White to Regional Director, Region Four, 5 January 1943, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[45]*Ibid.*

[46]Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1941, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[47]"History of Harbor Defenses of San Diego," Appendix VII, Annex B, *History of the Western Defense Command,* Vol. 6, Pt 6 (Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army Military History Institute, 1945), 1.

[48]*Ibid,* 2. The armament included the following:

Batteries White and Whistler: 12" mortar batteries of four guns each. Installed in 1920, they were slow firing and could be easily outranged by any ship larger than a destroyer.

Batteries Calef and Wilkeson: two 10" gun batteries of two guns each. Installed in 1900, they covered only a limited water area to the south.

Battery Strong: the only modern battery in the Harbor Defense. Completed in the summer of 1941, it had a modern plotting room but the guns were not shielded from air attack and they had no power equipment.

Battery McGrath: a battery of two 3" guns, which had been installed in 1919.

[49]*Ibid.,* 3.

[50]Hollis T. Gillespie to Ranger Brett Jones, 4 July 1979, on file, Cabrillo National Monument

[51]*Ibid.*

[52]Stephen R. Van Wormer and Linda Roth, "Guns on Point Loma: A History of Fort Rosecrans and the Defense of San Diego Harbor," *The Military on Point Loma* (San Diego: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1985), 11. This article provides a summary of the military presence on Point Loma and describes the various installations in more detail than is possible to deal with here.

[53]"History of Harbor Defenses," 3.

[54]Nearly all Army big-gun fire was controlled by optical methods in the hopes of achieving the accuracy required to hit the target with the first shot. Telescopes on rigid mounts and with various scales to indicate direction and elevation angles were located in steel and concrete boxes called base-end stations. These boxes were located at exactly known locations with respect to the gun or battery served and communicated with the plotting room of the fort or the individual battery.

In most cases, there were one or two near the gun and one or two each direction along the coast, generally five to ten miles away. The stations were usually almost buried with only a six inch slit and a foot of roof visible. Two base end stations still exist on the grounds of the monument. Robert D. Zink, "A Tourist's Guide to the Fixed Defenses of San Diego Harbor," 1971, unpublished typescript on file at Cabrillo National Monument.

[55]"Harbor Defenses", 6.

[56]Van Wormer and Roth, "Guns on Point Loma," 14. Though most of the large gun batteries have been destroyed by later construction or used by the Navy for other purposes, the giant doors of Battery Ashford can still be seen on the approach road to Cabrillo National Monument. In addition, remnants of bunkers and searchlight installations still exist on monument grounds.

[57]White to Director, 14 October 1941. CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[58]Confidential Memo from White to Regional Director, 5 January 1943, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[59]*Ibid.*

[60]Herbert Maier to O.A. Tomlinson, 11 January 1943, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[61]Kahler to Director, 8 February 1943, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[62]Conrad L. Wirth to Director, 26 February 1943, CNM File, RG 79. NA.

[63]Arthur E. Demaray to Director, 3 March 1943, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[64]White to Regional Director, Region Four, 15 March 1946, CNM File. RG 79, NA.

[65]*Ibid.*

[66]*Ibid.*

[67]Ronald F. Lee to Director, 25 March 1946, RG 79, CNM File, NA.

[68]Drury to Demaray, 5 April 1946, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[69]Rock to White, 30 April 1946, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[70]*San Diego Tribune*, 20 September 1946.

[71]*San Diego Journal*, 21 September 1946.

[72]*San Diego Union*, 25 September 1946. Either Lee erred, or the newspaper misquoted him, because Joshua Tree National Monument, established in 1933, was another Park Service property south of Sequoia.

[73]*San Diego Union*, 5 November 1946.

[74]*Ibid.*

[75]*San Diego Union*, 12 November 1946.

[76]Telegram from Director to Regional Director, Region Four, 5 February 1947, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

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[1]John R. White to Director, 4 February 1947, National Park Service Records, Cabrillo National Monument File, RG 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[2]Superintendent's Reports, March 1947, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[3]White to Director, 10 July 1947, National Park Service Central Classified Files, 1925-1953, Western Region (Region 4), RG 79, National Archives, San Francisco Branch, San Bruno, California. Part of the records for this period have been kept in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. However, some can also be found in the Western Regional Office files kept in the National Archives branch in San Francisco. In addition, many uncataloged files are kept in the Federal Record Center at San Bruno.

[4]Superintendent's Reports, June 1947, CNM File, RG 79. NA.

[5]White to Director, 14 Aug 1947, RG 79, CNM File, NA, S.F. Branch.

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]Robinson to Superintendent, 6 June 1949, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[8]Superintendent's Reports, August 1947, CNM File. RG 79, NA, S.F. Branch.

[9]Superintendent's Reports, October 1947, CNM File, RG 79, NA, S.F. Branch.

[10]Superintendent's Reports, September 1947, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[11]Superintendent's Reports, October 1947, CNM File, RG 79, NA, S.F. Branch.

[12]Unsigned marginal note on Superintendent's Reports, July 1947, CNM File, RG 79, NA, S.F. Branch.

[13]Regional Director to Superintendent Scoyen, 18 February 1948, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[14]Memorandum for files, Report of Cabrillo National Monument Boundary Study Committee, 4 March 1948, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[15]Chief of Concessioners to Director, 13 June 1949, CNM File, RG 79, NA. The profit and loss statement included in the memo showed that Rock's net profit from the concession had risen from $2,763 in 1947 to $8,135.38 in 1948. However, this did not take into account losses suffered during the war years. A more detailed report issued on November 15, 1950, by the Chief of Rates Control in Washington, showed that Rock's net profit from 1936 to 1949

averaged only $2,651.37 per year.

[16]Scoyen to Regional Director, 22 July 1949, National Park Service Records, Western Regional Office, (Region 4), Cabrillo National Monument Files, Acc. No 79-60-A5 12, RG 79, Federal Records Center, San Bruno, California

[17]White to Tomlinson, 30 September 1945, CNM File, RG 79, Federal Records Center, San Bruno.

[18]Associate Director to Regional Director, 19 January 1950, and Confidential memo to Regional Director from Supt Scoyen, 17 May 1950, CNM File, RG 79. Federal Records Center, San Bruno. Rock suffered a mental and physical collapse in 1950 and from June 1950 until June 1951, his wife Mildred managed the concession. There appear to be no documents that cite the end of the concession. However, no mention is made of it after 1953.

[19]Ernest Riall to Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, 29 April 1913, (copy on file, Cabrillo National Monument).

[20]Lawrence Oliver, *Never Backward, The Autobiography of Lawrence Oliver, A Portuguese American* (San Diego, California: privately printed by author, 1972), 150.

[21]Rock to White, 12 September 1939, CNM File, RG 79, NA.

[22]Memorandum for the Files, Ernest A. Davidson, Regional Landscape Architect, Branch of Plans and Design, San Francisco, File D66 (Cabrillo Statue), Cabrillo National Monument Files, Cabrillo National Monument.

[23]Oliver, *Autobiography*, 151.

[24]Ed Fletcher, *Memoirs of Ed Fletcher* (San Diego, California privately printed by author, 1952), 424.

[25]*Ibid.*, 422.

[26]*Ibid.*, 423.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]*Ibid.*, 424.

[29]Ann S. Allen, Chairman Cabrillo Statue Committee to Jos. E. Dryer, 26 March 1940, Cabrillo National Monument File, San Diego Historical Society, San Diego, California.

[30]Rock to Scoyen, 21 May 1940, File D66, CNM.

[31]*Ibid.*

[32]*Ibid.*

[33]Scoyen to Director, 12 December 1942, Western Regional Office, CNM File, RG 79, Federal Records Center, San Bruno.

[34]Fletcher, *Memoirs,* 426.

[35]*Ibid.,* 425.

[36]*San Diego Tribune,* 29 September 1942.

[37]White to Regional Director, 21 July 1947, File D66, CNM.

[38]Winifred Davidson to John R. White, 2 May 1947, File D66, CNM.

[39]White to Regional Director, 21 July 1947, File D66, CNM.

[40]W. J. Burns to Herbert Kahler, 2 September 1947, File D66, CNM.

[41]Hillary Tolson, Acting Director to Regional Director, 5 September 1947, File D66, CNM.

[42]Resolution 88156, Council of the City of San Diego, 20 January 1948, (copy on file Cabrillo National Monument).

[43]Arnold Klaus to Fred Rhodes, 24 May 1949, File D66, CNM.

[44]Superintendent to Regional Director, 7 September 1949, File D66, Cabrillo National Monument

[45]Robinson to Superintendent, 18 July 1949, File D66, CNM.

[46]A. L. Madruga to Scoyen, 1 September 1949, File D66, CNM.

[47]Scoyen to Regional Director, 7 September 1949, File D66, CNM.

[48]Interview with Donald Robinson, 13 March 1986, Cabrillo National Monument Oral History Project, (transcription on file, CNM).

[49]Regional Director to Superintendent, 23 September 1949, and Custodian to Superintendent, 6 May 1950, File D66, CNM. The plaque was actually dedicated on May 5, 1950.

[50]Statement of E. T. Scoyen at Cabrillo Re-dedication, 28 September 1949, File D66, CNM.

[51]Cammerer to White, 13 April 1938, File L-1419 (Acquisition and Disposal of Federal Lands/Federal Holdings, 1934-1952), CNM.

[52]Scoyen to White, 14 August 1940, File L-1419, CNM.

[53]Klaus to Fletcher, 8 January 1948, File L-1419, CNM.

[54]Drury to Regional Director, 27 January 1948, File L-1419, CNM.

[55]*San Diego Union,* 22 February 1948.

[56]*Ibid.,* 15 May 1948.

[57]*Ibid.*

[58]Regional Director to Director, 19 March 1948, File L-1419, CNM.

[59]Assistant Secretary of the Army to Secretary of the Interior, 23 March 1948, File L 1419, CNM.

[60]E. Ruble to E. T. Scoyen, 3 May 1948, File L-1419, CNM.

[61]*Ibid.*

[62]Superintendent to Regional Director, 26 May 1950, File L-1419, CNM.

[63]Commandant of Eleventh Naval District to Managing Director San Diego California Club, 9 May 1951, File L-1419, CNM.

[64]Custodian to Superintendent, 13 January 1952, File L-1419, CNM.

[65]Interview with Donald Robinson, 13 March 1986.

[66]Permit to other federal government department or agency to use property on Fort Rosecrans military reservation, 1 October 1952, RG 79, NA, (Duplicate on file, CNM).

[67]*San Diego Union*, 28 November 1954.

[68]Acting Superintendent Robinson to Superintendent, 28 November 1954, File L-1419, Part 2, (Land Transfer, Cabrillo), CNM.

[69]Robinson to Director, 25 April 1954, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[70]T. F. Bomar, President of San Diego Visitors Bureau to Wilson, 3 August 1954, File L 1419, Part 2, CNM.

[71]Interview with Bob Wilson, 2 July 1985, Cabrillo National Monument Oral History Project, transcript on file, CNM.

[72]*San Diego Union*, 15 June 1955.

[73]Regional Chief, Cooperative Activities Division to Regional Director, 1 March 1955, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[74]Regional Director to Director, 29 July 1955, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[75]Acting Superintendent Cabrillo to Superintendent, 30 October 1955, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[76]Robinson to Wilson, 5 December 1955, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[77]Personal Memo to Robinson from Scoyen, 9 December 1955, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[78]Vinson to Floyd S. Bryant, 20 June 1956, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[79]Wilson to Robinson, 30 January 1957, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[80]*San Diego Union,* 8 February 1956.

[81]75 acres is mentioned in a memo from Chief of the Division of Cooperative Activities to Director, 16 December 1955; 77 acres used in the legal description of land proposed to Cabrillo National Monument, 28 July 1955; 64 acres in correspondence from Wilson to Robinson, 30 January, 1957 and 80.6 acres "more or less" in the legal description of proposed addition to Cabrillo National Monument, 28 July 1957, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[82]*San Diego Evening Tribune,* 18 July 1957.

[83]Director to Regional Director, 14 February 1958, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[84]Buttle to Director, 11 February 1958, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[85]Scoyen to Buttle, 3 March 1958, File L-1419, Part 2, CNM.

[86]Covering brief to the President from the Secretary of the Interior, 11 August 1958, File L1419, Part 2, CNM.

[87]*San Diego Evening Tribune,* 22 November 1958.

[88]Proclamation 3273, 2 February, 1959 (copy on file, CNM).

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[1]Interview with Donald Robinson, 13 March, 1986, Cabrillo National Monument Oral History Project (transcription on file, Cabrillo National Monument).

[2]*Peninsula News*, Point Loma, California, 8 January 1952.

[3]Robinson to Scoyen, 5 January 1953, National Park Service Central Classified Files, 1925-1953, Western Region (Region 4), RG 79, National Archives, San Francisco Branch, San Bruno, California.

[4]Scoyen to Regional Director, 5 January 1955, Cabrillo National Monument Files.

[5]Regional Director to Director, 11 January 1955, Cabrillo National Monument Files.

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]Park Naturalist to Superintendent of Sequoia, 20 January 1955, File D-18 (Planning Program), Cabrillo National Monument Files.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]Introduction, Master Plan Development Outline, Cabrillo National Monument, File D 18, Cabrillo National Monument Files.

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), 25.

[12]*American Forests*, August 1955, 16, quoted by John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 547.

[13]Everhart, *The National Park Service*, 27.

[14]*San Diego Tribune*, 30 May 1956.

[15]*Ibid.*, 9 April 1958.

[16]The records for this important transition period for the monument are not available. A check of records at the monument, regional branch of the National Archives and the Federal Regional Records Center failed to locate any documents whatever for the year 1956.

[17]Interview with Donald Robinson, 13 March 1986.

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[53]*San Diego Union,* 28 April 1962.

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[2]Project Construction Proposal, 22 February 1963, File D3415 (Construction and Maintenance), CNM.

[3]Interview with F. Ross Holland, 6 October 1984, Cabrillo National Monument Oral History Project (transcription on file, CNM).

[4]Interview with Tucker, 6 September 1985.

[5]Regional Director, Western Region to Director, 16 December 1963. File D3415, CNM.

[6]Superintendent, Cabrillo National Monument to Regional Director, 16 December 1963, File D3415, CNM.

[7]Regional Director to Director, 7 February 1964, File D3415, CNM.

[8]Meeting with Civic Representatives Concerning Cabrillo National Monument Visitor Center (no date), File D3415, CNM.

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Plate V. The old Point Loma lighthouse, under the jurisdiction of the War Department from 1913 to 1933, was used as a concession stand and an Army radio station before being abandoned. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate VI. In 1935, $38,000 was allotted by the National Park Service to repair the lighthouse and improve the surrounding grounds. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

Plate VII. With the restoration complete in late 1935, the lighthouse stood ready to welcome visitors. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

Plate VIII. On September 28, 1935, a plaque dedicated to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo

was unveiled by the Portuguese minister to the United States. The ceremony was held at the newly restored lighthouse. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

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Plate XXI. Doris Omundson served as superintendent of Cabrillo from 1980 to 1986. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate XXII. In August 1986, Gary Cummins became superintendent of Cabrillo National Monument. *Courtesy Gary Cummins.*

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Plate IX. A statue of Cabrillo, sculpted in Portugal and originally intended for dispaly at the San Francisco Exposition of 1940, was unveiled in San Diego on September 28, 1942. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate X. The statue of Cabrillo waited out the war surrounded by temporary buildings on a Navy submarine base. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate XI. With funds provided by the City of San Diego, the statute of Cabrillo was finally moved to Cabrillo National Monument in September 1949. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate XII. In 1966, the statue was moved again, this time to a location near the visitor center. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

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Plate XVII. In 1952, a fire control station left on the monument grounds by the Army was pressed into service as an improvised whale watching observatory. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate XVIII. Thomas R. Tucker served as superintendent of Cabrillo National Monument from 1963 to 1980. *Courtesy Thomas Tucker.*

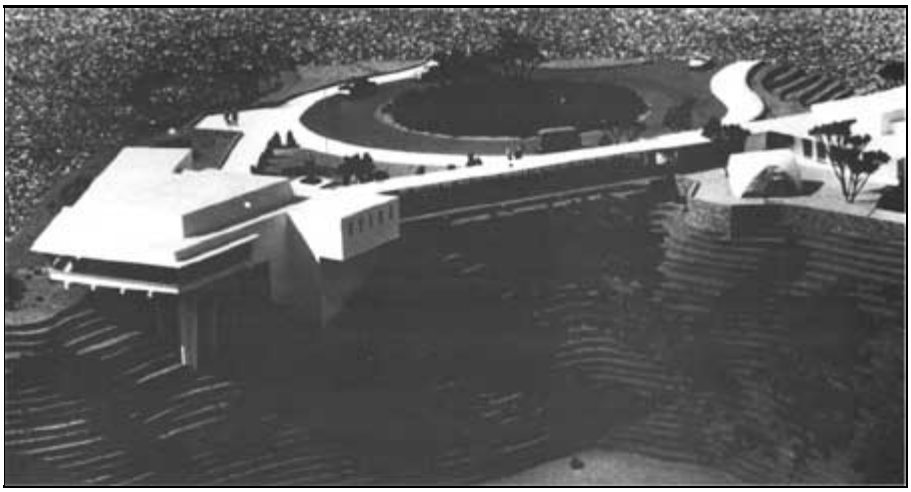

Plate XIX. The orignal 1963 plan for Cabrillo's visitor center, as shown in this model, was judged too massive for the site by San Diego officials. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate XX. Created by a local architect, the final design of the visitors center was more in keeping with its surroundings. *Courtesy John Lehmann.*

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Plate XIII. During World War II, Cabrillo National Monument was closed to the public and the land used for military purposes. This aerial photograph, taken about 1942, shows the normally white lighthouse camouflaged with dark paint. *Courtesy Naval Oceans Systems Center.*

Plate XIV. By January 1942, Point Loma had become a key part of the Harbor Defense system. Numerous armament, base-end stations and a huge battery were constructed. In addition, a large subterranean observation post was built on the parking area south of the lighthouse which can be seen in the upper right hand corner of the photograph. *Courtesy Naval Oceans Systems Center.*

Plate XV. Donald R. Robinson (left), who became superintendent when Cabrillo acquired independent status in 1956, officiated at a dedication ceremony in 1957. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

Plate XVI. The Portuguese Navy, in April 1957, presented a plaque to the monument honoring Cabrillo. *Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.*

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