THE CHANGING STANDARD OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE:

HOW THE NEW ENVIRONMENTALISM OF THE 1960S REDEFINED NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AND LED TO THE CREATION OF GATEWAY NATIONAL RECREATION AREA, THE FIRST URBAN NATIONAL PARK

MICHAEL KELLEHER
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
1995

In the period prior to World War II, Americans interested in the condition of the natural world were considered to be conservationists or preservationists. Conservationists were concerned with the scientific utilization of natural resources, and preservationists with the protection of natural areas such as national or state parks and forests. Adherents of pre-war conservation and preservation have often been referred to collectively as conservationists, and their concerted efforts as the conservation movement.

In the post-war period, conservation gave way to a larger concept of environmentalism, which went beyond the conservationists more narrow concern with resources such as timber, water, and fuel, and the scenic qualities of mountains and forests. Modern environmentalists are concerned with a wider variety of quality of life issues which have an impact on the health of the earth.

The transformation from conservation to environmentalism is regarded to be the result of the higher standard of living many Americans experienced in the postwar period. For the historian Samuel Hays, the "search for environmental quality was an integral part" of the increased standard of living and the accompanying rising educational levels of Americans. In contrast to prewar conservation, "[e]nvironmental values were based not on one's role

as a producer of goods and services but on consumption," primarily the "quality of home and leisure."[1]

With rising living standards and less time spent working, Americans found themselves free to engage in more forms of leisure in the 1950s. A significant aspect of this new leisure was the increase in the number of people participating in outdoor recreation such as camping, fishing, and skiing. By engaging in outdoor activities, these people were made more aware of the natural environment and the threats to it from the rapid development and pollution which was part of post-war American life. Many of them formed a base of support for the new social and political movement concerned with quality of life issues that would emerge as environmentalism in the 1960s and 1970s.

The transition from conservation to environmentalism is also recognized to have been a part of the social upheaval which took place in the United States during the 1960s and early 1970s. Historian Martin Melosi argues that the concern for the quality of life that was very much a part of the "political and social turmoil of the 1960s presented an opportunity for raising questions about" the environment. Furthermore, an important aspect of the new environmentalism was that its adherents "functioned as a coalition that cut across class lines and varying interests," which

differentiated it from the pre-war conservationism of mainly middle class outdoor enthusiasts.[2]

The most important manifestation of environmentalism was the realization by individuals that the manner in which they carry out their daily lives has an impact on the quality of life on earth. Therefore, in order to preserve or improve the environment, they must think about their lifestyle choices in a new way. This concern for the environment also led to efforts in which people worked both individually and collectively to change society, and the number of organizations dedicated to the issues which fell under the umbrella of the environmental movement grew phenomenally. Through the efforts of these individuals and organizations, Federal, state, and local governments increased their role in the protection of the environment.

Many different issues came under the new environmentalism of the 1960s and 1970s. Among the more well known were clean air and water, the disposal of toxic and nuclear waste, the use of pesticides, and the protection of endangered species. Two of the less well known issues were defined by the slogans "the race for open space" and "parks to the people."

Proponents of the race for open space argued that the explosive development of homes, shopping centers, and roads, which

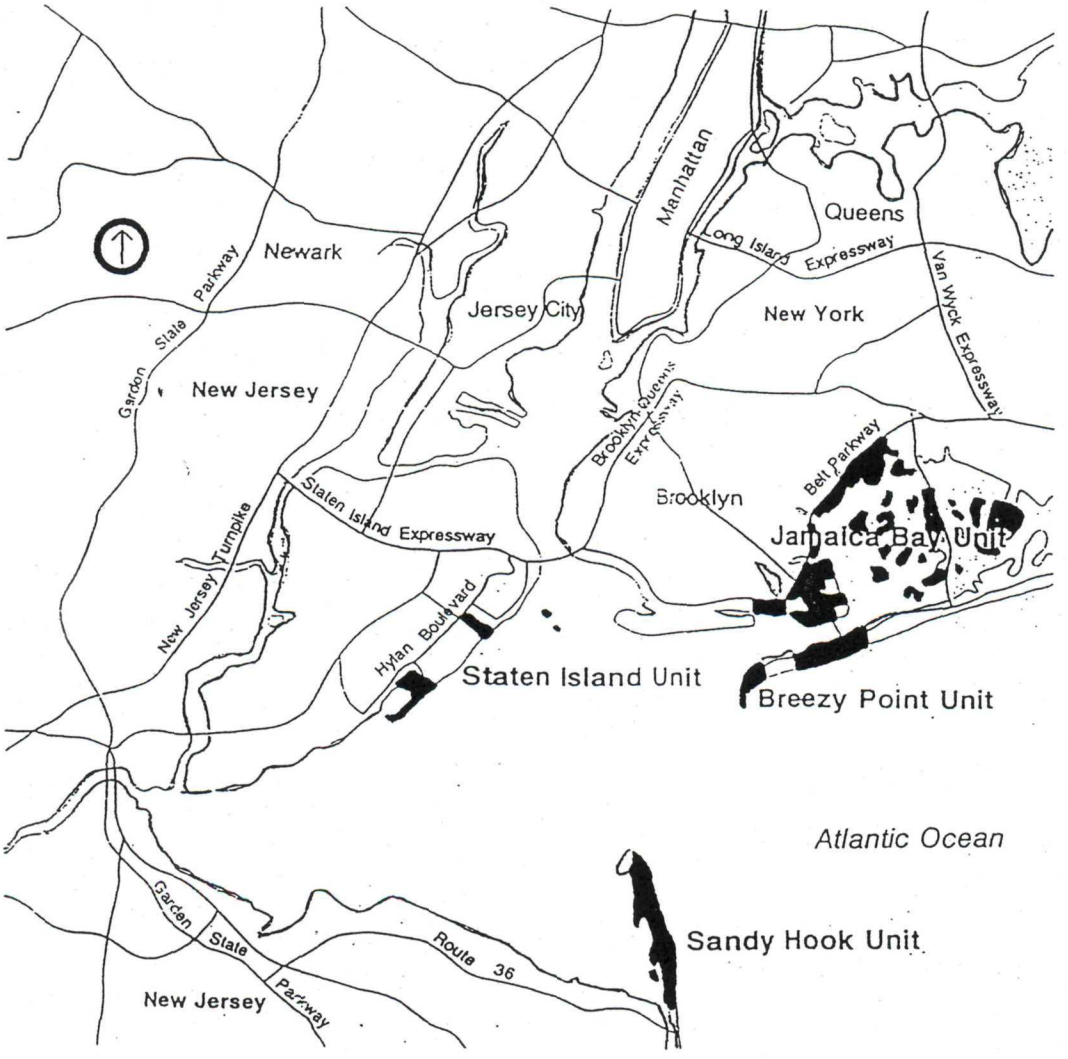
characterized post-war America was turning the nation's metropolitan areas into stark concrete jungles devoid of undeveloped areas. As a result, these continually growing urban and suburban regions contained too few park and recreation areas to allow residents a chance to escape crowds and congestion. Only through better planning and the acquisition of open space by government could a virtual crisis be avoided.

Advocates of the parks to the people movement contended that the traditional role of the Federal government in recreation, the preservation of large natural areas in the western United States in the form of national parks and forests, must be changed to fit the realities of the 1960s. In this period of concern for the nation's cities and its urban poor, the Federal government must become more directly involved in providing parks for those people for whom Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon were irrelevant.

The race for open space and parks to the people shared a concern for the shortage of parks and recreational opportunities in urban areas, and both saw government as a solution to this problem. In addition, both had a particular concern for poor urban residents who lacked the means to travel to the many parks and natural areas which existed beyond the nation's cities and suburbs. It was only natural for these two concerns to merge, as their advocates had

similar goals and were often the same activists and sympathetic government officials who shared a belief in the new environmentalism of the era. The two movements converged in the New York metropolitan region, where the concept of a race for open space first emerged, and the efforts to preserve open space and bring parks to the people had their most visible success when the Federal government created the nation's first urban national park, Gateway National Recreation Area, in New York City and suburban New Jersey.

Gateway, a unit of the National Park System, was authorized by an act of Congress in 1972 and opened to the public in 1974. The park presently covers 26,000 acres of land and water in Queens, Brooklyn, Staten Island, and New Jersey, and is separated into four sub-units for management by the National Park Service. The Jamaica Bay Unit includes the waters of Jamaica Bay, islands in the bay which make up the Jamaica Bay Wildlife Refuge, portions of the shoreline in Queens and Brooklyn, and the former Brooklyn military facility Floyd Bennett Field. The Breezy Point Unit, located on the Rockaway Peninsula in Queens, includes beaches at Jacob Riis Park, Fort Tilden, a former military facility, and the undeveloped tip of the peninsula, Breezy Point. The Staten Island Unit includes Miller Field, a former military facility, beaches, a



Gateway National Recreation Area
New York and New Jersey

marina at Great Kills Park, and Hoffman and Swinburne Islands. The Sandy Hook Unit, located entirely in New Jersey, includes Fort Hancock, another former military facility, beaches, and portions of the Sandy Hook Bay shoreline.

What is unique about Gateway, besides the fact that it is a patchwork of sites spread across the New York metropolitan region, is that the establishment of this park marked the beginning of the National Park Service's effort to develop urban recreation areas. Prior to Gateway, units of the National Park System had been located in urban areas, but these were historic sites which were considered to be part of the Park Service's traditional mission to preserve natural and historic areas of national significance.

It is a tribute to the efforts of the race for open space and parks to the people advocates that with the creation of Gateway, the **National** Park Service was now administering a park based upon the concept of meeting the **local** needs of the New York area.

Gateway established the National Park Service in the role of providing cities with recreation areas, and similar parks were created to meet urban needs, including Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco, Cuyahogo National Recreation Area near Cleveland, Chattahooche River National Recreation Area near Atlanta, and Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area in Los

Angeles. However, there were environmentalists, or it may be more accurate to refer to them as traditional conservationists, who opposed this role for the Park Service because Gateway did not meet the high standards which were associated with the National Park System. While they recognized that the Federal government should be involved in urban recreation and the preservation of open space, the critics of Gateway saw the use of the Park Service in this instance as a tool for political gain, not simply a concern for the environment.

The establishment of Gateway came at the end of a decade long evolution of the Federal role in providing for urban recreation and open space. In the 1950s, the Federal government adhered to its traditional role in recreation, and concerned itself with the administration of national parks and forests. However, over the course of the 1960s, this role gradually evolved to include providing funds to state and local governments to obtain land for recreation and open space, providing technical assistance in developing these lands, and finally, taking over the administration of parks and recreational facilities which had traditionally been the province of state and local government.

The Federal Response to the Crises in Recreation and Open Space

Increased affluence, leisure time, and mobility allowed an increasing number of Americans to engage in various forms of outdoor recreation in the 1950's. As a result, the nation's recreational facilities (parks, forests, lakes, beaches, etc.) were faced with massive crowds which intruded upon the experiences of many visitors, overburdened the infrastructure of these facilities, and destroyed natural areas. It was widely recognized among public land management agencies that the nation faced a virtual crisis in recreation, and that the solution was an increase in recreational facilities at the Federal, state, and local levels.

The Congressional response to the recreation crisis was the creation of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) in 1958. The purpose of the ORRRC was "to inventory and evaluate the outdoor recreation resources and opportunities which will be required by present and future generations" and to provide "comprehensive information and recommendations" on recreation.

While the creation of the ORRRC was evidence of Congress' recognition of the recreation problem, it also showed a traditional vision of national recreation concerns, as the legislation specifically stated that "outdoor recreation resources shall not mean nor include recreation facilities, programs, and opportunities

usually associated with urban development."[3] Although attention was now being paid to the crush of people seeking the pursuit of leisure in their cars, boats, and motor homes, significant attention was not being given to the threat to recreation and natural areas in cities and suburbs due to increased use, as well as urban development.

The Regional Plan Association, a non-profit organization supported by major New York business interests and philanthropists who were interested in improving the region through careful planning, brought the attention of policy makers throughout the nation to the dangers of urban development when it released The Race for Open Space in 1960. This ground breaking report was the product of a two year project which had the objective of determining the "need for parks and open space" in the New York region. The Association recognized that because of increases in "population, per capita income, leisure time, and ease of travel" there was a "rising demand for outdoor recreation." Meanwhile, the remaining "open space" (the Regional Plan Association originated this term) that could be used for recreation was threatened by a "startling increase in the rate of consumption of land for development."[4]

The Regional Plan Association noted a "paradox" in that

"densely populated cities which need recreation space the most have the least physical and financial potential for achieving it." Therefore, local and state governments would need to coordinate their efforts so that parks would be "better-distributed" within the New York metropolitan area. The Association called for a massive project to expand the region's 189,000 acres of public parks to 736,000 acres. To accomplish this, local and city governments should focus on developing small parks, while "the states have the role of providing parks whose attraction is regionwide."[5] As a part of this role, the states should acquire the remaining seventy-one miles of undeveloped oceanfront in the region, including several "sites of overwhelming regional importance."[6]

For the Regional Plan Association, the role of the Federal government in preserving open space should be locating national parks, such as the newly authorized Cape Cod National Seashore, near urban population centers. In addition, it should recognize that the activities of the various Federal agencies which have roles in urban renewal, highways, and providing mortgages, have an impact on open space.

The release of The Race for Open Space brought the attention of policy makers in Washington to urban recreation and the problems

caused by unplanned development. Soon, open space became a national concern which was reflected in Federal policy. At the urging of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, President Kennedy sent a March 1961 conservation message to Congress in order to show the Administration's intention to elevate what would latter be called environmental issues to national concern.[7] Significantly, the message went beyond traditional conservation themes and reflected the influence of The Race for Open Space when the President called for stopping urban "blight and decay," and "haphazard and inefficient suburban expansion," as well as requiring that "open space must be reserved to provide parks and recreation."[8] The Administration followed up on its adoption of an open space policy in the Housing Act of 1961, which included a program of grants to state and local governments "to help provide necessary recreational, conservation and scenic areas" in metropolitan regions.[9]

The following year, the ORRRC released the findings of its review of outdoor recreation in its report Outdoor Recreation for America. The Commission called upon the Federal government to become more involved in fulfilling the nation's recreational needs, and made several major recommendations as to how to accomplish this. First, a new agency, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation,

should be created within the Department of the Interior. The Bureau's job would be to coordinate recreation activities among the various Federal agencies, and to provide technical assistance to state and local governments. Second, a grant program administered by the Bureau should be established to help state and local governments acquire and develop land for recreation. Third, a new cabinet level Recreation Advisory Council should be created to advise the President on recreation policy. Fourth, surplus Federal land that could be used for recreation should be given to state and local governments at no cost. Reaction to these recommendations was swift, as the Recreation Advisory Panel was formed in 1962, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was established in 1963, and there was a large increase in the amount of Federal land (primarily military bases) declared surplus and turned over to recreation.

While the ORRRC's legislative charter specifically excluded consideration of urban recreation, the increasing concern over the race for open space led the Commission to look at urban recreation as part of its study. The ORRRC upheld the view that the Federal government's direct role in recreation should remain the maintenance of scenic, natural, and historic sites of national significance. It was up to state and local governments to provide facilities of regional or local significance, as well as those in

urban areas. As such, any existing "Federal high-density recreation areas....that serve local recreation needs should be placed under state or local government control."[10] However, the ORRRC recognized that because "outdoor opportunities are most urgently needed near our metropolitan areas" where recreation needs "will be the most difficult to satisfy as urban centers have the fewest facilities (per capita) and the sharpest competition for land use," the Federal government would have to become more involved in assisting state and local governments.[11]

Although the ORRRC advocated an expanded role for the Federal government in urban recreation, it recommended that it be limited to a supporting role. The first major proposal for direct Federal action came in March 1963, when the Recreation Advisory Council, newly formed at the behest of the ORRRC, and made up of the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, released its first policy statement, the Federal Executive Branch Policy Concerning the Selection, Establishment, and Administration of National Recreation Areas. The Council recommended the creation of a system of national recreation areas that would be of "lessor significance" and "more clearly responsive to recreation demand" than traditional national

parks, while still providing a "quality of recreation experience which transcends that normally associated with areas provided by state and local governments." The Council specified that these recreation areas be near, but not in, metropolitan areas, and that they should not "primarily serve massive day use requirements" usually associated with state and regional parks.[12]

National recreation areas already existed when the Recreation Advisory Council made this recommendation in 1963, but were much different than those the council envisioned. The present areas, such as Lake Mead National Recreation Area, established in Nevada and Arizona in 1936 after the Hoover Dam was completed, were centered around large Federal reservoirs in western states and allowed for certain recreational activities, such as motor boating, which were generally not allowed in national parks. However, most were part of the National Park System (several were administered by the U.S. Forest Service) and remained rural and largely natural in character. The Recreation Advisory Council's concept of new recreation areas was a departure in that the new parks would not simply be taking advantage of the opportunity for recreation provided by large rural reservoirs, but would be conceived of and developed solely with nearby urban areas in mind. Fire Island National Seashore, created in 1964 on the New York barrier island

of the same name, and Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, created in 1965 along the New Jersey and Pennsylvania shores of the Delaware River, were parks similar to those envisioned by the Recreation Advisory Council. Both were located near large metropolitan areas, and both were conceived as responses to the recreation needs of the Mid-Atlantic region. Now, the Federal government was directly providing recreational opportunities near metropolitan regions, but was still outside of urban areas.

Just as The Race for Open Space brought policy makers' attention to the shortage of urban recreation, a wider public was made more aware of the problem by the publication of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall's book The Quiet Crisis in 1963. For Udall, the "quiet conservation crisis of the 1960's" was represented by the situation in which Americans lived in the richest and most powerful nation on earth, but they also lived "in a land of vanishing beauty, of increasing ugliness, of shrinking open space."[13] This problem was especially acute in the cities, which "have grown too fast to grow well, and today they are a focal point of the quiet crisis of conservation." Ending this crisis meant relying on "conservation solutions based on the principle that space, beauty, order, and privacy must be integral to" urban planning.[14] Udall believed that this planning must be done at the

local and regional level with Federal aid. He also noted that "there is an unmistakable note of urgency in the quiet crisis of American cities. We must act decisively-and soon."[15] These ideas were reflective of the new concern with the quality of life that was transforming conservation and preservation into environmentalism.

The decisive action that Stewart Udall called for to end the quiet crisis was taken in 1964 when the ORRRC's recommendation for a program of Federal grants for state and local recreation was carried out through the creation of the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Grants from this program could be used for up to fifty percent of the cost of projects for the "planning, acquisition and development of needed land and water areas and facilities."[16] In its first twelve years, $1.1 billion was distributed from the Fund to purchase two million acres of land for Federal, state, and local recreation.

While the Land and Water Conservation Fund was a major achievement in American conservation, which contributed greatly to fulfilling the need for urban recreation and open space, policy makers continued to expand the Federal government's role in this area under the Johnson Administration. Martin Melosi credits the Administration with being a "transitional force in the evolution

from old-style conservationism to modern environmentalism" as a result of its desire to improve the quality of American life through the programs of the Great Society.[17] Environmental issues were prominent in the Great Society as a result of the influence of Lady Bird Johnson, who was known for her beautification effort, and who developed a close relationship with Secretary of the Interior Udall. This relationship allowed the First Lady and the Secretary to make environmental issues, including open space and urban parks, a major concern of the Administration.[18]

In its 1965 Report on the Preservation of Natural Beauty, the President's Task Force on Natural Beauty supported increased Federal involvement in urban recreation, as "parks simply do not get the personnel and housekeeping money they need." The Task Force proposed creating more national historic sites in urban areas, such as the new park planned for Ellis Island in New York City. It also proposed creating Federal "demonstration parks to introduce new ideas in equipment, design and programs" to local governments. Linking urban recreation to curing urban ills, the Task Force endorsed the idea of contributing directly to city park operating funds, training city park workers with Federal anti-poverty funds, and including more money for parks and recreation in housing programs.[19]

In response to the social unrest in the nation's cities during the 1960's, the Johnson Administration set up several committees to look into the causes of urban problems and recommend solutions. The shortage of urban recreation opportunities was identified as a problem by these committees, and the Federal government was urged to become more involved in assisting the cities. The President's Task Force on Suburban Problems, working with the President's National Commission on Urban Problems in 1968, recommended the formation of a Federal urban park lands corporation that would acquire at least a million acres of land and waters around urban areas over a ten years period. The land would be held temporarily and the Federal government would guide their development for recreation. Eventually, the land would be turned over to state or local governments.

Between 1958 and 1968, the role of the Federal government in recreation went through a major transformation. With the establishment of the ORRRC in 1958, the concern was for traditional recreation facilities such as large parks and forests. However, circumstances in urban areas were changing rapidly, and the efforts of the Regional Plan Association, Stewart Udall, and other advocates of expanding traditional notions of conservation to include urban areas, led the Federal government to begin to assist

in the expansion of urban recreation, primarily through the Land and Water Conservation Fund. By 1968, under the impetus of the Great Society, the Federal role in urban recreation and open space had been expanded to include the idea that the Federal government develop urban parks for the cities.

In 1969, the Nixon Administration's new Secretary of the Interior, Walter Hickel, took the issues of urban recreation and open space even further by questioning the traditional role of the Federal government in parks and recreation. Speaking before a national conference on conservation in March 1969, he stated that urban parks mean more to a larger number of people than the great national parks of the west. Therefore, his Department was "turning more and more effort toward putting its money where the people are," or bringing "parks to the people."[20] Two months later, Secretary Hickel announced that he was directing the National Park Service and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to study the possibility of establishing a new type of national park devoted to the needs of urban dwellers in the New York metropolitan region. This park, which was to be called Gateway National Recreation Area, would be made up of existing parks and undeveloped land in New York City and suburban New Jersey, as well as land held by the military which was deemed surplus and was soon to be turned over to civilian

recreational use.

The fact that such a collection of land was to become a national park was startling to many traditional conservationists. However, these areas did not just appear before the Secretary of the Interior at a time when he sought to act on the parks to the people concept. For almost ten years the City of New York had been trying to develop a park on Breezy Point, an undeveloped area on the Rockaway Peninsula that was included in the proposed national recreation area. Similarly, the State of New Jersey was struggling to preserve Sandy Hook State Park, which was also included in the proposal. The politics behind the efforts to create a park at Breezy Point and preserve Sandy Hook were tied to both the race for open space and the effort to bring parks to the people, and were instrumental in bringing these areas to the attention of the Federal government.

Breezy Point and Sandy Hook Parks

The recreation potential of the Rockaway and Sandy Hook peninsulas had been recognized as early as the nineteenth century. In 1879, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted spent three weeks on Rockaway in order to examine the area for developers who employed him to "consider the opportunities it offers for making a

place of summer resort" similar to Coney Island.[21] For Olmsted, part of the area's attraction was that there was "no place as near and easily and cheaply accessible from New York as Rockaway," which would allow people to escape from the poor health conditions of the City.[22] He recognized that the peninsula offered the opportunity to develop excellent bathing beaches which would allow Rockaway to "be made not simply more attractive to the public than Coney Island, but quite the most complete and popular sea-side resort, adapted to very large numbers, in the world."[23] However, at the time the only bathing area on the peninsula was a small beach on the far eastern end of Rockaway where it was attached Long Island, and attracted only local residents. Despite Olmsted's favorable opinion of Rockaway, and several attempts to develop successful hotels on the peninsula, development on the scale of Coney Island failed to come to the area.

Similar to Rockaway, Sandy Hook was recognized for its recreation potential because its natural features were in such close proximity to New York. Also writing in 1879, journalist George Houghton observed that the area was "[s]ituated within twenty miles of America's metropolis, and threatened on every hand by advancing lines of hotels and summer boarding-houses" common to the Jersey Shore. However, "this isolated spot...resisted every

attempted inroad of civilization" as a result of its continued use by the military as an ordinance proving ground, and for the defense of New York harbor.[24]

While continued use by the military limited the opportunity to use Sandy Hook for recreation, Rockaway continued to be seen as an area which offered great capacity for recreational development. In 1911, New York City began a major effort to provide public beaches on Rockaway and authorized the development of the park that would soon be named Jacob Riis Park, after the reformer and advocate of slum removal who called for increased recreation opportunities and open space for poor city dwellers. The first land was acquired for the park the following year. By 1918, the City had expanded its goals for the peninsula, and a plan was approved to open up the entire length of Rockaway for public bathing. In 1926, the New York City Board of Estimate passed a resolution which set out to acquire all of the ocean front from Jacob Riis Park eastward to the end of the peninsula.

During the 1920s, the Regional Plan Association also identified Rockaway and nearby land as an area which should be developed for use as public park and bathing areas. The Association's Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, a comprehensive plan for development throughout the New York

metropolitan area, released in 1929, included many proposals for parks in the region. Among them were the expansion of public swimming beaches along Rockaway's southern ocean front and the development of parks on the shore and islands of adjacent Jamaica Bay.

During the 1930s, using money and manpower made available through Federally funded public works projects, New York City greatly expanded its public parks. This included opening a large bath house at Riis Park in 1932, completing the incorporation of the seven miles of ocean front east of Riis Park into Rockaway Beach, and building a boardwalk the length of the park. These would be the last major park efforts on the peninsula undertaken by the city until attention turned toward Breezy Point in the 1960s.

The Regional Plan Association brought this new attention to recreation on Rockaway, Sandy Hook, and the entire New York metropolitan region, with the release of The Race for Open Space in 1960. As noted earlier, the Association called for a project to expand the region's 189,000 acres of public parks to 736,000 acres through the cooperation of state, city, and local governments. The principal tasks of the states would be the development of regional parks and the acquisition of the remaining seventy-one miles of undeveloped oceanfront in the region, which included several sites

of regional importance. Among these sites was the Sandy Hook peninsula in New Jersey, which "should be converted into a major State park," as it

> is ideally situated for mass recreation and it is large enough so that its valuable natural features can be preserved at the same time as substantial sections are devoted to recreation. In view of the mounting demand for oceanfront recreation, a way must be found to make use of the recreation potential of this important asset.[25]

In New York, the area seen as having similar importance was Fire Island, which was "too valuable a resource to justify limiting its use to a small percentage of the Region's population," and should be developed as a State park.[26] The site which was central to the creation of Gateway, Breezy Point, was not included among those the Regional Plan Association considered to be of regional importance.

The same year that The Race for Open Space was released, the Administration of Governor Nelson Rockefeller released a report on the state of parks in New York. In order to meet the rising demand for recreation, the Administration called for a $75 million bond issue to finance a major park expansion project. Robert Moses, the State Park Commissioner, stressed that it was important that the State act immediately because "land, particularly open land near urban centers suitable for park use" was being swallowed by pressures for suburbanization and development.[27]

The public supported park expansion and passed the bond issue by more than two-to-one at the polls. Reacting swiftly to this public support, the Administration outlined a plan in December 1960 to add 25,000 acres to State and local parks. New York City was to get $12 million in direct aid from the bond issue for various park projects.

Spurred on by prospect of aid from the State, in 1961 the New York City Council approved a $16 million parks expansion program which placed an emphasis on the development of the City's waterfront for recreation purposes. Plans for the waterfront included two area that would later be included in Gateway: Staten Island's Great Kills Park was to be expanded by 170 acres, and Hoffman and Swinburne Islands were to be connected by landfill and made into a 250 acre park.

While plans were being made for expanding parks and saving open space, the Atlantic Improvement Corporation announced that it was planning to build 6,900 units of middle-income housing, shopping centers, theaters, a hotel, beach clubs, and marinas on vacant land it owned on the western end of the Rockaway Peninsula. Members of the New York City Planning Commission and the Regional Plan Association responded to what they saw as a threat to some of the last undeveloped oceanfront in the City by proposing that a

large State park be built on the land instead of the development.

At this time, Rockaway was a mixture of developed areas, military facilities, public parks, and undeveloped open space. The eastern and central portions of the peninsula were covered with residential and commercial developments serviced by a subway line. Along the ocean front in the developed area were the seven miles of public beaches run by the City as Rockaway Beach. To the west of Rockaway Beach and a large residential area were the 360 acres of Riis Park and Fort Tilden, a 317 acre Army facility used primarily to base Nike missiles. West of the fort was the 150 acre tract of land on which Atlantic Improvement had begun construction of its development. Next was the Breezy Point Cooperative, a 403 acre private community containing 2,700 homes, many of which were inhabited only in the summer. Beyond the coop was Breezy Point, 232 acres of sand dunes and beaches also owned by Atlantic Improvement.

While new attention was being brought to recreation on Rockaway, Sandy Hook suddenly became a more likely place for new public beaches. Located across Lower New York Bay from Breezy Point, recreational development still had not taken place on the peninsula because of its use for military purposes. Fort Hancock, an Army base also used primarily for Nike missiles, and a Coast

Guard station were both located on Sandy Hook. However, in October 1961, Secretary of the Interior Udall announced that 460 acres of land no longer needed by the Army were being declared surplus, and would be turned over to the State of New Jersey for recreational use. The transfer was being conducted as part of the Kennedy Administration's policy of releasing surplus Federal land for recreation.

The State, which had attempted to obtain land on the peninsula for use as a park for nearly thirty years, opened Sandy Hook State Park the following summer, with swimming beaches along the peninsula's ocean front, and a nature conservation area on Sandy Hook Bay for hiking and environmental education. After the park opened, it was so popular that on weekends parking lots were filled to capacity, and the trailers that had been installed for use as changing rooms and refreshment stands were found to be inadequate. The State looked to expand facilities as soon as financing was available, and hoped to obtain additional land on the peninsula from the Federal government.

In the summer of 1962, as an unprecedented number of people visited Sandy Hook and other parks in the metropolitan region, and the Atlantic Improvement Corporation moved ahead with its plans for development on Rockaway, the Regional Plan Association formally

presented to New York Mayor Robert Wagner a proposal for the creation of Breezy Point Park. The proposal was widely supported by traditional conservationists who wanted to save one of the few remaining areas of open space in the city, and was hailed by the New York Times as "the Central Park decision of our time." In a reference to one of the premiere State parks on the beaches of Long Island, the Times stated that Breezy Point Park would be "a new Jones Beach right within our city borders.[28]

Significantly, supporters of Breezy Point Park did not consist solely of traditional conservationists, such as members of the Park Committee of New York City. Some of the most vocal supporters of the park were those concerned primarily with issues relating to the City's poor and minorities. Charles Abrams, President of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, saw the park as "the last piece of important recreation for poorer folk who have no automobile to reach Jones Beach."[29] Whitney Young Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League, stated that the park "would provide for thousands of minority and low-income citizens who live in Manhattan and Brooklyn the only outlet for their children to enjoy....desperately needed park and recreational resources."[30] Supporters also included the NAACP, the Metropolitan Council on Housing, and the Citizens Committee for Children.

Mayor Wagner adopted the park proposal as one of his Administration's priorities, and sought aid from both the State and Federal governments. In October 1962, Secretary of the Interior Udall toured Breezy Point with the Mayor and promised Federal aid if the City and State covered the majority of the costs of acquiring and developing the land. The Secretary stated that the park would have "priority" for Federal aid to local projects because of the large population that it would serve.[31] Following the promise of Federal aid, Governor Rockefeller announced that the State would also provide funding, but only after the City acted to obtain the land.

Opposition to Breezy Point Park was led by the Atlantic Improvement Corporation, which saw this as an effort to take all of its land on Rockaway. The Breezy Point Cooperative, which had opposed Atlantic Improvement's development plan because it threatened the area's isolated character, opposed the park for the same reason. Local business interests, led by the Queens Chamber of Commerce and the Rockaway Council of Civic Organizations, believed that the park would hurt economic development on the peninsula by depriving the community of land needed for residential and commercial expansion. Members of the State Legislature did not want the State to lose the tax revenue that the planned housing and

commercial developments would generate, and introduced a bill in Albany to block the City from using any State funds to obtain land at Breezy Point. The bill was passed by the legislature in March 1963, but was vetoed by the Governor.

As the Breezy Point plan went before the City Planning Commission and the City Council in July and August of 1963, park supporters, now organized into the Committee for a Park at Breezy Point, urged the City to condemn Atlantic Improvement's land immediately because construction was taking place on the first phase of the housing development. However, the Mayor was reluctant to do so, primarily because the City did not have the means to pay the $12 million that it estimated the land was worth.[32]

Supporters of Breezy Point Park testifying before the Planning Commission and the City Council stressed the need for more recreation opportunities for city residents, especially those who were disadvantaged. A statement signed by the Congress of Racial Equality, the Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Forum, and several other organizations, characterized the park as "an outstanding example of democracy in recreation."[33] The Chairperson of the Committee for a Park at Breezy Point testified that by failing to provide recreation facilities "within the reach of public transportation we are being discriminatory to our less financially

fortunate citizens," and that "this means de facto discrimination against minorities."[34] Meanwhile, the President of the Atlantic Improvement Corporation characterized the park plan as "another cynical move to please do-gooders and minority groups at the expense of responsible businessmen."[35]

The Planning Commission and the City Council approved the plan for Breezy Point Park, and in 1964 New York City condemned most of the Atlantic Improvement's land on Rockaway. Actual development of the park was expected to begin in the 1965-66 fiscal year. However, because of a lack of funds, the only progress toward the development of Breezy Point Park which occurred was an outlay of $118,000 to map out the site. By this time, Mayor Wagner was out of office.

New York City's new Mayor, John Lindsay, looked to Albany to take over the Breezy Point project and develop a State park on the site. It appeared that the Mayor's hopes would be realized in February 1967, when Governor Rockefeller announced a plan to make New York City a new State Park District, which would allow parks administered by the State to be located within the City. Previously, City parks had been eligible for State aid, but no units of the State park system could be within the City limits. Expansion of the State system into the City had been opposed by

upstate legislators who did not want more money going to the City, and conservationists who felt that State parks should not have an urban character.

There were large State parks within a one hour drive of the City, but the Governor believed that "the millions of people in New York City who lack convenient transportation to upstate recreation areas" should not be denied State parks. By the end of the year, the State proposed six sites for parks in New York City. However, taking over existing City parks, including the undeveloped Breezy Point Park, was considered politically impossible because other cities would then demand that the State do the same for them.[36]

Rockefeller's proposal to develop State parks in the City was part of a program to expand State and local recreation facilities through a $200 million outdoor recreation bond act which had been approved by voters the previous year. Although New York City contained 40 percent of the State's population, it was only due to receive 30 percent of the funds from the bond issue. Mayor Lindsay attempted to obtain more money for the City's parks by having a measure introduced before the State Legislature in May 1968 to increase the City's share of the $200 million to 40 percent. However, upstate legislators successfully opposed the increase by arguing that City residents were free to use recreation facilities

in other parts of the State. Receiving less money than it had hoped for, the City put the new park funds towards regular maintenance and small park projects around the City rather than towards the development of one large park at Breezy Point.

New York's hopes for Breezy Point were further dimmed in February 1969 when the courts decided that the City owed the Atlantic Improvement Corporation $40 million for the land it had condemned, not $12 million which the City argued the land was worth. Unfortunately, the City had set aside none of its own funds to acquire the land and was holding only $5.2 million that it had received in aid from the State and Federal governments for the development of the Breezy Point. Except for the designation of a beach area for surfing and the paving of a small parking lot, not much had changed on Breezy Point since New York City decided it would develop a park six years earlier. The City Parks Department considered Breezy Point "land in the bank" which was to be held for future use.[37]

Although Breezy Point Park appeared to be in trouble, New Jersey was having continued success with Sandy Hook State Park, which had been given an additional 271 acres of Federal land in 1964. Beginning in 1966, the State received several Federal grants through the Land and Water Conservation Fund to expand park

facilities. The success at Sandy Hook was soon tempered by continued erosion which was threatening the beaches. This prompted the State to develop a $1.5 million plan for erosion control, which it hoped would be funded by the Federal government. While the State was looking for a way to pay for erosion control, members of the New Jersey Congressional delegation proposed that Sandy Hook become a national seashore within the National Park System. This was the first proposal to have land that would eventually become part of Gateway taken over by the National Park Service.

The attempt to create a national seashore at Sandy Hook did not go much further, as the peninsula was soon included in the larger proposal for Gateway, and the movement to establish a national seashore lost much of its momentum. Although some support for a seashore continued, many of its advocates joined the movement for the national recreation area, as this appeared to offer the best opportunity to add the peninsula to the National Park System.

This opportunity to save Sandy Hook arose in May 1969, when several members of the New York Congressional delegation proposed that Breezy Point, which New York City was unable-and New York State was unwilling-to develop into a park, also become a national seashore. The proposal had developed from a Regional Planning Association idea for a "Gateway National Recreation Area" that

would include Breezy Point, other City parks in Queens, Brooklyn, and Staten Island, Sandy Hook State Park in New Jersey, and several little used military facilities adjacent to these areas. Following the announcement of the Congressional proposal for a national seashore at Breezy Point, Mayor Lindsay made public the fact that in March he had informally presented the Association's proposal for a national recreation area to the new Secretary of the Interior under President Nixon, Walter Hickel, who had expressed interest in it.

Shortly after the various proposals for the National Park Service to run Sandy Hook and Breezy Point were made public, Mayor Lindsay took Secretary Hickel on a tour of Breezy Point, after which Hickel announced his support for a national recreation area that "would preserve for all time one of the great sea fronts of the United States."[38] The Secretary then assigned the National Park Service and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation the task of planning Gateway National Recreation Area.

An Urban National Park

Although Gateway was promoted by Secretary Hickel and others as an area of national significance, it was still a **national** park with a **local** purpose: to provide recreational opportunities for the

New York region. Many traditional national park advocates supported the new park, as it provided the means with which to protect some of the few areas of remaining urban open space in the New York area from development. For historian Alfred Runte, this was a reflection of the new concern of conservationists, many of whom had undergone a transformation in the 1960s from promoting the expansion of the park system while maintaining high park standards, to believing that "in addition to protecting the 'museum' pieces of the American landscape," national parks "might also afford protection to land threatened by housing developments, shopping centers, expressways, and similar forms of urban encroachment."[39] Runte also identifies "[e]quity of access to the national parks" as "yet another pressing issue" for conservationists who recognized that "[e]ven in the East, the largest natural areas were far too distant, especially for the urban poor." Although conservationists "still clung" to their traditional concepts of the national parks, "politically and socially...they realized their movement was changing."[40]

Despite support for Gateway among elements of the traditional conservation movement, opposition to the new park was evident within the Park Service. Ronald Foresta, a professor of public land policy, contends that "no question has been so debated within

the National Park Service as that of the appropriateness of urban parks in the National Park System."[41]

The National Park Service was no stranger to urban areas, as parks had been located in cities since 1933, when President Roosevelt transferred historic areas which had been administered by the War Department and the District of Columbia to the Park Service. This executive reorganization, which expanded the National Park System beyond the natural parks in the west, was intended to make the agency the principal protector of both the nation's natural and historic heritage. Many of these areas were in rural areas, but several were urban historic sites such as the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., Fort McHenry in Baltimore, and the Statue of Liberty in New York City. While there were critics of this expansion of the Park System, they did not focus simply on the issue of urban parks, but on the larger issue of that the reorganization would diminish the agency's natural and western orientation.

The executive reorganization successfully established the Park Service in the role of preserving historic sites, even those in urban areas, and the Park System expanded to include urban sites such as the homes of Alexander Hamilton and Theodore Roosevelt in New York City, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Ford's Theater

and Frederick Douglass' home in Washington, D.C., and Fort Sumter in Charleston. The addition of historic areas of such national significance to the Park System raised the profile of the agency with many easterners who had never been to Yellowstone or the Grand Canyon, and allowed the leaders of the Park Service to overcome critics within the agency and the conservation community.

In addition to having a presence in urban areas, the Park Service was experienced in providing mass recreation areas used heavily by urban people through the administration of national seashores and lakeshores. Although the primary purpose of these areas was to preserve pristine areas of shoreline throughout the United States, they also provided beaches for large numbers of people, including those from nearby urban areas. The first such park, Cape Hatteras National Seashore, was created in 1937 to preserve the shoreline of the isolated Outer Banks of North Carolina. The Park Service did not add another seashore to the Park System until the 1960s, when it began a concerted effort to protect additional areas from the increased development along the shoreline of the United States. The new national seashores and lakeshores created during this period were:

Cape Cod National Seashore, Massachusetts, 1961
Point Reyes National Seashore, California, 1962
Padre Island, National Seashore, Texas, 1962

Fire Island, National Seashore, New York, 1964
Assateague Island National Seashore, Maryland and Virginia, 1965
Cape Lookout National Seashore, North Carolina, 1966
Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore, Michigan, 1966
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana, 1966
Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Wisconsin, 1970
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan, 1970
Gulf Islands National Seashore, Florida and Mississippi, 1971
Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia, 1972
Canaveral National Seashore, Florida, 1975.

Questions were raised about the appropriateness of such areas in the Park System, as some park administrators and conservationists argued that these new natural parks did not compare with the monumental landscapes of the traditional natural parks in the West. However, Alfred Runte asserts that the addition of these areas, which lacked "monumental significance," to the Park System, "could be justified...on the basis of their rarity in a pristine condition." The fact that these pristine areas were within a driving distance of major metropolitan areas added to their importance.[42]

Although they may have eventually accepted the new shoreline parks, traditional conservationists within the Park Service were expected to fight the inclusion of a park such as Gateway in the National Park System. Those who still held the view of the agency as western and nature oriented saw urban recreation as incompatible

with the Service's mission. Others believed that Gateway did not meet the high standards of the Park System, and was not of national significance. It is difficult to extend Runte's argument about the inclusion of the national seashores and lakeshores to Gateway, where, except for a few areas of land to be included in the recreation area, there was little comparison between it and the pristine shorelines of these parks. However, forces beyond the career administrators within the Park Service were playing a powerful part in making Gateway a part of the expanding Federal role in urban recreation and preserving open space.

For Ronald Foresta, much of the impetus behind this new direction for the Park Service and the Department of the Interior came from the Secretary of the Interior in the Johnson Administration, Stewart Udall, who saw the longtime administrators of the Department as out of touch with the "New Conservation" of the 1960s in which there was a "conceptual link between the problems of traditional conservation and those of the cities and minorities." Foresta sees Udall as

> staking a bold claim for an expanded role for Interior, one which would move the department far beyond its traditional concern for natural resources and into an active role in achieving social equality, and, in general, improving the quality of American urban life.

Udall's view of a new conservation fit in nicely with the Great

Society, and President Johnson supported his Secretary's efforts to expand the role of Interior.[43]

One way for Udall to utilize the National Park System to further the new conservation, or environmentalism, of the 1960s, and overcome the opposition of the traditionalists in the Park Service, was to use the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments as a means to support his expanded role for the agency. Created in the 1930s, the Board advised the Park Service on the addition of new areas to the Park System. Members of the Advisory Board, who were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, had been outdoor enthusiasts and park advocates who shared the traditional view of the Park System with the career Park Service administrators. However, Foresta maintains that Udall changed the nature of the Board to fit his expanded view of the national parks.[44]

Decisions made by the Advisory Board under Udall support Foresta's contention, as the members abandoned the traditional conservatism practiced in adding areas to the Park System. During the 1950s, the National Park Service undertook several surveys of the shoreline of the United States to "identify the major remaining opportunities for conserving natural resources or coastal areas for recreational or other public purposes."[45] The Park Service believed

that local, state, or Federal agencies might be interested in using the sites it identified for public seashores. In doing so, the agency identified Fire Island as one of the most important such areas in New York because its "proximity to the largest population center in the United States and its 18 miles of undeveloped beach make it of unusual significance."[46] The other major area was Sandy Hook, which was "[o]ne of the best areas within the metropolitan" area. However, the peninsula's

> importance to the military precludes the possibility of its use for recreational purposes at the present time. Its value as a public recreation area should never be dismissed however, and it should eventually be put to this use when circumstances permit.[47]

Significantly, although this survey work was being carried out by the National Park Service, Sandy Hook was considered to be appropriate for a State park. Breezy Point was not even mentioned in this survey. However, in 1968, the proposal to turn New Jersey's Sandy Hook State Park into a national seashore was brought before the Board and received a favorable response.

As part of its deliberations on Sandy Hook, the Advisory Board was presented with a report prepared by the Park Service which presented three alternatives for the peninsula: having it remain a State park, using the area for a national recreation demonstration area run temporarily by the Park Service, and turning Sandy Hook

into a national seashore administered by the Park Service. The recreation demonstration option was a throwback to Park Service projects during the 1930s, in which the agency developed and administered park areas of less than national significance in order to demonstrate management techniques to state and local governments, to use Federal funds to develop parks for cash strapped state governments, and to provide public works projects. Except for several parks in the Washington, D.C. area which remained under the Park Service, these areas were turned over to state or local governments. In the case of Sandy Hook, the demonstration area would be geared toward the needs of parks in large urban areas, and would "demonstrate methods of management, operation and interpretation of a seashore area, as well as techniques in mass transportation and the handling of great masses of people" for the benefit of regional and state governments.[48] Rather than support a project in which the Park Service could use its expertise to improve Sandy Hook and teach other government agencies, while not adding an area which merited state park status to the National Park System, the Board reported to the Secretary of the Interior that it supported national seashore status for Sandy Hook. Reflecting the changing standards for national parks, the Board stated that the area was "well qualified for national

seashore status because of its recreation and historic resources and its location in the metropolitan New York area."[49]

Under Walter Hickel, President Nixon's Secretary of the Interior, the Advisory Board continued in the role begun by Secretary Udall, and the upper levels of the Park Service had come to include administrators who supported the enhanced role of the agency. Meeting between Secretary Hickel's ground breaking March 1969 parks to the people speech, and his announcement of support for Gateway in May, the Advisory Board dealt directly with the issue of the role of the National Park Service in urban areas. Park Service officials presented papers on the future of the agency, including one by Assistant Director for Cooperative Activities Theodor R. Swem, titled "The Search for New Areas." This paper argued for recreational areas "judged by different criteria" than traditional national parks or historic sites, and referred to the 1963 policy circular of the Recreation Advisory Council, which "stipulated certain largely population-oriented criteria" for the admission of recreation areas.[50]

The paper "Urban Betterment," by Deputy Associate Director for Planning and Development Raymond L. Freeman, asked: "Should the National Park Service be involved in urban betterment programs in cities where we have no direct responsibilities involving areas of

our System?" To which the author answered yes, that the "expertise of the National Park Service can make important contributions to planning for urban renewal, public housing, and transportation."[51]

Questions were raised during the Advisory Board meeting about "a proper balance between rigid preservation versus overall urban betterment," and providing easier access to existing parks through expanded means of transportation for those who did not own cars. However, the outcome of the discussion came to a conclusion best expressed by Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr.'s comment that "we are going to have an increase in the number of people in this country in the next twenty years, and that these increases area going to work into the urban areas, so we have to do something."[52]

The next Advisory Board meeting, in October 1969, followed Secretary Hickel's announcement of support for Gateway, and focused on the proposed national recreation area. The Board strongly endorsed the proposal, and used the rationale that had driven the increase in Federal involvement in urban recreation for the past decade when it stated that "a program to provide outdoor recreation and education facilities together with the preservation of open space and natural environments near our Nation's most heavily populated areas is one of the vital national needs," and that this

"precept" was one of the "most far-reaching developments in recent conservation history."[53]

Conservationists outside of the Park Service questioned the propriety of Gateway. The National Parks and Conservation Association, a non-profit organization which focused on the parks, was divided on the issue, as a conservative element on the executive board opposed the Gateway proposal. However, many more board members came to the realization that the Park Service needed to be more expansive in its role.[54]

While some proponents of Gateway, including Secretary Hickel, proclaimed Breezy Point and the other areas included in the proposed park to be of national significance because of their history and natural character, it was clear to many observers that Gateway had primarily regional significance, and that the Federal government was becoming involved because the local governments did not have the capabilities to develop and manage these areas themselves. A reporter for The New York Times questioned how many tourists visiting New York City would actually go out of their way to visit Gateway. He noted that the "City has thus far been unable to find the money to make Breezy Point into the waterside park it has planned there," and that politically, the State found it unwise to turn the site into a State park. As a result, a national park

"would constitute a boon that seems unattainable by other methods."[55]

When the National Park Service and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation released their plan for the development of Gateway in December 1969, it was clear why the Federal government was taking over the park land. The proposal stated that the recreation area "will be the first step in the direction of a major new national conservation policy to bring parks to the people."[56] Gateway was an important place to begin to carry out this policy, because of New York City's 35,000 acres of park land, "one-third, or 12,000 acres is undeveloped or little developed and consequently contributes little toward meeting recreation demands." While it was recognized that much of the land in Gateway was "not particularly unique," the fact that so much potential park land was going unused or under used when there was a shortage of opportunities for urban recreation made development of this land a priority.[57] The hope was that by taking over the park land, "New York City, relieved of the cost of operating and maintaining Jacob Riis Park, and the future cost of developing Breezy Point, may now be able to start developing its remaining recreational lands."[58]

The proposal for the development of Gateway was for a mass recreation area which resembled New York's Jones Beach State Park,

with boardwalks, bathhouses, and refreshment stands constructed along large swimming beaches. However, unlike Jones Beach, natural and historic areas would be reserved for conservation and educational purposes. In the future, the land belonging to the Breezy Point Cooperative would be bought and added to the park. Riis Park, which already resembled a smaller Jones Beach type recreation area, would be integrated into Gateway. Jamaica Bay, the City run wildlife refuge, would be retained largely as it was and used for environmental education. Broad Channel, a community on 320 acres of City owned land in the center of the bay, would eventually be converted back to marshlands and included in the wildlife refuge. Great Kills Park in Staten Island would have a small beach area and be used primarily for organized sports. Hoffman and Swinburne Islands would be connected to each other by landfill and developed for recreation much like New York City's earlier plan for the islands. The existing military facilities, Fort Tilden on Rockaway and Fort Hancock on Sandy Hook, would be integrated into the park after they were declared surplus Federal land, which was expected in the next few years.

The great innovation of the Park Service's Gateway plan was a ferry system to carry people who relied on public transportation to the park, as well as from one part of the park to another. New

York ferries would travel from Manhattan and Coney Island to Breezy Point and Sandy Hook. New Jersey ferries would travel from Belford and Keyport to Sandy Hook, and from Jersey City to Sandy Hook and Breezy Point. Additional ferries would travel within the park, taking visitors from one Gateway unit to another.

When the proposal for Gateway was released, there was disappointment among members of the New York Congressional delegation who wanted additional City park land included in the national park. Representative William Ryan of Manhattan, one of the early proponents of Gateway, wanted the City parks Coney Island, Brighton Beach, and Manhattan Beach included. Representative John Murphy of Staten Island wanted all of his Borough's public beaches included. The Congressmen, joined by Mayor Lindsay, continued their efforts to have more city land turned over to the Park Service.

It was significant that the proposal for Gateway was drawn up by both the Park Service and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, as the Bureau was seen as more open to a Federal role in urban recreation than the Park Service, and had been used since it was created under Secretary Udall to increase Interior's role in urban areas.[59] This view of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation is supported by the report it issued in 1970, The Recreation Imperative: The

Nationwide Outdoor Recreation Plan, which hailed Gateway as an opportunity to "create an outstanding National Recreation Area in the heart of the nation's largest metropolitan area." For the Bureau, the park was one of a "limited number of unique opportunities" in which the "Federal government should directly assist the cities in providing outdoor recreation opportunities" through the "acquisition, development and operation of urban areas of outstanding quality."[60]

Gateway's Challenge: Overcoming the Critics

Efforts to turn the land for Gateway over to the Federal government were delayed throughout 1970 and most of 1971. Oddly, this was a period in which the potential for Federal involvement in the care for the environment appeared to be increasing. The Nixon Administration was substantially increasing funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund, and was turning even more surplus Federal land over to state and local governments for recreation. This included a proposal to convert military facilities in the San Francisco Bay area into a new Golden Gate National Recreation Area, which would also be run by the Park Service. Furthermore, the Administration proposed expanded Federal action to protect the environment, and created the Environmental Protection Agency.

The delay in moving ahead with the proposal for Gateway resulted from questions raised about the proper role of the Federal government in a project of this kind. In its 1970 report, One Third of the Nation's Land, the Federal Public Land Law Review Commission, a six year Federal effort to review the myriad laws and regulations relating to the public domain and make recommendations for their administration, stated that "it is undesirable for the Federal Government unilaterally to plan, develop and manage intensive use recreation facilities installed primarily to meet state and local needs." Any "direct Federal participation" in regional recreation should be "on a joint venture basis" with the states.[61] Similarly, the National Academy of Sciences, in a 1971 report on the proposed expansion of Kennedy Airport's runways into Jamaica Bay, took the opportunity to question whether Gateway would actually respond to the immediate recreation needs of New York better than direct Federal aid to the City. More critical for the future of Gateway, the Nixon Administration's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) questioned the significance of a national park established primarily for local needs, and saw this as being in conflict with the President's concept of the "new Federalism" in which state and local governments would "assume new responsibilities" formerly held by the Federal government.[62]

Despite those who questioned the propriety of the proposed park, an inspection of the areas to be incorporated into Gateway by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments in the summer of 1971 showed continued support for the park by advocates of an expanded role for the Park Service. The Board's report stated:

> Unless we provide outlets for urban frustration and constructive activities for youthful energies, our sordid central cities will only get worse. We have an obligation to give these people the chance to share in a bit of open space and fresh air.

This came despite the fact that the park would "have to be highly subsidized to succeed," as well as the presence of polluted beaches which "could make the whole proposal impractical." Ironically, in order to safeguard against the shortcomings of the park, the Advisory Board concluded that the "standards" of Gateway "must be those that the National Park Service has always sought."[63]

With elements of the Nixon Administration stalling the Gateway project through OMB, Congressional supporters of the park went ahead on their own and scheduled hearings on Gateway in the summer of 1971. Three days before the Senate hearing was to begin, the President announced his support for the recreation area. The next day, he toured the areas to be included in Gateway by air with the Governors of New York and New Jersey and the Mayor of New York

City. The President proclaimed Gateway to be "one of the most significant steps the Federal Government has taken in cooperation with State governments perhaps in this century."[64]

Not surprisingly, the Senate and House hearings on the establishment of the proposed national park did not focus on the unique natural qualities or the historic significance of the areas to be included in Gateway, but on providing recreational facilities for poor city residents and developing park land when local governments could not afford to do so. The new Secretary of the Interior, Rogers Morton, in a letter to the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, stated that while "primary responsibility" for local recreation should be with municipal government, "there are special instances where the direct involvement of the Federal Government is necessary" to develop recreation areas that "are accessible to all income groups."[65] New York Senator Jacob Javits testified that "only the Federal Government has the resources to develop and manage" the park, "because of the serious financial crisis in our cities and states." He stressed that transportation should be developed to encourage "those residents living in the ghettos" to come to Gateway.[66] Testifying before the Committee, New York Representative William Ryan, one of the principal forces behind Gateway, also spoke of the ghetto residents who needed

facilities such as this park. He stressed that he was "not advocating a Federal takeover of New York City's responsibilities," but saw "an opening to a new perception of our national parks and recreation areas system."[67]

At the House hearings, a great deal of discussion focused on proposals for the Federal government to provide direct transportation to the park, or to subsidize mass transit. New York Mayor Lindsay proposed that the Federal government provide money for extending the subway to Breezy Point and for building a new bridge from Brooklyn to the Rockaway Peninsula. Committee members objected to these proposals, claiming that this was not the Park Service's responsibility, but the City's. A Montana Congressman who lived near Yellowstone National Park stated that there were "a number of disadvantaged people in my State who have never been to Yellowstone Park and I haven't seen any proposal yet that says we ought to" transport them to the park.[68] However, National Park Service Director George Hartzog, Jr. testified that a compromise must be reached on the issue of transportation "if truly we are going to bring the parks to the people."[69]

Several witnesses appearing before the committee advocated adding additional areas to Gateway. The Regional Plan Association proposed including New Jersey's Liberty State Park and all of the

public beaches on Staten Island. The Chairman of the Brooklyn Citizens Parks Council asked that additional City park land on the shore of Jamaica Bay be included. Senator Alan Bible responded by asking the witness: "The Borough of Brooklyn cannot handle it so you want Uncle Sam to do it for something like $7 million?" The witness answered: "Yes."[70]

The only opposition to Gateway expressed at the hearings came from the Friends of Sandy Hook, who feared that inclusion of the peninsula in a mass recreation area would endanger its ecology. They preferred that it be designated a separate national seashore, which would have meant less use and more conservation.

Although Gateway was approved by both houses of Congress, there were several changes made to the Park Service's proposed plan for the park. Additional land along the shore of Jamaica Bay was added, and the plans to eventually phase out the Breezy Point Cooperative and the Broad Channel community were eliminated because of the cost. Miller Field, a surplus military facility on Staten Island was added, as was Floyd Bennett Field in Brooklyn. This area was added over the objection of New York State, which wanted to build low cost housing on the site. The most significant change to the Gateway plan was the elimination of the ferry system, which the House feared would add too much to the cost of developing the

park. President Nixon signed the legislation establishing Gateway National Recreation Area on October 28, 1972.

While Gateway was hailed as the beginning of new era in which the National Parks were brought to the people, questions continued to be raised about urban recreation areas in the National Park System. In 1972, the Conservation Foundation, a non-profit organization created in 1948 to influence conservation policy through research and education, released National Parks for the Future: An Appraisal of the National Parks as They Begin Their Second Century in A Changing America. This report was the result of a year long study, conducted at the request of and with funding provided by the Park Service, to identify the "basic problems and issues confronting the National Park System," and to develop "a statement of philosophy and long-range objectives and goals" for its future. In order to carry out this project, the Conservation Foundation put together a study group made up of traditional conservationists, as well as "urban leaders, labor representatives, students, and others who have not traditionally had much involvement with park policy."[71] Despite this urban element within the group, the report stated that "they seemed generally to agree that, geographically, the National Park System should lie outside urban America, without determining exactly where that line should

be drawn," while the parks should be "managed in ways that make them relevant to urban people."[72]

In the development of a philosophical basis for the national parks, National Parks for the Future set out to provide an idea of what a national park should and should not be. The study group saw the expansion of the park system represented by Gateway as presenting a danger of the parks becoming "a bland experience little different from what the visitor can and does find at a thousand other areas." Since their beginning with Yellowstone in 1872, the national parks

> represent a chance for different kinds of experiences-for diversity. To the extent to which parks are maintained as places which contrast sharply with the rest of our society, diversity will be maximized. If, however, they become more like every place else...diversity will be lost over-all and our lives would be poorer.[73]

In order to prevent the this from happening to the national parks, it was necessary to relieve the pressures being exerted on the Park Service to provide an increasing array of facilities. Therefore, the

> American people and their political leaders must reject the notion that the parks can be all things to all people. In particular, they must reject any suggestion that the National Park System has a responsibility to engage in programs which cover the entire spectrum of outdoor, historic, and cultural needs of the American people.[74]

The discussion of Gateway was included in a section of the report titled "Anomalies," in which it was recognized that the park had been proposed because it represented a way to provide "desperately needed regional recreation facilities," and that the Park Service became involved only because there appeared to be "no immediate alternative." Furthermore, Gateway was "not intrinsically" a national park. The study group recommended that the park "be transferred as soon as possible to appropriate state or regional agencies for administration. Further Federal assistance should be provided in the form of finances for development, operation, and maintenance" of the park.[75]

The study group behind National Parks for the Future recognized that the Federal government needed to contribute more to park resources nationwide, particularly in urban areas. But, the fact that these were "federal responsibilities," did "not make them National Park System responsibilities."[76] The group concluded that national parks can meet urban needs by making them more accessible, providing information on the parks to people in urban areas, and reaching out to minorities. In addition, the Park Service should study "sizeable natural areas within striking distance of cities for addition to the National Park System," such as the Pine Barrens of central New Jersey. The models for existing areas within the

Park System that could be used to benefit urban areas were Point Reyes National Seashore outside of San Francisco and Fire Island National Seashore in the New York area.[77]

During the course of the study which resulted in National Parks for the Future, a symposium was held in which various papers on park issues were presented, including one by James N. Smith, Senior Associate of the Conservation Foundation. Smith's paper, "The Gateways: Parks for Whom?," was critical of the creation of Gateway, as the author recognized this as a case of the Park Service taking over "what is essentially a municipal function-city parks and recreation programs." Smith believed that the Park Service itself was not "among the principle advocates" of this development, but that it had "been dictated by the forces of political expediency." The politics behind this was the desire of the Federal government to show that it was responding to the nation's urban problems, especially the riots of the 1960s, and a well publicized project by the Park Service, a highly regarded Federal agency, could accomplish this. Smith pointed to the Park Service program "Summer in the Parks," in which national park areas in Washington, D.C. were used for a type of summer camp for urban youth as an example of this response. He argued that it was "no accident" that the Summer in the Parks "program was first initiated

in Washington, D.C., in the Summer of 1968, close behind the riots that shook the city and the nation."[78]

In the case of Gateway, much of the land was surplus property already owned by the Federal government or State and local parks, and would not have to be purchased. In this way, the Nixon Administration could spend little money and appear to be responding to urban problems with a high profile project. However, there was a danger in this because it "would establish a federal precedent. It is almost a certainty that other cities are going to expect and demand the same kind of treatment, whether they have surplus lands available or not."[79]

Smith's view of the Nixon Administration is supported by historian Samuel Hays, who argues that the Administration's interest in environmental issues "reflected political expediency rather than agreement with environmental objectives." As evidence, he points to OMB holding up the establishment of Gateway on the grounds that the administration of the park was not the proper role for the Federal government. Furthermore, when it came to actually spending large amounts of money on developing Gateway according to the 1969 plan for the park, the Administration declined to commit the funds.[80]

In response to National Parks for the Future, the Advisory

Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, which called the report the "most searching and comprehensive examination of the National Park Service in its hundred year history," set out to "critically analyze" the report in regard to which recommendations the Park Service should carry out. The Board felt that the study of large natural areas near cities was of great importance, as it "would help the National Parks to be kept as pure, or more pure, than they have ever been." From this statement it would appear that the Board accepted the recommendation as it was intended by the Conservation Foundation's study group: a way to provide national parks near cities while abandoning the approach represented by Gateway. However, the Board believed this concept would allow the parks to "be hedged on one side with inviolable wilderness areas, and on the other with big scale, massive recreation areas" such as Gateway.[81] In making this statement, the Advisory Board clearly did not understand, or chose to ignore, the argument concerning urban national parks expressed in National Parks for the Future.

The Reality of Gateway

After the lands from New York City and New Jersey were transferred to the Federal Government in 1974, the Park Service was

faced with what it characterized as "unprecedented and major operational requirements," as beaches and other areas needed a "major cleanup," and buildings and other built "facilities were received in deteriorated or badly neglected condition." As a result, a large part of the park budget for 1974 was "expended to upgrade and rehabilitate existing physical facilities and to clean up the park."[82]

The following year, the Park Service Advisory Board visited Gateway in order to see what progress had been made, and reported that it was "greatly impressed with what had been accomplished in a very short period of time."[83] However, the Board recognized that the plans for the park envisioned in the 1969 Gateway: A Proposal would have to be scaled down, as "the expansion of the National Park Service into the area of urban recreation, while justified by the needs of our great urban populations, could be fraught with financial dangers and demands carefully considered management." Therefore,

> if these new areas are to be maintained up to the high standards associated with the National Park Service, the Advisory Board recommends that objectives must be limited to feasible operations in line with clearly stated criteria for the appropriate role of the National Park Service in the field of urban recreation.[84]

The Advisory Board was accepting the realities of Gateway, that

much of the budget would be relegated to repairing deteriorating facilities, and that Park Service activity would have to be limited.

In addition to the operational realities of Gateway, the park was receiving limited support from Washington. While it had reluctantly supported the establishment of the park, the Nixon Administration questioned the $900 million plan for the development of Gateway and withheld funding that went much beyond the annual operating budget. The Carter Administration did the same, and the Reagan Administration proposed transferring Gateway and the urban recreation area which followed it to the states.[85]

Has a National Park Been Brought to the People?

The writer Joseph Sax argues that despite the questionable national significance of Gateway and other urban national recreation areas, the laudatory goals behind the establishment of these parks gives them "a rightful contemporary place" in the National Park System, because "even with the advantages of modern transportation and affluence a great many people will never likely visit" the great western parks. For Sax, urban parks are "justified by a recognition that the symbolism of parks needs to be brought closer to the public, not that the symbol should be

urbanized."[86]

However, in National Parks for the Future, the Conservation Foundation's study group made a strong argument that Gateway did not bring a national park to New York, but simply had national park rangers run what were in reality City and State parks. This is urbanizing the symbol of the national parks, as the experiences available to Gateway visitors were are little different than those that were available prior to the Park Service's arrival.

It is easy to understand how the National Park Service ended up in Gateway after one sees the transformation of the Federal role in urban recreation during the 1960s. While this role increased due to the influence of the race for open space and parks to the people movements, the traditional conservation elements within the Park Service and outside supporters failed to recognize the political implications of these causes for the agency. Although those outside of the Park Service, such as Secretary of the Interior Udall, had conceived of a new environmentalism that was attuned to the social and political changes of the era, the traditional administrators were, in Ronald Foresta's words, "unable to form a clear philosophical or moral view" of the agency's "role in the nation's metropolitan areas." As a result, they became involved in a park that was not created from within the

organization, but by the forces at work in the new environmentalism of the era.

Foresta sees the urban national parks as a Park Service "experiment" upon which the "jury is still out."[87] However, it would appear from the number of urban parks that now exist, and the large amounts of founding which they require, that this has clearly gone beyond the experimental stage. If these parks were still an experiment, it would be possible to turn them over to the states or remove them from the jurisdiction of the Park Service through some other means if it was decided that they do not belong in the National Park System. However, the reality is that state and local interests will fight any attempt by the Park Service to divest itself of the administration of these areas, as this would mean that state and/or local governments would become responsible for these recreation areas, and most importantly, would have to spend their limited funds to manage them.

Funding is at the heart of the creation of Gateway, as the National Park Service was brought in to take over a project which state and local governments were unable or unwilling to fund. As a result, an area which does not have a rightful place within the National Park System under the traditional concept of national parks, but was justified by arguments which had potency during the

political and social atmosphere of 1960s, was created.

In the 1990s, when political attacks are regularly made on the size of the Federal government, with significantly vicious attacks reserved for the programs of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, it could appear that this critique of Gateway is yet another argument in favor of turning Federal authority over to the states. However, this is only a critique of the concept that the national parks can be all things to all people. The apparent acceptance of this concept by policy makers and park advocates has led to: the creation of national recreation areas which deserve only to be state parks, the Park Service taking over historic sites of state or local significance because non-profit organizations or state agencies can not afford to preserve them, and, possibly the worst of all, the designation of national parks and historic sites of dubious significance in order to provide tourist dollars for local economies. It is because of political realities that such roles have been assigned to the Park Service, and the agency has not been left to its mission to preserve the nation's natural and cultural heritage. The result has been the dilution of the standards of the first system of national parks in the world to the point that the National Park System is currently made up of over 360 different areas, all of which are supposed to be nationally significant. The

establishment of Gateway National Recreation Area contributed to this state of the national parks.

Notes

1. Hays, Samuel P., Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 34.

2. Melosi, Martin V., "Lyndon Johnson and Environmental Policy," in Robert A. Devine, ed., The Johnson Years, Volume Two: Vietnam, the Environment, and Science, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), pp. 115-116.

3. U.S., Congress, "An Act for the Establishment of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission," in Phillip O. Foss, ed., Conservation in the United States: A Documentary History: Recreation, (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), pp. 572-573.

4. Regional Plan Association, The Race for Open Space, (1960), pp. 6-8.

5. Ibid, pp. 10-11.

6. Ibid, p. 13.

7. Melosi, p. 118.

8. "March 1961 Message to Congress by President Kennedy," in Foss, ed., pp. 330-331.

9. "Housing Act of 1961," in Foss, ed., p. 332.

10. Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Outdoor Recreation for America, (1962), p. 128.

11. Ibid, p. 3.

12. Recreation Advisory Council, Federal Executive Branch Policy Governing the Selection, Establishment, and Administration of National Recreation Areas, (1963), in Foss, ed., pp. 1-5.

13. Udall, Stewart L., The Quiet Crisis, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. viii.

14. Ibid, pp. 159-160.

15. Ibid, p. 172.

16. "Land and Water Conservation Fund Act," (1964) in Foss, ed., p. 614.

17. Melosi, p. 117.

18. Schott, Richard L., and Dagmar S. Hamilton, People, Positions, and Power: The Political Appointments of Lyndon Johnson, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 50.

19. The President's Task Force on Natural Beauty, Report on the Preservation of Natural Beauty, (1965) Foss, ed., pp. 346-247.

20. Hill, Gladwin, "Hickel Sees a Growing Demand for Urban Parks Development," New York Times, 4 March 1969, sec. 1:24.

21. Olmsted, Frederick Law, "Report of a Preliminary Survey of Rockaway Point" (1879), in Albert Fein ed., Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City, (Ithaca: Cornell University Pres, 1967, p. 301.

22. Ibid, p. 306.

23. Ibid, p. 310.

24. Houghton, George, "Sandy Hook--in 1879" in William R. Jones Ed, Scribner's Monthly, (Golden, Colorado: Outbooks, 1981) p. 3.

25. Regional Plan Association, p. 50.

26. Ibid, p. 51.

27. Dales, Douglas. "Rockefeller Asks 75 Million to Buy New Park Lands." New York Times. 13 March 1960, sec. 1:1.

28. "A Last-Hour Park Battle." New York Times. 18 September 1962, editorial, sec. 1:38.

29. Abrams, Charles. "For Breezy Point Park." New York Times. 1 October 1962, letter, sec. 1:30.

30. Young, Whitney M., Jr. New York Times. 11 May 1963, letter, sec. 1:24.

31. Arnold, Martin. "Mayor Gives Hope for Breezy Point." New York Times. 5 October 1962, sec. 1:35.

32. Schanberg, Sidney H. "Proposed Park at Breezy Point Hotly Supported and Derided." New York Times. 20 April 1963, sec. 1:29.

33. "Clash Due Today on Breezy Point." New York Times. 22 July 1963, sec. 1:1.

34. "City Aides Split on Breezy Point." New York Times. 27 August, 1963, sec. 1:4.

35. Knowles, Clayton. "2,000 at City Hall Protest Park Plan for Breezy Point." New York Times. 23 July 1963, sec 1:1.

36. Will Lisner. "Stark Urges That U.S. Develop Breezy Point Park." New York Times. 7 March 1966, sec 1:18.
Witkin, Richard. "6 Sites Proposed by State for Its First Parks in City." New York Times. 18 December 1967, sec 1:1.

37. Stern, Michael. "Public Use of Breezy Point Despite Local Opposition." New York Times. 4 July 1968, sec. 1:21.

38. Burks, Edward C. "Hickel Announces Start Now on U.S. Park in the Harbor Area." New York Times. 14 May 1969, sec. 1:50.

39. Runte, Alfred, National Parks: The American Experience, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 211.

40. Ibid, p. 212.

41. Foresta, Ronald A. America's National Parks and Their Keepers. (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984) p. 169.

42. Runte, p. 228.

43. Ibid, pp. 66-67.

44. Ibid, p. 72,

45. National Park Service, A Report on the Seashore Recreation Area Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, (1955) p. 1; Entry 46 Miscellaneous Administrative Records, 1930-68; Box

10; RG 79.

46. Ibid, p. 73.

47. Ibid, p. 85.

48. Minutes, 59th Meeting, Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, Washington, D.C., October 7-9, 1968; Entry 43 National Park System Advisory Board Minutes 1936-1983; Box 4, 1966-68; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

49. Ibid.

50. Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, Papers, 60th Meeting, April 21-24, 1969, Washington, D.C.; Entry 43 National Park System Advisory Board Minutes 1936-83; Box 5, 1969-72; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Minutes, 61st Meeting Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, Washington, D.C., October 6-8, 1969; Entry 43 National Park System Advisory Board Minutes 1936-83; Box 5, 1969-72; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

54. Craig, Bruce. Northeast Regional Director, National Parks and Conservation Association. Phone Interview. 15 November 1993.

55. Fowler, Glenn, "Can a National Park Be Brought to the City?" New York Times, 31 August 1968, sec. 8:7.

56. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the National Park Service, Gateway National Recreation Area: A Proposal, (1969), p. 3.

57. Ibid, pp. 13-16.

58. Ibid, pp. 70-71.

59. Foresta, p. 67.

60. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, The Recreation Imperative: The Nationwide Outdoor Recreation Plan, (1970), p. 9.

61. Public Land Law Review Commission, One Third of the Nation's Land, (1970), pp. 429-432.

62. "U.S. Asks if Jersey Wants Land in Gateway Project," New York Times, 8 February 1971, sec. 1:37; "New York and New Jersey Congressmen Press for Gateway Park," New York Times, 14 March 1971, sec. 1:64.

63. Inspection of Certain Field Areas of the National Park System, Summer 1971, Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, Buildings and Monuments; Entry 44, National Park System Advisory Board, Records Relating to Field Trips, 1965-1975; Box 3, 1971; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

64. Robinson, Douglas, "Nixon Sees Gateway By Air," New York Times, 11 May 1971, sec. 1:1.

65. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 92d Congress 1st session, S.1193 & S.1852 Bills Related to Provide for the Establishment of the Gateway National Recreation Area in the States of New York and New Jersey, (1971), p. 3.

66. Ibid, p. 17.

67. Ibid, p. 24.

68. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 92d Congress 1st session, Gateway Area Proposals, Hearings on H.R.1370, H.R.1121 and Related Bills, (1971) p. 89.

69. Ibid, p. 268.

70. U.S., Congress, Senate, p. 71.

71. Conservation Foundation, The, National Parks for the Future: An Appraisal of the National Parks As They Begin Their Second Century in a Changing America, (1972), pp. 4-5.

72. Ibid, p. 6.

73. Ibid, p. 7.

74. Ibid, p. 10.

75. Ibid, p. 15.

76. Ibid, p. 11.

77. Ibid, p. 20.

78. Smith, James N., "The Gateways: Parks for Whom?", in National Parks for the Future, pp. 213-215.

79. Ibid, pp. 219-220.

80. Hays, p. 58.

81. Advisory Board Ad Hoc Committee Report on "National Parks for the Future"; Entry 43 National Park System Advisory Board Minutes 1936-1983; Box 6, 1973-77; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

82. Gateway National Recreation Area, New York/New Jersey, Status Report, March 1975; Entry 44, National Park System Advisory Board, Records Relating to Field Trips, 1965-1975; Box 4, 1973-75; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

83. Chairman, Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, to the Secretary of the Interior, June 23, 1975; Entry 44 National Park System Advisory Board, Records Relating to Field Trips, 1965-1975; Box 4, 1973-1975; Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

84. Ibid.

85. Hays, p. 87.

86. Sax, Joseph L., Mountains Without Handrails: Reflections on the National Parks, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1980), p. 84.

87. Foresta, pp. 279-280.

Bibliography

Interviews

Adlerstein, Michael. Chief of Urban Projects, Northeast Region, National Park Service. Personal Interview. 13 October 1993.

Craig, Bruce. Northeast Director, National Parks and Conservation Association. Phone Interview. 15 November 1993.

Unpublished Sources

Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Documents and Reports

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. The Recreation Imperative. 1970.

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the National Park Service. Gateway National Recreation Area: A Proposal. 1969.

Conservation Foundation, The. National Parks for the Future: An Appraisal of the National Parks As They Begin Their Second Century in a Changing America. 1972.

Mayor's Council on the Environment, The. Gateway National Recreation Area: A Discussion of Problems and Suggestions for Development. 1971.

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. Outdoor Recreation for America. 1962.

Public Land Law Review Commission. One Third of the Nation's Land. 1970.

Regional Plan Association. The Race for Open Space. 1960.

U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, 92d Congress 1st session. Gateway Area Proposals, Hearings on H.R.1370, H.R.1121 and Related Bills. 1971.

U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, 92d Congress 1st session. S.1193 & S.1852 Bills Related to Provide for the Establishment of Gateway National Recreation Area in the States of New York and New Jersey. 1971.

Periodicals

The New York Times.

Published Sources

Foss, Phillip O., ed. Conservation in the United States, A Documentary History: Recreation. New York: Chelsea House, 1971.

Books

Devine, Robert A., ed. The Johnson Years, Volume Two: Vietnam, the Environment, and Science. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987.

Foresta, Ronald A. America's National Parks and Their Keepers. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984.

Hays, Samuel P. Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Runte, Alfred. National Parks: The American Experience. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.

Sax, Joseph L. Mountains Without Handrails: Reflections on the National Parks. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1980.

Schott, Richard L., and Dagmar S. Hamilton. People, Positions, and Power: The Political Appointments of Lyndon Johnson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Udall, Stewart L. The Quiet Crisis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.