LOCAL INFLUENCE and the NATIONAL INTEREST

Ten Years of National Park Service Administration in the Stehekin Valley, Washington
A CASE STUDY

Susan E. Georgette & Ann H. Harvey



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Foreward

In October 1968 President Lyndon Johnson signed an act creating the North Cascades National Park in the state of Washington. One of the leading proponents, Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, described the new national park as "the most complete, diverse, and dramatic outdoor complex ever approved by Congress." A hard-fought battle had been waged by conservationists for thirteen years preceding Congressional action.

While conservationists celebrated this victory, a cautionary note was raised by a close political observer, Dr. Allan Sommarstrom at the University of Washington. Writing in 1970 he called attention to the problem of "post legislation doldrums" in which it is assumed that all problems have been solved by Congressional action. In the North Cascades case as elsewhere, he noted, the local interests that led to the controversy will persist and may be expected to reappear. "Only the ground rules have changed." He called for close and continuous scrutiny of the National Park Service's planning and administration of the region; otherwise, he said, the wilderness enthusiasts who fought so strenuously for the park "may well have won the battle and lost the war." (See Notes, Chapter 3, no. 20.)

This case study conducted ten years following establishment of the park clearly demonstrates the truth of this observation. The Stehekin Valley is an integral part of the total wilderness park complex, a key valley on the eastern side of the mountains at the head of Lake Chelan, providing one of the few points of access to the rugged, wild, and

beautiful high country of the North Cascades. Near the end of the battle in Congress, pressures from the hunting lobby led to the elimination of these lands from the park and establishment of the lower part of the valley as the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. Under this designation, hunting and other minor land uses considered compatible with the wilderness qualities of the surrounding park could be accommodated under strict Park Service management.

What has happened in the intervening years in the Stehekin Valley is the subject of this study. The changes have been neither rapid nor dramatic; instead, faltering administration by the Park Service has resulted in a slow but inexorable degradation of the natural, wild, and scenic characteristics that Congress had intended to preserve as an integral part of the total North Cascades National Park complex.

Nearly a year has been involved in the conduct of this study, including approximately five months of careful field work in the Stehekin region. The results are decisive: Sommarstrom's concerns in 1970 have become the reality. As environmental groups turned their attention elsewhere, the national interest in the valley became obscured. In this regard, the study raises questions having important implications far beyond the steep walls of this small valley. There are questions of how the National Park Service handles conflicts between private land ownership and the public interest; of the relationship of Park Service planners, administrators and rangers to the local interests; and of how those concerned with preservation of natural values within National Park Service units can develop more effective techniques to prevent this kind of gradual debasement of these national treasures.

As the two authors of this study point out in their conclusions,

Congress is expected soon to pass legislation placing large areas of Alaska wild lands in the national park system, the last opportunity of this magnitude in the nation. A significant proportion of these lands will be designated as either national monuments, national preserves, or national recreation areas. Will the same thing that happened to Stehekin occur there on a massive scale? This study of one small but precious natural area sounds the warning.

Richard A. Cooley
Professor of Environmental Studies
University of California, Santa Cruz
May 1, 1980

Preface

Field research for this study was conducted in Stehekin, Washington from July to November 1979. Extensive interviews were held with Stehekin residents, Chelan County employees, National Park Service personnel in Seattle and the North Cascades, and conservationists active in establishment of the park. Research was carried out in Wenatchee, Washington at the Chelan County Assessor's office, Chelan County Planning Department, Chelan-Douglas Health District, Chelan County Public Utility District, and Washington Department of Game. The University of Washington library, the files of conservation groups, personal collections of Stehekin residents, and records at the North Cascades park headquarters in Sedro Woolley also proved to be valuable sources of information. Much of the information is based on our own observations in Stehekin and on meetings and hearings we attended in Stehekin and Seattle.

The residents of Stehekin were immensely helpful and hospitable; their generosity made our stay in the valley both productive and enjoyable. Those residents who made their files available to us deserve our special thanks. Because the information provided by Stehekin residents was regarded as confidential, we have not revealed the names of residents with their statements, except in cases of historical fact. Throughout this report, the word "resident" refers to both full-time and part-time residents. In the discussion of the Chelan County questionnaires on page 93, however, "resident" refers to those living in Stehekin at least nine months per year, and "non-resident" refers to valley property owners

spending less than nine months per year in Stehekin.

The administrators and staff of the National Park Service, particularly Russell Dickenson, Keith Miller, Noel Poe, and Darrel Wilsey, responded agreeably to our repeated requests for information. Michael Cecka of the Chelan County Planning Department went out of his way to supply us with accurate information. We are also indebted to those people outside Stehekin who unselfishly contributed their time and ideas to this study.

This project was funded by the Environmental Field Program at the University of California, Santa Cruz. We are grateful to the director of the program, Kenneth Norris, for this research opportunity and to the program's staff for making sure the project ran smoothly. Richard Cooley, faculty sponsor for this study, always gave freely of his time and encouraged us to the end. We are thankful to Dan Warrick for his excellent editorial assistance and his patience in guiding this report through its final stages. Tom Nawalinski also deserves our thanks for generously contributing several of the photographs in this report.

1 Introduction

Beginning in 1872 with the creation of Yellowstone National Park, the national park system in the United States has grown to include more than 300 areas throughout the country that are recognized as nationally significant for their superlative natural, historic, and recreational qualities. The National Park Service was established in 1916 with the mandate to keep these superb areas "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[1]

On October 2, 1968 a new unit was added to the national park system: the North Cascades National Park complex, composed of a national park and two national recreation areas. The park complex, encompassing an area of approximately 674,000 acres in northern Washington, is a wilderness of rocky peaks, glaciers, high alpine meadows, forested valleys, rushing streams, and quiet lakes--a wilderness thought by many to be the most beautiful in the United States. The park complex is surrounded by two million acres of national forest land, over half of which has been included in the national wilderness preservation system.

At the core of this spectacular region lies the deep glacier-carved Stehekin Valley. Fed by glaciers and snowmelt, the Stehekin River flows twenty-five miles from the east side of the Cascade crest through the valley to empty into Lake Chelan, a narrow fjord-like lake nearly fifty-five miles long. This is an area of dramatic relief: the mountains lining the Stehekin Valley rise more than 7,000 feet above the narrow valley floor, and the lake reaches a depth of 1,500 feet. The valley has never been

accessible by road; residents and visitors reach the area by boat, plane, horse, or foot. The lower part of the valley was homesteaded by a handful of settlers in the late 1800s. But because of the isolation, remoteness, and rugged terrain of the area, it remained little known and relatively untouched until recently.

The Stehekin Valley was originally to be included within the boundaries of the proposed North Cascades National Park, but protests from hunting groups during Congressional hearings, and the existence of the small community of Stehekin, led to a decision by Congress to remove the lower twelve miles of the valley from the national park and to put it into the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. At the time of the creation of the park complex, Congress did not find it necessary to evict the small human population then living in the valley. The legislation establishing the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area (NRA) included a provision allowing lands to remain in private ownership "so long as the lands are devoted to uses compatible with the purposes of this Act."[2] Congress also recognized the importance of Stehekin's lack of road access as a factor in preserving the area's character; a provision in the legislation explicitly forbade the construction of a road between the Stehekin Valley and the North Cascades Highway, the only feasible road route.

In the ten years since the creation of the park complex, the Stehekin Valley has changed substantially. There has been a significant increase in visitation following the establishment of the complex, and the National Park Service itself, with its staff, facilities, and resource demands, has also greatly affected the valley. The most striking change, however, has resulted from increasing private development in the valley. Since 1968 the number of private residences in the valley has nearly doubled, and the

population has tripled. The capacity of the valley to accommodate development is limited; all private land in the valley lies within an area nine miles long and one mile wide. There is no sign, however, that the development is slowing down; to the contrary, it is accelerating. This growth is accompanied by increasing demand for resources, especially firewood and electric power. Serious questions are being raised as to whether this growth and development is compatible with Congressional intent to preserve the values of the area by setting it aside as a part of the North Cascades National Park complex.

Except for an early program of active land acquisition, the National Park Service has done virtually nothing to control private development in the valley. Even after ten years of NPS administration, the crucial clause concerning "compatible use" has not been defined, and some NPS officials have said that because the Park Service has only proprietary jurisdiction in the Lake Chelan NRA, it is powerless to regulate the uses of private lands in the valley. The agency has turned to the local government, Chelan County, to control private land use in the valley through zoning, but the county has failed to produce a plan the Park Service is willing to endorse.

The future of the Stehekin Valley is uncertain, and the history of legislation and administrative policies behind the present state of affairs is complex. We attempt in this study to clarify the issues, policies, and legislation underlying National Park Service management in the Stehekin Valley, to document the changes in the valley since the creation of the park complex, and to examine how the agency has addressed the problems of private development within a national recreation area under its jurisdiction. Although Stehekin is small in terms of acreage, the resolution of

the issues in this area has important implications for other areas of the national park system, especially those newly created in Alaska. The Park Service can expect to encounter similar problems in these new areas: small communities within NPS boundaries, pressures for growth and development, demand for resources from public lands, localism and anti-regulation sentiments, and conflicts of objectives and policies with other federal, state, and local agencies. The National Park Service will also be faced with the problem of lands placed in "other-than-park" categories (e.g., national preserves, national reserves, national recreation areas), for which the legislative mandates may be less specific than for national parks. Each of these areas will be different, and each will have its own management difficulties, but at stake for all of them is the Park Service's ability and willingness to protect the lands placed under its jurisdiction. As is clear in Stehekin, it is not enough simply to designate an area a part of the national park system. Unless the National Park Service takes responsibility from the beginning for protecting the central values for which each area is set aside, these values can be lost as surely through the gradual encroachment of development as through more rapid and obvious changes. The issues addressed by this study will become increasingly important as pressures for development increase and land of national park caliber becomes more scarce. These are issues that neither the National Park Service nor others concerned with the long-term preservation of our public lands can afford to ignore.

2 Early Stehekin

The known human history of the Stehekin Valley is brief and sparse. Prior to the late nineteenth century, the passes and deep valleys of the Stehekin River drainage were travelled exclusively by Indians, except for rare and short-lived ventures by early American explorers. Although Indian tribes did not permanently inhabit the area, the valley was used as a trade route between the indigenous people of the coast and those of the interior. The ruggedness of the North Cascades was such a natural deterrent to human settlement that even by the late 1960s the area was still a virtual wilderness.

The first white person credited for crossing the North Cascades was Alexander Ross, a trapper for the North West Company who set out with three Indians in 1814 to determine if a feasible route existed between the fur trapping posts of the interior and Puget Sound. Ross is believed to have travelled over Twisp Pass, down Bridge Creek, up the Stehekin River to Cascade Pass, and down the Cascade River to the Skagit River. His journey ended before he reached his intended destination at Puget Sound. The fur companies did not initiate any further explorations after Ross's expedition.[1]

In 1853 another attempt was made to explore the North Cascades for a wagon route from the east side of the range to the coast. The Army captain assigned to this task by the territorial governor of Washington reported that there was no good route across the steep and mountainous region.

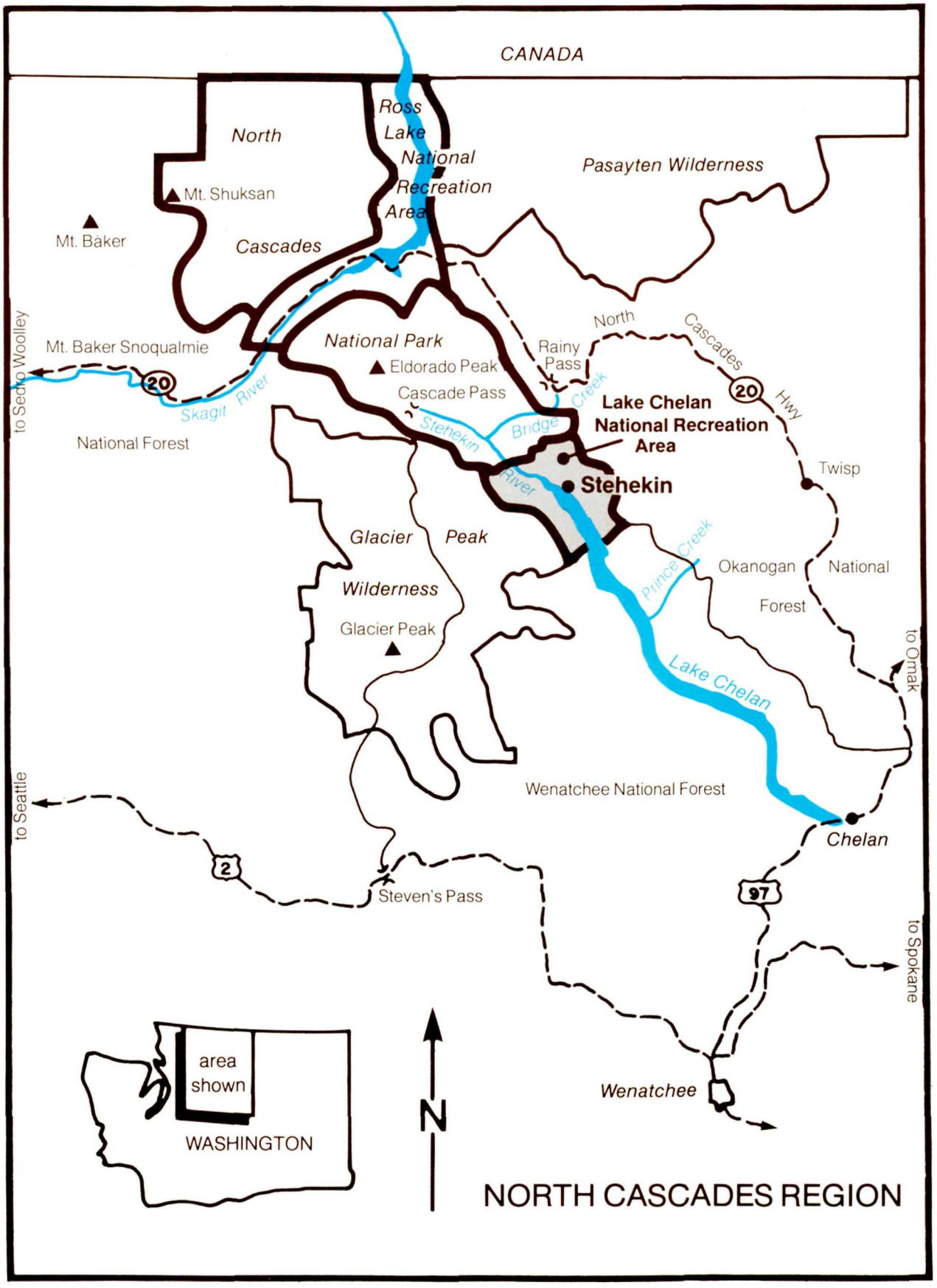
The discovery of gold and silver in the North Cascades provided the

impetus for a thorough exploration and settlement of the region. The prospecting fever reached Stehekin in the late 1880s and early 1890s, several years after it had peaked in the Skagit River district. Most of the mining activity in the Stehekin area was concentrated near Cascade Pass and in the north fork of Bridge Creek (see map). Equipment and supplies were taken up Lake Chelan by the miners, and hundreds of prospectors camped for several summers at Bridge Creek, but the claims yielded few returns.

During the mining furor, several attempts were made to improve access to claims in the upper Stehekin Valley and Bridge Creek. In 1892 Chelan County tried to build a passable road from the head of Lake Chelan up the Stehekin River to the mines, but the result was more an improved trail than a road. The state began constructing a road over Cascade Pass and up Bridge Creek in 1896, but the project was abandoned within a year because of slides and washouts. With state appropriations, a combination of a road and a good trail up the Stehekin Valley to Bridge Creek was in existence by 1906. In 1943 a barely passable road reached the mining operations in Horseshoe Basin.[2]

Water transportation on Lake Chelan was also improved as a result of the mining activity in the North Cascades. The first steamship on the lake was launched in 1889. By the turn of the century, several more boats had begun operation on Lake Chelan, including the original Lady of the Lake, which made its first trip in 1900.

Mining excitement in the Stehekin area faded during the first decade of the twentieth century, but the small Stehekin community, which had risen during the prospecting era, remained. Public land in the Stehekin Valley was open to homesteading for several years around 1900,[3] and a handful of people claimed land and settled in the valley. These homestead claims are


CANADA
Ross Lake National Recreation Area
North Cascades
Mt. Shuksan
Mt. Baker
Pasayten Wilderness
Mt. Baker Snoqualmie National Forest
National Park
Eldorado Peak
Cascade Pass
Rainy Pass
North Cascades Hwy
20
Skagit River
Stehekin River
Bridge Creek
Lake Chelan National Recreation Area
Stehekin
Twisp
Glacier Peak Wilderness
Glacier Peak
Prince Creek
Okanogan National Forest
Lake Chelan
to Omak
to Seattle
to Sedro Woolley
Wenatchee National Forest
Chelan
2
Steven's Pass
97
to Spokane
Wenatchee
area shown
WASHINGTON
N
NORTH CASCADES REGION

the source of most of the privately owned land in the valley today, although some land at the head of the lake came into private ownership through a federal land grant to the Great Northern Railroad in the nineteenth century.

Most of the first homesteaders did not stay in the valley but sold their land to new settlers and moved on. There has consistently been a large turnover in valley residents. Until the 1970s, however, the year-round population of Stehekin seldom exceeded fifty people.

For slightly more than the first half of the twentieth century, the economy in Stehekin was strictly subsistence. Even in the 1940s, families with several children lived on a minimal amount of cash and relied heavily on game and garden produce for food. These meager cash incomes came from a variety of sources. Men in the valley often did trail work, maintenance, or firefighting in the summer for the U. S. Forest Service, which at that time had jurisdiction over public land in the Stehekin area. A sufficient number of tourists came to Stehekin in summer to support several valley lodges and a taxi service, which provided employment for some residents. Other residents obtained cash by cutting small amounts of lumber, mining, trapping, or horse packing. There were also positions for a postmaster and a schoolteacher, and one family had a large apple orchard. In the late 1940s the renewal of mining ventures near Cascade Pass brought some work to valley residents, but these operations collapsed within a few years. Some people in Stehekin who did not depend on local work for their cash income received support from outside sources in the form of disability payments or inheritance funds; others, unable to work, were cared for by their children or neighbors. Most people in Stehekin did not have dependable or secure sources of cash income, but relied instead on a combination

of odd jobs frequently available, especially in summer.

The characteristics of life in Stehekin from the early 1900s to the mid-1950s were strongly reminiscent of those in small communities in nineteenth-century America. The subsistence economy of the valley required that individuals be highly self-sufficient; although some cash was essential, only those items deemed absolutely necessary were purchased from the outside. Personal differences and a disparity of opinion among residents existed, but mutual cooperation was expected and practiced. The absence of formal social or political organization in Stehekin fostered strong individualism.

As a remote area virtually unknown to the outside world, Stehekin was protected from the tremendous changes that occurred in the United States between the early 1900s and the post-World War II period. Throughout these decades, life in Stehekin continued to be slow, oriented to the seasons, and relatively free from technological change. The broad set of practical skills that individuals in the community possessed and the physical isolation of the valley made a subsistence lifestyle in Stehekin possible.

A major change in this subsistence way of life began to occur in the mid-1950s. During this time, several articles appeared in national magazines, glorifying the beauty of the North Cascades and advocating better protection for the natural values of the region. This brought new public attention to Stehekin and also more tourism. The tourist trade itself was not a new development in the valley. As early as the 1890s a successful lodge was in operation in Stehekin, and by the early 1900s both the Field Hotel and Rainbow Lodge were in business. The Field Hotel was torn down and its site flooded when the outlet of Lake Chelan was dammed

in 1926 and the water level was raised twenty-one feet. It was replaced, however, by the Golden West Lodge, which was constructed on the east shore of the lake. During the 1940s and 1950s a few more commercial establishments opened in Stehekin. One resident had ambitious plans for a resort complex that included a golf course and a tennis court. Although the project was never completed, he did clear the trees from several large areas in preparation for the golf course. These "fairways" still remain.

The national publicity given the North Cascades, together with the increased leisure time and affluence of the 1950s, brought a greater number of tourists to Stehekin. With this growth in tourism, more employment and more money came into the valley. At about the same time, vacation home development increased in Stehekin when a few individuals subdivided several large pieces of land. Still, Stehekin's growth at this time was comparatively small. In 1960 only thirty people lived year-round in the valley, and not more than half a dozen new houses were constructed between the late 1950s and early 1960s. All of these changes, however, brought valley residents more in touch with the outside world, and in many respects the Stehekin community became less remote.

One of the most substantial changes affecting the subsistence lifestyle of Stehekin was the introduction of electricity. Before 1962 most residents did not have electric power, and the few that did had their own small hydroelectric systems or gasoline generators. The largest hydroelectric system in the valley had been built by a private individual on Company Creek in the 1940s and had a generating capacity of sixty-five kilowatts.

The Chelan County Public Utility District No. 1 (PUD) decided in 1962 to provide the Stehekin Valley with power after receiving requests

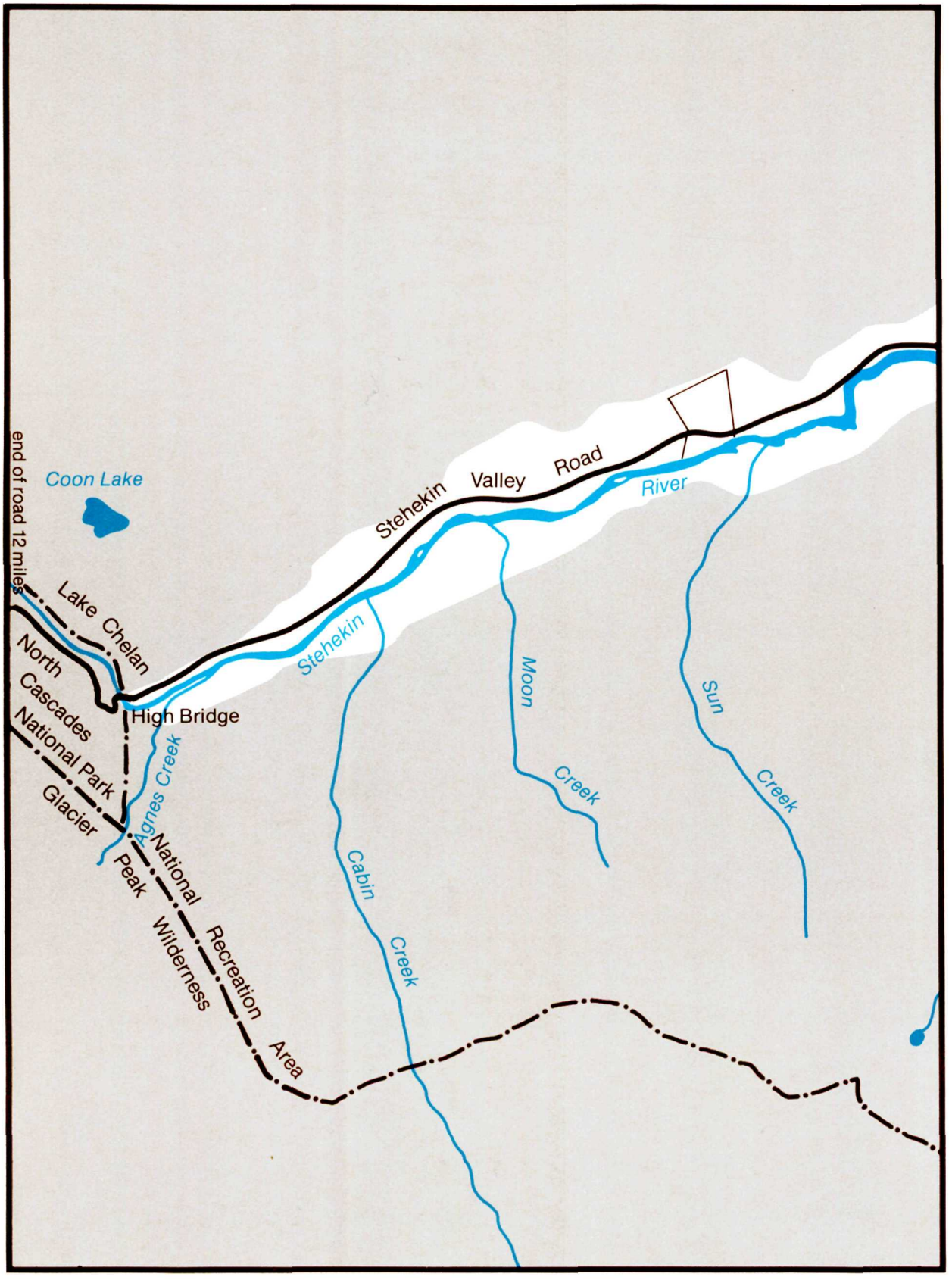
for many years to do so.[4] In 1963 the PUD leased and renovated the private sixty-five kilowatt hydroelectric plant and supplemented this power with an old war-surplus diesel generator.

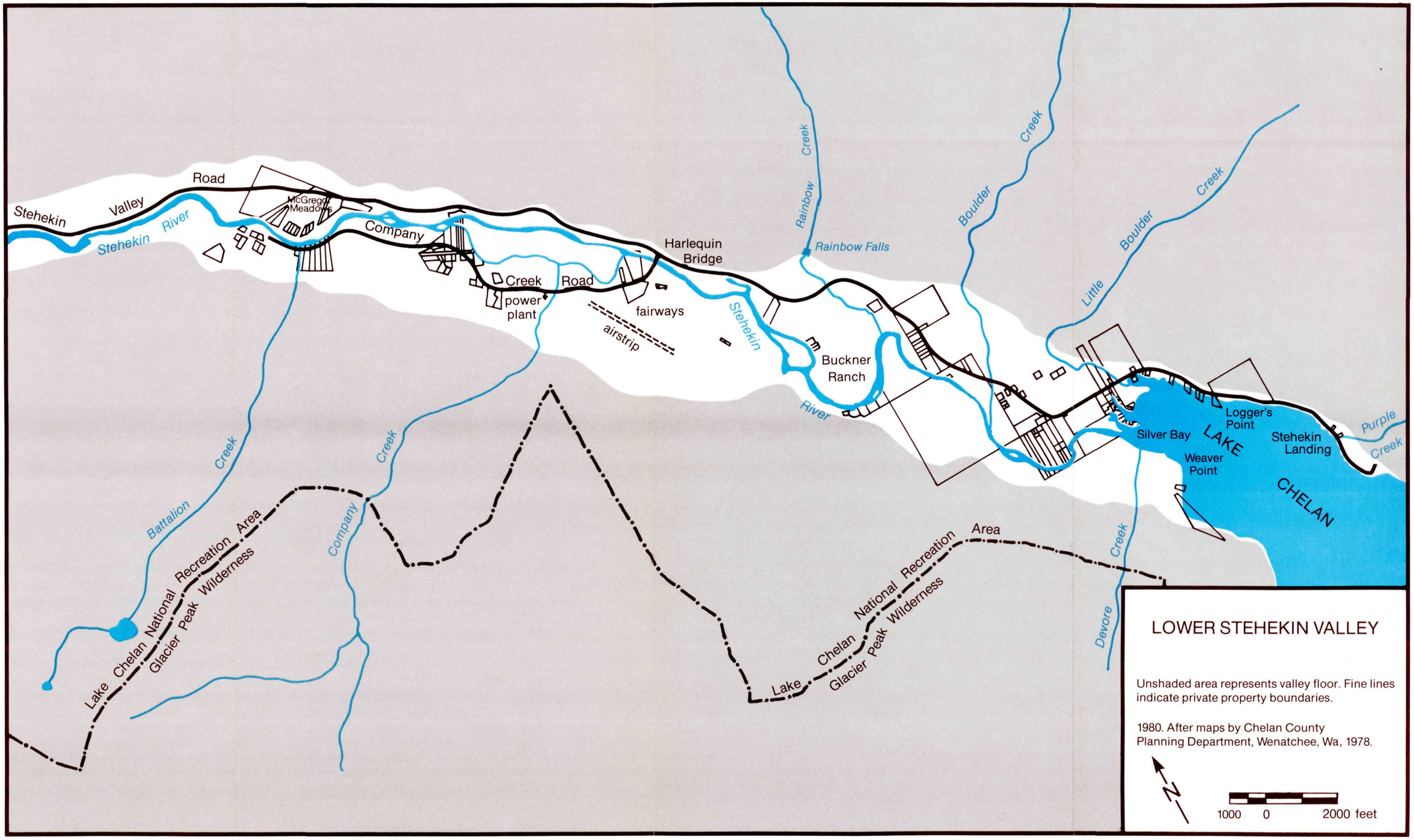
Most of the residents in Stehekin signed up for electric power at the PUD's urging, although a few families resented this modernization and refused to be connected to the power system. Electric equipment and appliances became functional and desirable items in the valley, and houses were gradually furnished with these devices. Because it became apparent that the existing generating facilities would not supply the local electric demand by 1967, the PUD began exploring ways to meet the projected load.

The PUD first considered the possibility of extending to Stehekin a transmission line that ended down Lake Chelan at Prince Creek (see map), but found the cost prohibitive because of stringent Forest Service regulations concerning developments along the lakeshore. As an alternative, the PUD applied for a special use permit from the Forest Service to construct an enlarged hydroelectric system in Stehekin Valley on Company Creek (see map).[5] Approval was granted for the hydroelectric project in 1967, and the system was completed the following year. Two diesel generators were installed to back up the hydroelectric unit during peak loads, mechanical failures, and periods of inadequate water flow. Each diesel generator was capable of supplying seventy-five kilowatts of electricity; the hydroelectric unit generated 200 kilowatts. By 1968, seventy-four customers (meters) in the Stehekin Valley were served by the PUD.

The introduction of electricity in the Stehekin Valley was significant in that it further embedded the local residents in a cash economy. Money was needed not only to purchase essential supplies but also to buy

electric appliances and power. With the arrival of electricity and with the money and employment opportunities brought to the valley by tourism and increased residential development, the subsistence life that had characterized Stehekin for several decades began to disintegrate rapidly.


end of road 12 miles
Coon Lake
Lake Chelan
North Cascades National Park
Glacier Peak Wilderness
National Recreation Area
High Bridge
Agnes Creek
Stehekin
Stehekin Valley Road
Stehekin River
Cabin Creek
Moon Creek
Sun Creek


Stehekin Valley Road
Stehekin River
McGregor Meadows
Company Creek Road
power plant
Harlequin Bridge
fairways
airstrip
Rainbow Creek
Rainbow Falls
Boulder Creek
Little Boulder Creek
Stehekin River
Buckner Ranch
Silver Bay
Logger's Point
LAKE CHELAN
Stehekin Landing
Purple Creek
Weaver Point
Devore Creek
Battalion Creek
Company Creek
Lake Chelan National Recreation Area
Glacier Peak Wilderness
Lake Chelan National Recreation Area
Glacier Peak Wilderness
LOWER STEHEKIN VALLEY
Unshaded area represents valley floor. Fine lines indicate private property boundaries.
1980. After maps by Chelan County Planning Department, Wenatchee, Wa, 1978.
N
1000 0 2000 feet

3 The Fight for a Park

The presence of federal land agencies in the Stehekin Valley has not been brief. In 1897 the Washington Forest Reserve, encompassing much of the North Cascades area, was created by presidential proclamation. In 1905 the U. S. Forest Service was established under the Department of Agriculture, and it began managing the nation's forest reserves, which became known as national forests in 1907. The Wenatchee, Okanogan, and Mount Baker-Snoqualmie National Forests--which now surround the North Cascades National Park complex--were eventually established from the original Washington Forest Reserve. Until the early 1950s a ranger district office was maintained in Stehekin with two full-time positions; it was then relocated to Chelan, and the staff in Stehekin was reduced.

Although the Forest Service had jurisdiction over public land in Stehekin for many years, its presence there was relatively inconspicuous throughout its first few decades of administration. The agency did little more than build and maintain trails and campgrounds, repair roads, oversee resource use of the public land, issue special use permits, and fight fires. It was not until the 1950s that the Forest Service became actively interested in the timber resources of the Stehekin River watershed.

Forest Service administration of the North Cascades as a whole, however, was not as passive as its administration in Stehekin. The dense, virgin forests on the west slopes of the North Cascades were prime timberland, and Forest Service timber sales continually encroached upon the roadless and pristine mountain valleys. This created a recurring controversy

between the Forest Service and conservationists, who were concerned with the preservation of the exceptional scenic and wilderness qualities of the region. In efforts to gain protection for the area, various groups periodically presented proposals for a national park in the North Cascades. These actions greatly influenced Forest Service policy in the region.

A North Cascades National Park was first proposed in 1906 by the Cascades' oldest alpine club, the Mazamas. The proposed park included Lake Chelan and its surrounding mountains. In 1916 Stephen Mather, first director of the National Park Service, visited the North Cascades. Three years later the Chambers of Commerce of Yakima, Spokane, and neighboring communities proposed a much larger North Cascades park that included Mount Adams, Glacier Peak, and Mount Baker. In 1920 the Trails Club of Oregon again drew attention to the area by proposing a national park for the Cascade Range. The Seattle Mountaineers began pressing for protection for the North Cascades in 1928.

In an attempt to deflect pressures for a park, the Forest Service established in 1931 the Glacier Peak-Cascade Recreation Unit encompassing 233,600 acres around Glacier Peak. Most of this area was above timberline and therefore did not include potentially valuable timber stands. The Whatcom Primitive Area, comprising 172,800 acres near Mount Baker, was established in the same year. In 1935 the Forest Service created an 801,000-acre North Cascade Primitive Area including all of the Whatcom Primitive Area as well as a substantial area east of the Cascade crest.

The long-recognized potential for a park in the North Cascades was officially investigated in 1937 by a special committee appointed by the director of the National Park Service. After studying a 5,000-square-mile area, the committee recommended the establishment of an Ice Peaks National

Park comprising more than three million acres. Their proposal included all the major volcanic peaks between the Columbia River and Canada. The committee concluded:

> From a national standpoint, the area is unquestionably of national park caliber, is more valuable used as such than for any other use now ascertainable, and should receive park status under the National Park Service as the agency set up for providing the highest conservational use and protection....Such a Cascade park will outrank in its scenic, recreational and wildlife values, any existing national park, and any other possibility for such a park within the United States. Establishment of this area as one supurb park is an inspiring project to fire the imagination, worthy of the Nation's effort.[1]

At the same time, the Forest Service, through the efforts of Chief Forester Ferdinand Silcox and Robert Marshall, proposed that a 795,000-acre area between Steven's Pass and the North Cascades Primitive Area be studied for possible inclusion in the national forest wilderness system that had recently been administratively authorized. In 1939, before their recommendation could be carried out, both Silcox and Marshall died.

The Forest Service and the commercial interests in Washington opposed the creation of an Ice Peaks National Park. This opposition, together with a lack of public awareness of the proposed park and the redirection of public attention caused by Warld War II, led to the death of the park proposal. The threat of a park, however, did spur the regional office of the Forest Service to set aside a 350,000-acre Glacier Peak Limited Area in 1940. Conservationists interested in adequate protection for the Glacier Peak area were not satisfied with the limited area, since it represented a severe reduction from the 795,000-acre Glacier Peak Wilderness Area that Silcox and Marshall had proposed for study less than two years before. Furthermore, limited areas did not provide permanent protection but were only temporary regional designations that could be created or dissolved at the regional forester's discretion. The limited area classification, which precluded road building and resource development, was applied to areas with a

supposed need for further study before the Forest Service could determine the appropriate form of management.[2]

The Forest Service delayed for more than ten years before beginning its preliminary studies on wilderness classification for the Glacier Peak Limited Area. With pressure to cut publicly owned timber increasing, conservationists were concerned that the limited area would be reclassified to permit the timber industry to log the virgin forests of the backcountry. In 1957, nearly seventeen years after the limited area was established, the Forest Service released a tentative proposal for a Glacier Peak Wilderness Area of 434,000 acres. After two more years of hearings and study the Forest Service presented a final Glacier Peak Wilderness Area proposal 11,000 acres smaller than its tentative proposal in 1957. This second proposal was viewed as grossly inadequate by the conservation groups, and it was quickly dubbed the "octopus wilderness" because its tentacle-shaped boundaries included little more than the rock- and snow-covered ridges radiating from Glacier Peak. It excluded the pristine--and commercially valuable--timbered valleys leading into the alpine country. The proposal also entirely excluded the untouched scenic country north of Glacier Peak between Cascade Pass and the Skagit River (see map).

The Forest Service held hearings in Washington on its Glacier Peak Wilderness Area proposal, and testimony was mostly in opposition to the "octopus wilderness" because it included only high and rocky areas. As a result, the Secretary of Agriculture established in 1960 a Glacier Peak Wilderness Area of 458,505 acres that included more timbered areas than the previous proposal. With the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, the Glacier Peak Wilderness Area received permanent protection as part of the national wilderness preservation system. The Forest Service,

however, refused to consider wilderness protection for the spectacular region between the upper Stehekin Valley and the Skagit River.

In the view of conservation groups, the history of Forest Service administration in the Glacier Peak area was consistently one of failure to adequately protect the scenic and wilderness values of the area. Concerned with retaining its jurisdiction in the face of a strong park movement, the Forest Service finally gave wilderness protection to a portion of the North Cascades. The limited extent of this protection, however, caused interest in a North Cascades National Park to increase rather than abate.

While certain Northwest conservation organizations were growing increasingly disillusioned with Forest Service administration of both the Glacier Peak area and the unprotected country north of Cascade Pass, other conservationists were becoming similarly alarmed at Forest Service management plans for the Stehekin River watershed. The unobtrusive management in the Stehekin Valley that had characterized the agency's administration for several decades was transformed in the 1950s into an active program of timber harvesting and road construction.

The prospect of a road connecting Stehekin to major state highways had been a recurring issue since the early days of mining activity. Although the state had attempted in the 1890s to construct a road over Cascade Pass and up Bridge Creek, the project had been abandoned because of the severe weather and rugged terrain. In the early 1930s interest in a road into Stehekin was revived. A highway crew cleared brush and surveyed Bridge Creek for a route, but the project was abandoned because of its cost and impracticality.[3] In the 1950s a highway across the North Cascades was

being promoted, and discussion of an extension down Bridge Creek to Stehekin was renewed because the proposed highway would cross the headwaters of Bridge Creek at Rainy Pass (see map). The residents of Stehekin were largely opposed to a road into the valley, as were conservationists. In The Wild Cascades, Harvey Manning stated that "until the protests grew too great to be ignored, the Forest Service was developing plans to build a road down Bridge Creek to the Stehekin from the North Cross-State [Cascades] Highway, and went so far as to design the new Stehekin Campground with space for automobile trailers. The Service now says that it never officially planned a road into Stehekin, and argues against such a road, mildly."[4]

More troubling to conservation groups than the possibility of a road into Stehekin was the Forest Service's apparent intention to sell timber in Agnes Creek and in the upper drainages of the Stehekin River to the Chelan Box and Manufacturing Company. With approximately 100 employees, Chelan Box (as the company is called by Stehekin residents) was a major employer in the Chelan-Manson area. The company wielded considerable political power, due as much to the fact that its owner was a prominent state senator as to its economic strength in Chelan County. Nevertheless, compared to the timber industry centered in western Washington, Chelan Box was a small firm, described by some as a "jackknife operation." Its mill in Chelan was able to process approximately 100,000 board-feet a day.[5]

In the early 1950s Chelan Box logged several tracts of land in the lower Stehekin Valley to which the company had purchased either timber rights or title. At the same time, Chelan Box constructed a landfill in the lake, now called Logger's Point, where logs were stored.

Before Chelan Box began its operations in Stehekin, the Forest

Service had held less than ten timber sales in the valley, each of approximately 50,000 to 100,000 board-feet.[6] This timber was located in the lower valley and was usually purchased by local residents with small sawmills. The stands of timber in Agnes Creek and the upper drainages of the Stehekin River were still virgin, and these were of much interest to Chelan Box. Although no timber sale was ever made in the upper valleys, most Stehekin residents agree that Chelan Box wanted to log there. One resident remembers taking Forest Service timber inspectors up Agnes Creek to check the feasibility of a timber sale in the drainage. Another resident recalls the owner of Chelan Box flying over Agnes Creek to estimate the quantity of timber in the valley. Timber in the upper Stehekin Valley was also surveyed and the trees marked in preparation for sale to Chelan Box.[7]

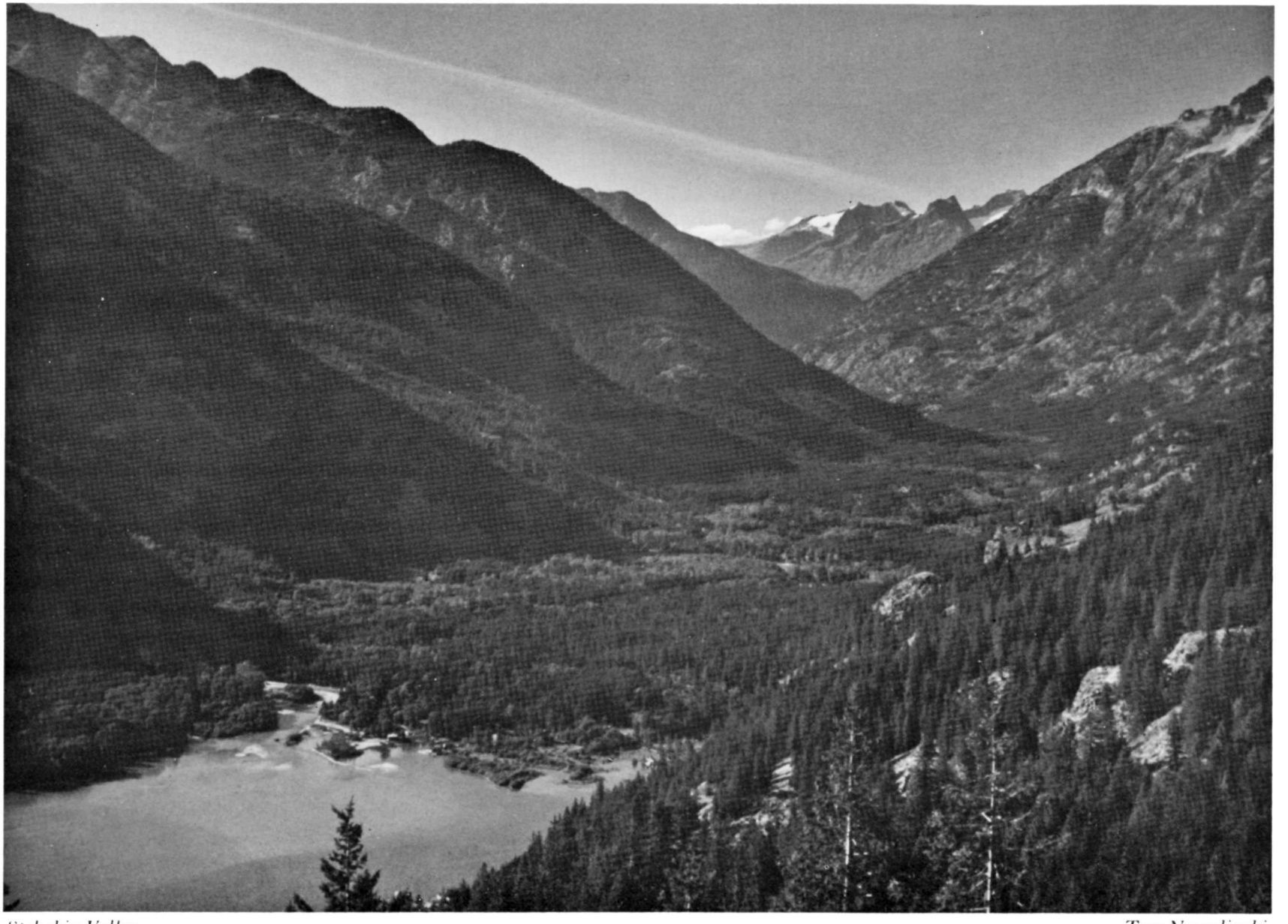
The evident intentions of the Forest Service to sell timber in the Stehekin River watershed, combined with the real prospect of a road from the North Cascades Highway to Stehekin, led a small group of conservationists again to consider seriously an alternative to the Forest Service's multiple use policy that was the agency's predominant forest management practice. The North Cascades Conservation Council was founded in 1957 by a group of Northwest residents concerned with Forest Service administration in both the Stehekin Valley-Cascade Pass and Glacier Peak areas; this organization has played an important role in the fight for protection of the North Cascades. Several individuals in the conservation movement were convinced as early as the mid-1950s that a national park in the North Cascades would provide the most appropriate protection for the area's magnificent scenic and wilderness resources. Others disagreed, believing that wilderness classification under the Forest Service was the most suitable form of administration for the North Cascades. By the early 1960s, however,

it became apparent to conservationists that the Forest Service was not going to protect the Glacier Peak area adequately, and most of them united in advocating a North Cascades National Park.

In 1958 David Simons of the Sierra Club developed a North Cascades park proposal after two years of field studies in the region. In his report Simons concluded that "a substantial Northern Cascades National Park would assure the best protection for this region,"[8] and he proposed that a 1,300,000-acre park be established encompassing nearly all the mountain area between Steven's Pass and the Skagit River.

An important aspect of Simons's argument for National Park Service administration of the North Cascades was that the Forest Service was under strong pressure from commercial interests to allow logging of the virgin forests leading into the heart of the North Cascades. "To date," wrote Simons, "no plans have been advanced by the Forest Service to protect the vital scenic gateways to the wilderness, such as Lake Chelan and the Stehekin Valley."[9] The Forest Service's principle of multiple use management was not wholly condemned by national park advocates but rather was viewed as an inappropriate policy for a region with such extraordinary natural values at stake.

The greatest obstacle facing conservationists in their effort to secure national park status for the North Cascades was that the region was virtually unknown to the public. At the time, no road crossed the range between Steven's Pass and Canada--a distance of more than eighty miles. The region was primarily known only to a handful of horse packers and mountaineers. After 1955, however, articles on the North Cascades began appearing in national newspapers and magazines, including the New York Times, Seattle Times, Christian Science Monitor, Sunset, Life, National



Stehekin Valley *Tom Nawalinski*

Geographic, Sierra Club Bulletin, National Parks Magazine, and Living Wilderness. A film entitled "Wilderness Alps of Stehekin" was produced by the Sierra Club in 1958 and shown hundreds of times around the country. It emphasized the scenic grandeur of the North Cascades and suggested National Park Service administration of the area. In the late 1950s numerous back-pack trips into the proposed park were sponsored by the Sierra Club to acquaint the public with the area. All of these efforts were successful in bringing the area to public attention, and the numbers of people visiting the Stehekin Valley and other North Cascade areas began to increase substantially.

The park proposal presented by David Simons in 1958 was slightly revised by the North Cascades Conservation Council in 1963. Though this new proposal still centered on the Glacier Peak, Eldorado Peak, and Stehekin River areas, it also included a 269,521-acre Chelan National Mountain Recreation Area in what were the east and southeast portions of Simons's proposal. The recreation area did not include the Stehekin Valley, which was still proposed for national park status, but it did include most of the upper half of Lake Chelan. This revision was not made because the area was of inferior quality; it was rather an attempt to avoid an anticipated conflict with hunting groups over national park status for the Chelan Mountains, where hunting was an established recreational activity.[10] The North Cascades Conservation Council's park proposal of 1,038,665 acres became the official position of conservationists. It was endorsed by the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, the Mazamas, the Mountaineers, and other groups.

To these conservation groups, the greatest value of the proposed park in the North Cascades was unquestionably its wilderness quality. The

ruggedness of the range had been a natural barrier to development, and even as late as the 1960s when expanses of wilderness were rapidly receding throughout the nation, most of the North Cascades remained free of human impact. The landscape existed in an unimpaired condition, the wildlife populations were healthy, the forests stood in their primeval state, and the rivers flowed freely. With no through roads across the proposed park, the alpine country remained accessible only by foot or horse.

The wilderness qualities by themselves were seen by conservation groups as nationally significant, but these, combined with the scenic values of the range, made the North Cascades even more deserving of protection as a national park. The glacial activity that shaped the region had left behind an awesome topography--deep U-shaped valleys, sharp peaks, serrated ridges, and a concentration of remnant glaciers. In a 1956 Sierra Club article that described the values at stake in the North Cascades, Grant McConnell, a long-time defender of the area, wrote:

> Here, entwined in the crest of the Cascade Range, is a land of high peaks, deep valleys, and rushing water. It is a land of dark forests, and shining glaciers, of fierce torrents and placid lakes, of dense almost impenetrable undergrowth and of open flower-strewn meadows, of sunlight and shadow. It is a sanctuary, one of the country's last and perhaps its greatest.[11]

To conservation groups, the significance of the natural, scenic, and wilderness values of the North Cascades was not in doubt; the area was indisputably of national park caliber. Others, however, recognized the commercial values of the North Cascades as most important. Despite this opposition, national support for a North Cascades National Park gradually grew to major proportions as the importance of national park protection for the region was repeatedly presented to the public.

By the early 1960s the question of administration of the North Cascades had evolved into a large and bitter struggle. In an attempt to resolve this conflict, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman called for a joint study "of Federal lands in the North Cascade Mountains of Washington to determine the management and administration of those lands that will best serve the public interest."[12] An interagency team was appointed by the two secretaries to investigate this question.

After two years of exhaustive resource studies and public hearings, the study team issued its recommendations for management of the North Cascades. Among the team recommendations was a proposal to establish a North Cascades National Park of 698,000 acres that would adjoin the Glacier Peak Wilderness (established in 1964) and extend from the upper end of Lake Chelan to Canada. The chairman of the study team concluded:

> There is no question as to the physical qualifications of the area for National Park status. This is not at issue. The Eldorado Peaks area, the Picket Range, Mount Shuksan, the upper part of Lake Chelan, the Stehekin River, and Thunder and Granite Creek valleys are undisputed as to their uniqueness and scenic grandeur.[13]

In January 1967 President Lyndon B. Johnson recommended that a national park be established in the North Cascades, and Secretary Udall subsequently prepared a bill that embodied the administration's position. The bill was based on the recommendations of the joint study published in 1965. At the administration's request Senators Henry Jackson and Warren Magnuson of Washington introduced the bill into the Senate, and Congressman Lloyd Meeds, also of Washington, introduced the bill into the House of Representatives.

Because of Senator Jackson's staunch support for a North Cascades National Park and his powerful position as chairman of the committee

considering the legislation, the park bill received prompt Senate attention. Extensive public hearings were held on the park legislation by the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation during April and May 1967 in Washington, D. C., Seattle, Mount Vernon, and Wenatchee.

During these hearings vast public support was expressed for a North Cascades National Park. Organized proponents of the park appearing before the Senate subcommittee included ten conservation groups, eight outdoor and mountaineering clubs, the State Parks and Recreation Commission, and several other wildlife and wilderness associations. Numerous private individuals also spoke in favor of the park and an enormous number of letters was received expressing a similar position.

In contrast, persistent opposition to the park came from local governments, businesses, and organizations in the North Cascades region. Testifying against the park before the Senate subcommittee were the Chambers of Commerce of Seattle, Bellingham, Port Angeles, Brewster, Pateros, Lake Chelan, Wenatchee, Ellensburg, and Spokane; the Washington State Grange and Twisp Valley Grange; the Okanogan Cattlemen's Association; the Boards of Chelan and Okanogan County Commissioners; the Ports of Bellingham and Skagit County; ten forestry, wood products, and mining associations; and twenty-five hunting and fishing clubs of Washington.

The most influential opponent of a North Cascades National Park, however, was the U. S. Forest Service, which had several hundred-thousand acres of its domain at stake. Because it was directed to cooperate with the National Park Service on the park issue,[14] the Forest Service did not openly oppose creation of a park at the public hearings; this reticence resulted in accusations by park opponents that the agency was being unfairly muzzled. Even though the Forest Service did not testify against the park,

the agency opposed a change in jurisdiction in the North Cascades. In a 1967 letter to Senator Jackson, one Stehekin resident stated:

> Shortly after your North Cascades Park hearing, in Washington D. C., in early May, 1967, the Wenatchee District Supervisor came to a meeting at Stehekin, showed colored slides, narrated and passed out colored pamphlets, all from Outdoors Unlimited...and the main aim of the group (I was told at the organization meeting) is to oppose a Park. All of the local opposition is based on what the Forest Service people have told them; always using the term, "Your land will be condemned," never "acquired."[15]

Several other Stehekin residents also pointed out that during Congressional consideration of the park bill a Forest Service employee talked to passengers on the Lady of the Lake about the benefits of Forest Service over National Park Service administration of the area.[16] Before the joint study by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior in 1965, the Forest Service even refused to permit NPS personnel into the proposed park area.[17]

The Stehekin population was sharply divided on the question of a national park in the North Cascades, and members of the same families frequently took opposing sides. Many residents were satisfied with Forest Service administration of the valley; others favored the continuation of Forest Service management out of fear that the National Park Service would either force private individuals out of Stehekin or extensively develop the valley for recreational use by visitors. Still, a large number of Stehekin residents supported the North Cascades park legislation, recognizing that the alternative was large-scale logging in the upper Stehekin River drainages and, possibly, a road down Bridge Creek.

During the Senate subcommittee's public hearings in the state of Washington, several Stehekin property owners voiced concern over the future of privately owned lands in the valley if a national park were to be established. They requested that a clear statement on the matter be incorporated

into the legislation. To clarify the intentions of the National Park Service, George Hartzog, director of the NPS at that time, presented a policy statement at the Senate hearing in Wenatchee on the use and acquisition of private lands in the Stehekin Valley. The most important part of this statement said:

> The National Park Service will not seek to acquire private inholdings within the Stehekin Valley of the proposed North Cascades National Park without the consent of the owner, so long as the lands continue to be devoted to present compatible uses now being made of them--such as for modest home sites, ranches, limited eating establishments, lodges, etc. This applies to the present owners and to any future owners of the property. The present owners are at liberty to dispose of their property just as a private land owner anywhere else can do. Subsequent owners may be assured that the National Park Service will take no action with regard to acquiring the property without their consent so long as the properties continue to be used for these same compatible purposes as at the time of the authorization of the park.[18]

Hartzog also made it clear that if incompatible uses were made of private property in Stehekin, the National Park Service would attempt to negotiate with the owner for acquisition of the property. If negotiation failed, however, and the incompatible use persisted, the NPS would use its power of eminent domain to acquire the property. The statement also said that offers from owners to sell their land to the United States would be welcomed by the Park Service. This policy statement is important because it explains Hartzog's intent in allowing compatible uses to continue, a subject that has become controversial in the valley.

On October 24, 1967 the Senate Subcommitee on Parks and Recreation approved a bill to establish a North Cascades National Park. The most significant difference between the bill passed by the subcommittee and the one originally introduced into the Senate was that the lower Stehekin Valley was changed from national park status to a national recreation area. This amendment creating a 62,000-acre Lake Chelan National Recreation

Area was primarily the result of pressure from sportsmen's groups who wanted the Stehekin area to remain open to hunting. The national recreation area classification was also seen as a more appropriate designation than a park because of the private property and land uses in the valley. The Lake Chelan National Recreation Area did not include the area along the upper half of Lake Chelan that had earlier been proposed as the Chelan National Mountain Recreation Area by the North Cascades Conservation Council.

Another notable amendment in the bill passed by the Senate subcommittee gave statutory backing to the National Park Service's policy (as stated by Hartzog at the Senate hearings) on use and acquisition of private lands in the Stehekin Valley. In effect this provision limited the condemnation powers of the National Park Service in the Stehekin Valley to lands whose uses are not compatible with the purposes of the act. The subcommittee also amended the bill to prohibit the construction of a road into Stehekin from the North Cascades Highway, then in the process of completion.

The Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, chaired by Senator Jackson, approved the subcommittee's version of the North Cascades National Park bill on October 25, 1967. The full Senate passed the same bill on November 2, 1967.

The House of Representatives was much slower to act on the park legislation than the Senate. Although Congressman Lloyd Meeds had introduced the administration's park proposal in April 1967, the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation did not hold hearings on the bill until the following year. As in the Senate hearings, the House subcommittee received an enormous amount of testimony from private individuals favoring a national park in the North Cascades, while opposition to the park was

consistently and vigorously expressed by local government officials, business organizations, and hunting clubs in northern Washington.

Through the efforts of Representative Wayne Aspinall of Colorado, the powerful chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, it appeared that House action on the North Cascades park legislation would be delayed until the next Congressional session. Aspinall was generally not a supporter of parks, and his opposition to the North Cascades legislation was even more firm because concurrent efforts were being made in Congress to secure park protection for the redwoods in California and for the Grand Canyon. In early June 1968 the Skagit Valley Herald reported that "Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall, D-Colo., chairman of the Interior Committee, says too little time remains in the current congressional session to resolve continuing controversy over the North Cascades proposal."[19]

Unexpectedly in late July 1968 the House subcommittee approved the Senate version of the North Cascades park legislation, but the park bill received no further Congressional attention for more than a month. Then in the second week of September 1968 the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs unanimously approved the Senate version of the bill with the addition of one amendment that limited the funds authorized for land acquisition in the new park complex to $3.5 million. Passage of the bill by the House committee was the result of a last-minute arrangement between Congressman Aspinall and Senator Jackson in which the latter agreed to support the Colorado River Basin Project in return for Aspinall's cooperation on the North Cascades park legislation.[20] A September 5, 1968 article in the Okanogan Independent stated, "The surprise action on the Cascades proposal apparently came as part of a deal under which Colorado River legislation went to a House-Senate conference committee this week."

The North Cascades park bill cleared the House of Representatives on September 16, 1968 with no further amendments. Three days later the Senate voted to accept the House amendment that set a ceiling on land acquisition appropriations at $3.5 million. The bill was signed into law by President Johnson on October 2, 1968.

The act establishing the North Cascades National Park culminated more than ten years of organized effort by conservationists to secure permanent protection for the region's exceptional scenic and wilderness qualities. By the time the legislation was enacted--sixty-two years after the first park was proposed for the area--the North Cascades had become one of the most extensively studied park projects in the history of the United States.

The most crucial provisions of the act gave National Park Service or wilderness protection to a total of 1,204,000 acres of land in the North Cascades. The areas established as National Park Service units consisted of the 505,000-acre North Cascades National Park, the 107,000-acre Ross Lake National Recreation Area (location of Seattle City Light hydroelectric development), and the 62,000-acre Lake Chelan National Recreation Area (see map). Together these units form the North Cascades National Park complex. The act also added 10,000 acres to the Glacier Peak Wilderness and established the 520,000-acre Pasayten Wilderness to be managed by the U. S. Forest Service. Including the 458,000-acre Glacier Peak Wilderness established in 1964, more than 1.6 million acres in the North Cascades were protected.

Of particular relevance to the Stehekin Valley are the following provisions in the act:

Section 202. In order to provide for the public outdoor recreation use and enjoyment of portions of the Stehekin River and Lake Chelan, together with the surrounding lands, and for the conservation of the scenic, scientific, historic, and other values contributing to public enjoyment of such lands and waters, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area...

Section 301. Within the boundaries of the park and recreation areas, the Secretary of the Interior...may acquire lands, waters, and interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, except that he may not acquire any such interests within the recreation areas without the consent of the owner, so long as the lands are devoted to uses compatible with the purposes of this Act.

Section 402(a). The Secretary shall administer the recreation areas in a manner which in his judgment will best provide for (1) public outdoor recreation benefits; (2) conservation of scenic, scientific, historic, and other values contributing to public enjoyment; and (3) such management, utilization, and disposal of renewable natural resources and the continuation of such existing uses and developments as will promote or are compatible with, or do not significantly impair, public recreation and conservation of the scenic, scientific, historic, or other values contributing to public enjoyment. In administering the recreation areas, the Secretary may utilize such statutory authorities pertaining to the administration of the national park system, and such statutory authorities otherwise available to him for the conservation and management of natural resources as he deems appropriate for recreation and preservation purposes and for resource development compatible therewith.[21]

These sections of the act provide the basis for the administration of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area.

4 The Issue of Compatibility

The creation of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area settled the long conflict over administration of the Stehekin Valley, but a new controversy has since emerged concerning the purpose of the recreation area and the definition of compatible uses within it. Although the purpose should best be known by the National Park Service, this is apparently not the case. Most of the agency's personnel are uncertain about the Lake Chelan NRA's purpose.

This uncertainty is based on the belief that the reasons the Stehekin Valley was removed from the national park are not explicit. There is also confusion over the reason for the amendment limiting NPS condemnation power in the recreation area to those instances of incompatible land use. If these amendments had not been approved and the Stehekin Valley had simply remained a part of the North Cascades National Park, the argument over NPS management responsibilities in the valley might never have reached its present level of complexity.

Part of the confusion is based legitimately on the ambiguity of the national recreation area classification in general. The NRA classification is a broad category applied to a variety of areas that deserve National Park Service protection but contain land uses or developments not appropriate for a national park. The national recreation area category is also used with quite different meaning for certain lands under Forest Service jurisdiction. Because the NRA classification has no legislative definition[1] and only a broad administrative definition, the purpose of each

national recreation area can be determined only through its specific legislation.

One principal reason that Congress separated the Lake Chelan NRA from the North Cascades National Park was to accommodate the interests of the sportsmen's groups in the state, since hunting is not prohibited in national recreation areas as it is in national parks. Secondarily, NRA status was viewed by some as a more appropriate classification for the lower Stehekin Valley because it allowed the residents of the Stehekin community to continue certain activities that would ordinarily be prohibited in a national park, such as cutting trees from public land for firewood.

On November 2, 1967 Senator Jackson stated:

> The major amendments adopted by the committee included changing the proposed status of the lower Stehekin Valley area to national recreation area rather than including it within the park. The most important result of this change will be continuation of the historic use of this area for hunting. In addition, recreation area status will be more compatible with the existing private landownership in the area and with the development of improved fishing opportunities by the Washington State Department of Game.[2]

A statement by Senator Magnuson on the same day explained:

> The establishment of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area will preserve for the hunters of the country an area which has been traditionally open to hunting. The designation of this area as a recreation area will also assist in preserving the rights of those homeowners who now live there.[3]

The Senate report of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee also emphasized hunting as the reason for adoption of the Lake Chelan NRA amendment:

> Hunting and fishing uses of the North Cascades have been significant for decades. Many spokesmen for sportsmen's groups appeared before the committee and told of the quality experience enjoyed by hunters penetrating the wilderness valleys. The establishment of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area will perpetuate the traditional back-country

hunt in the Stehekin Valley, Rainbow Creek Valley, and Rainbow Ridge areas.[4]

In another passage the Senate committee report further explained the amendment changing the lower Stehekin Valley from national park status to a national recreation area:

> Many of the year long residents of the Stehekin Valley are descendents of the original homesteaders. Some 1,700 acres, mostly on the valley floor, are in private ownership, and in the past several decades a number of summer homes have been built. The only access to the community is by foot, horseback, boat, or plane, even though there is in existence a road of some 25 miles extending from the village up the valley. The lake, likened by most to the spectacular fjords of Norway, will serve as the primary access for park and recreation area visitors approaching from the southeast. The village and the lower valley, therefore, will have considerable use, and development to accommodate these visitors will be necessary. The Stehekin Valley, the Rainbow Creek Valley, and Rainbow Ridge traditionally have been used by high country big game hunters. The Washington State Department of Game, in cooperation with the Chelan Public Utility District, plans to engage in spawning channel improvement on Stehekin River and Company Creek in order to improve the fishing in 1,500-foot deep Lake Chelan. All these factors were important in the committee's decision to create a 62,000-acre recreation area here, instead of giving the area national park status.[5]

In this summary the Senate committee acknowledged an assortment of reasons prompting the creation of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area in the lower Stehekin Valley. Of the reasons mentioned, however, hunting is the only one legislatively prohibited in a national park, and must therefore have been a dominant factor in the committee's decision.

Records from the House's consideration and passage of the act establishing the North Cascades park parallel those of the Senate as to the reason for the Lake Chelan NRA amendment. The report of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee stated:

> Many who testified on the proposed legislation argued vigorously in behalf of full consideration of such outdoor sports activities as hunting, fishing and skiing. In reaching its conclusions on this legislation, the committee accepted the compromise terms of the bill approved by the Senate which converted the southernmost portion of the originally proposed national park into a national recreation area where hunting would be permitted.[6]

On September 16, 1968 Representative Lloyd Meeds, who introduced the administration's North Cascades park bill, said to the House:

> The principal opposition to H.R. 8970 [the administration's park proposal] has emanated from sportsmen who fear that the bill would compromise the pursuit of hunting....
>
> The most significant change we made to accommodate hunting was to establish the 62,000-acre Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. Deer hunting in this area has always been popular, and it would continue under our bill.[7]

The legislative record shows with indisputable clarity that the creation of the Lake Chelan NRA was primarily an attempt to recognize the concerns of hunting interests, which were powerful and vociferous opponents of the park. Other factors, including the existence of the Stehekin community, influenced the decisions of the committees to adopt the Lake Chelan NRA amendment, but these factors were not predominant. Patrick Goldsworthy, president of the North Cascades Conservation Council, said, "I don't think the issue of Stehekin being in a national park would have come up if it hadn't been for hunting. The existence of private property in Stehekin was not the reason for the national recreation area because you could have private property in a park. Hunters were the ones who were vocally concerned about the park and Jackson tried to think of ways to reduce this opposition."[8]

Other individuals closely involved with the enactment of the North Cascades park bill agreed that the creation of the NRA was primarily the result of the strong political influence of hunting groups. Neal Butterfield, an NPS planner with a lengthy association with the North Cascades, explained his understanding of the reason for the change in status of the lower Stehekin Valley: "The Lake Chelan NRA was established almost solely for hunting. Congress did recognize the Stehekin community but the real reason for the NRA was that the sportsmen's associations put considerable

pressure on Jackson to open this area to hunting."[9] Roger Contor, first superintendent of the North Cascades National Park complex, reported, "There is no question in my mind that enough political pressure was exerted to keep the Stehekin Valley open to hunting."[10]

Although the creation of the Lake Chelan NRA was primarily the result of pressure from hunting groups, the limitation of NPS condemnation power in the recreation area was a response to the concerns of Stehekin residents that they not be forced out of the valley. To assure the Stehekin community that it could continue to exist, the director of the NPS at the time, George Hartzog, issued a detailed policy statement on private land use and acquisition in the Stehekin Valley (see page 25). Although the NPS policy statement was acceptable to most of the Stehekin residents and property owners who testified at the Senate hearings, several individuals asked that the policy be incorporated into the legislation so that it could not be changed at the discretion of future administrators. In response to this request Senator Jackson stated at the Senate hearings in Wenatchee in May 1967, "Well, we intend to nail this thing down from a legislative point of view as outlined in the policy statement. The statement made by Mr. Hartzog in connection with this matter will be supported by legislation."[11] Later, Jackson said:

> Language in the bill gives statutory authority to the policy of the National Park Service that it will not acquire lands within the Lake Chelan and Ross Lake Recreation Areas without the consent of the owner so long as existing uses of these private lands are not altered in a manner inconsistent with the recreation area purpose.[12]

The amendment limiting the condemnation power of the NPS was clearly the result of Jackson's promise that the bill would contain statutory language supporting the NPS policy statement on private land use and acquisition in the Stehekin Valley. The limited condemnation authority was a

means to assure Stehekin property owners that the NPS would not unnecessarily seek to acquire private land; it was not intended as a measure to protect the property owner at the expense of the natural qualities of the area.

The specific language incorporated into the North Cascades park act to back up the NPS policy statement on private land use in Stehekin states that the Secretary of the Interior may not acquire lands within the recreation area "without the consent of the owner, so long as the lands are devoted to uses compatible with the purposes of this Act." Although the term "compatible" was not explicitly defined in the act, it is evident in the legislative record that the character of the Stehekin community was not intended to change appreciably. At the Senate hearings Hartzog said:

> It will be agreeable to me to adopt the same land acquisition policies for those holdings in Stehekin that we have at Grand Teton National Park, and that is this, that so long as the existing historical uses continue in Stehekin, we would not attempt to acquire those properties. ...Now I think the important point is, however, that in the changing of uses, what we are trying to avoid is to change the character of Stehekin. I don't think the people who live there that I talked with over in Seattle...want the character of the Stehekin Valley changed, they want it just like it is.
>
> That is fine with us, but if somebody proposes to change the use, subdivide it or create a problem such as we are encountering in the Olympics, then it is our policy to attempt to negotiate....If we cannot succeed in those negotiations, then it would be our view that we should initiate eminent domain proceedings to acquire that land in order to prevent the impairment of the values in the Stehekin Valley and the subsequent impairment of the values of the proposed North Cascades National Park.[13]

In another statement at the Senate hearings Hartzog concluded, "Our whole object is to make sure that Stehekin Valley stays like it is....We just don't want it to become a high density subdivision."[14]

The point was emphasized repeatedly at the hearings that the private land uses in the Stehekin Valley at the time were not incompatible with the park legislation. Regarding Stehekin, Senator Jackson said in

Wenatchee, "I think the gist of this whole business is that other than logging operations up there, and mining, that basically what is going on now is not incompatible."[15] Hartzog stressed the same point in his statement, referring more than once to the "present compatible uses" of private land in the valley.

Because the land uses in Stehekin at the time of the park legislation were regarded as compatible with the purposes of the park, Congress agreed to permit these uses to continue and accordingly amended the legislation to assure land owners that their property would not be acquired as long as the same compatible uses continued. Additional building in the valley was not identified explicitly in the legislation as incompatible, but the record shows that Congress did not intend future development to alter the character of Stehekin or impair the natural values for which the park complex was established.

Although not directly addressed in the legislation, the question of subdivision in the Stehekin Valley was discussed at the Senate hearings. Hartzog said:

> I welcome...suggestions as to...incompatible uses in Stehekin, and a number have been suggested to me, such as high density subdivisions, logging,...high rise, and this kind of thing, if we can foresee that far down the future, but principally this matter of small lot subdivision, which could completely change the character of that little valley.[16]

Roger Contor, first superintendent of the North Cascades park complex, said, "Congress, the National Park Service, and conservationists all agreed that subdivision should not occur in the Stehekin Valley. Those who had bought land before the NPS came in could build single family residences in keeping with the area but it was not the intention of Congress to allow people to build who came in after the park."[17]

Congress reinforced its commitment to having Stehekin retain its

character by legislatively forbidding construction of a road into the valley from the North Cascades Highway. Senator Jackson said, "Specific language in the bill is designed to maintain the character of the Stehekin Valley by prohibiting road access."[18]

The supposed obscurity of the purpose of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area has been used to justify much of the growth and development in the valley during the past decade. The National Park Service claims that because its mandate is not clear, it lacks the ability to control the development trend. Although the North Cascades park act does not specifically define the crucial term "compatible," the evidence in the record illustrates that the purpose of the Lake Chelan NRA is not as ambiguous as the NPS states. Indeed, the evidence strongly supports the view that the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area was intended essentially to be a national park with hunting. Because the Stehekin community was not viewed by Congress to be incompatible with the park per se, it was allowed to remain in the park complex so long as the land uses at the time were not changed to a point that the character of the community was altered. Nothing in the act or in the legislative history, however, grants unrestricted development privileges to Stehekin property owners or guarantees the community the right to grow and expand without constraints.

The Stehekin Valley was consistently proposed for national park status until the very end of the long fight for NPS protection of the North Cascades. Because its status was changed to a national recreation area and because it is located on the periphery of the park complex, some people believe that Congress had a diminished interest in protecting the valley. At no point in the legislative record, however, is there an

indication that the natural values of the Stehekin Valley are in any way inferior to those of the adjacent park.

5 Change in the Valley

The land in the North Cascades National Park complex was officially transferred from the Forest Service to the National Park Service on January 1, 1969. The conservationists and others who had fought for the establishment of the park had won; the North Cascades were saved. The repeated emphasis during the legislative process on keeping Stehekin as it was assured conservationists that the Stehekin Valley would be given no less protection than the rest of the park complex. Most, satisfied that the valley was safe under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, turned their attention to other matters. Since 1968, however, the Stehekin Valley has changed to an extent unforeseen by those involved with the enactment of the park bill. The valley's population has tripled since 1968, there has been a great deal of private residential development, and demand for resources from public lands has increased. The Park Service itself has had a major effect on the valley, through building facilities for visitors and staff, using gravel, topsoil, and other resources, and increasing the employment base in the valley far beyond what was provided by the Forest Service. Many of the changes in the valley have been gradual, and each taken separately seems minor, but the combined effect of private and NPS development since 1968 has been a profound change in the character of the Stehekin Valley. Perhaps because of the gradual and incremental nature of the changes, the National Park Service has failed to take any action to control development, and indeed until 1979 had given no indication that it was concerned. National Park Service administration in the valley has

been characterized by an emphasis on its own developments and facilities and a general absence of policy regarding private land uses in the valley. Although the enabling legislation gave the Park Service the responsibility for determining "compatible uses" in the valley, the agency has failed to do so during its ten years of administration. Only recently, as a result of the efforts of conservation groups and some Stehekin residents, has the Park Service shown any concern with the extent of private development in the valley.

The park complex has been administered by three different superintendents, and the Stehekin District (comprising the Lake Chelan NRA and the southern unit of the national park) has been under three successive district managers. For the first three years of NPS administration, the Stehekin district manager's office was located in Chelan. The Park Service still maintains an office in Chelan, but the district manager and most of the staff are now based in Stehekin.

One of the National Park Service's first actions in the newly created national recreation area was to begin actively purchasing private land. Although the act establishing the park complex limited the Park Service's power of condemnation to cases of "incompatible use," many residents were apparently unaware of this provision, and they viewed the transfer of the Stehekin Valley to NPS jurisdiction with trepidation. As one said:

> We thought we'd lose everything when we heard it was going to be a park. We thought they'd confiscate our land. We just assumed that--they never said they would. We were worried about the park coming in. We didn't understand it. We were quite satisfied with the Forest Service. But nobody has ever approached us to ask us to sell to the park.

Another said:

> We subdivided and sold when we heard the park was coming in. We thought they would condemn. The damage was done before the park ever got here.

Several residents said that a number of people moved out of the valley when the Park Service came in. Contradictory reasons were given for their leaving; one resident said that they were "driven out of the valley" by the NPS, which "came in here with a program of coercion to buy land," while others maintained that the Park Service bought only what was freely offered and those who left did so through choice. Another said, "More people moved out afraid of what the Park Service would do than what it actually did." Several residents mentioned that the NPS offered excessive prices for land, but Keith Watkins, chief of the Division of Lands of the Pacific Northwest Region, said fair market value was determined (usually by contract appraisers) for each piece of property the NPS acquired.[1] The Park Service has never actually used its power of condemnation in the Lake Chelan NRA, although a few residents said the NPS did use threats of condemnation to acquire businesses at the landing. Two residents also said the Park Service threatened to build a competing lodge at Weaver Point should the private lodge owners refuse to sell.

By December 1968 the NPS had accumulated a large list of property owners interested in selling to the agency. According to the first superintendent of the North Cascades complex, Roger Contor, people approached the Park Service wanting to sell, worried that acquisition funds would run out before they had sold their property to the NPS. "There was no need to pressure residents," said Contor, "everyone was treated fairly."[2]

Indeed by 1973 the acquisition funds had run out, and despite many offers of land for sale to the Park Service since then, nothing has been purchased. By 1973 the NPS had bought forty improvements and eighty tracts of land totalling 986 acres for $2,394,856,[3] leaving about 648 acres in private ownership. The Park Service has kept no records of the offers of

property for sale since 1973, but Keith Watkins estimates that twenty-five to thirty such offers have been made.[4]

In 1976 Congress raised the authorization for land acquisition in the park by $1 million. This additional funding was to be used to purchase the remaining patented mining claims within the boundaries of the North Cascades National Park itself. The Pacific Northwest Regional office had originally requested $3 million, but according to Keith Watkins, an NPS administrator in Washington, D. C. sent a reduced request for $1 million to Congress.[5] We were told by several NPS officials during summer 1979 that this money could not be used to purchase land in the Lake Chelan NRA. In a letter dated November 13, 1979, however, Rex Daugherty of the Division of Lands of the Pacific Northwest Region said, "We anticipate having approximately $200,000 remaining [of the $1 million authorized in 1976] which we believe can be used for land acquisition within the recreation area. In addition, we will be requesting additional funding specifically for the recreation area. Although we have not yet determined the exact amount of this new request, these monies, if approved, should be available during fiscal year 1982."

The lack of NPS funds for land acquisition has no doubt caused many land owners who had originally offered land to the Park Service to seek other buyers, some of whom have since built homes. For example, a highly visible piece of lakeshore property that was offered to the National Park Service in 1978 was subsequently sold to another private individual, and in 1979 a dwelling was constructed on the property. With adequate acquisition money the Park Service could have prevented a great deal of development in the valley simply by purchasing land from willing sellers. It is imperative for the future integrity of the park complex that the Park

Service have the necessary funding both to purchase land offered by willing sellers and to be able to back up condemnation where necessary to prevent adverse development.

The National Park Service focused its acquisition efforts on commercial businesses in the landing area and on large parcels elsewhere in the valley. All three of the lodges at the landing were acquired. The NPS also acquired several other parcels around the landing, since public use of the valley is concentrated there. The Park Service was concerned with the possibility of subdivision of the larger parcels of land in the valley and acquired several of these, including the old Buckner Ranch and most of the Chelan Box and Manufacturing Company's property. One resident said that thirty-seven lots had been surveyed on the Buckner Ranch and were being offered for sale at the time the NPS began its acquisition program. Several of these lots were sold before the NPS acquired the rest.

Stehekin residents and property owners were not unanimously opposed to the inclusion of the valley in the park complex. Several saw land acquisition by the Park Service as a means of preventing development of remaining wild portions of the valley. Prior to establishment of the park complex, a group of land owners in the valley purchased eighty-seven acres of land near the Buckner Ranch from Chelan Box to hold for sale to the Park Service. The Park Service bought the land in 1973.

The Park Service also purchased twenty-three smaller parcels for which the owners retained rights of use and occupancy for a set period of years or for life. Twelve of these parcels are still under use and occupancy; the others are now NPS property.[6] There are no patented mining claims in the Lake Chelan NRA. The NPS is systematically examining unpatented claims in the park complex to invalidate those that are

economically infeasible.

Without question, the acquistion by the National Park Service of more than half of the private land in the Stehekin Valley has had an important effect in maintaining the character of the valley. Many tracts that otherwise might have been available for building sites or subdivision are now in public ownership.

Although by acquiring private property the National Park Service reduced the possible extent of growth, development of the remaining private lands in Stehekin has proceeded rapidly since establishment of the park complex. This has led to a substantial growth in the population and a rising demand for valley resources.

From the 1920s to the early 1970s, the population of Stehekin usually comprised thirty to fifty year-round residents with occasional fluctuations to less than twenty-five or more than sixty inhabitants. At the time the North Cascades park complex was established in 1968, the permanent population of Stehekin Valley was approximately thirty-five individuals. By 1973, fifty people lived year round in Stehekin; five years later that figure had doubled to nearly 100 individuals wintering in the valley.[7]

The Stehekin population has not only been characterized by growth but also by a noticeable turnover. Of the current year-round residents, fifty-seven percent did not live in Stehekin five years ago and seventy-five percent did not live in the valley in 1968.[8] Although a high percentage of newcomers is to be expected with a tripling of the population, these percentage figures also reflect a transience in the valley population because they are greater than the percentage of new residents in those same years. From another perspective, this turnover is more evident: nearly a third of the people residing in Stehekin in 1968 did not live in the valley

ten years later.

The transience of the Stehekin population is not a recent phenomenon; it has been a central theme in the history of the valley. Only twelve percent of the current year-round residents lived in Stehekin twenty years ago and only five percent lived in the valley in 1948. These small percentages are partly due to the age factor (i.e., some current residents were not alive thirty years ago) but still only fifteen percent of the current year-round residents are members or descendents of the early homesteading families in the valley.[9] The common portrayal of Stehekin as a stable community of long-term, pioneering families is simply inaccurate.

The character of the Stehekin community has also been altered in the past decade by a change in the livelihood of the resident population. In place of the old subsistence economy that had essentially disappeared by the 1970s, a new economy developed that is almost entirely dependent on the National Park Service and on outside sources of income. Of the thirty-eight permanent households in Stehekin in 1979, only thirteen were independent of the National Park Service for finances; ten of these received retirement income, leaving three valley households employed independently of the National Park Service. Fourteen households had at least one adult directly employed by the NPS; eight of these households included a full-time NPS employee. The other eleven households had at least one adult who received income indirectly from the National Park Service through employment with the concession, Young Adult Conservation Corps, or from NPS contracts for road and vehicle maintenance, trail work, flood control, or shipping.[10] The National Park Service is clearly the economic base of Stehekin. It is generally acknowledged that without the employment it provides, many residents would not be able to remain in the valley.

The secure employment and cash income enjoyed by most of the valley residents as a result of the NPS are a significant shift from the old subsistence way of life where money was scarce and work irregular. It is still possible to live in the valley on a small income, but no one can accurately be described as living a subsistence existence. Though wood is still widely used for heating, most people in Stehekin today can afford and choose to equip their houses with modern appliances. The availability of these modern conveniences came about as a result of the introduction of electricity in the 1960s, and this service has encouraged population growth by making Stehekin life more comfortable and therefore more attractive to a larger number of people. The increasing population has, in turn, stimulated further growth by making the valley appealing to those who otherwise would have found it unbearably lonely and isolated. Stehekin is still removed from the mainstream of American life, but with steady cash incomes, pervasive government employment, and growth in number of year-round residents, it is no longer the independent and self-sufficient community it once was.

Substantial building and development in Stehekin have accompanied the growth in population. Before 1960 only a handful of houses existed in Stehekin and these had been built over a span of several decades. The Chelan County Assessor's records show that less than one-fifth of the present houses in the valley were constructed prior to 1960;[11] additional dwellings undoubtedly existed previously but have since disappeared. In the early 1960s building began to accelerate, and by 1968 the number of houses in the valley had almost doubled.[12]

According to our figures, 101 completed dwellings plus seven small house trailers[13] currently exist in the lower Stehekin Valley. Seven more

houses are presently under construction. Since 1968, three houses in the valley have burned down.[14] Of the 101 completed dwellings, fifty-seven were constructed prior to establishment of the Lake Chelan NRA in October 1968 and forty-four were built afterwards.[15] This represents a seventy-three percent increase in the number of houses in the Stehekin Valley since the National Park Service began administering the area. If those dwellings presently under construction are included, the increase in the number of houses since late 1968 reaches eighty-five percent.

In addition, there are five dwellings located in the NRA below Stehekin Valley on the shores of Lake Chelan.[16] Three of these were constructed before the park complex was created; the other two were built since then. These downlake private properties consist of nine parcels totalling 127.5 acres.

Between 1967 and 1971 the pace of building in the valley increased. During this time nearly twenty houses were constructed.[17] According to many residents, the establishment of the park complex precipitated this construction activity because property owners were afraid that building and development would be curtailed by the National Park Service. When this fear proved unfounded, the building activity slackened but did not cease entirely.

Beginning in 1977 residential construction accelerated once again. From 1977 through 1979, twenty-one houses were completed or begun. This means that forty-one percent of the houses constructed during the NPS administration of Stehekin Valley have been built in the last three years. In the years 1978 and 1979, fifteen houses were added to the valley, constituting twenty-nine percent of the total number of houses built during the ten years of NPS administration.[18]

A substantial part of the development during the past decade has been conspicuously located at the upper end of Lake Chelan--the most visually sensitive area in the NRA. Since 1968, ten houses have been added to the Silver Bay area and a foundation was poured in fall 1979 for an eleventh. Four houses have been constructed in the past decade on the east side of the lake above the landing; another one was under construction in the same area in fall 1979.[19] Three other landfilled points along the lakeshore, the largest of which is Logger's Point, have yet to be built on. All these residences, including those in Silver Bay, sit on landfill that protrudes into the lake to form an angular and exceedingly unnatural shoreline. Several of the houses are clearly visible from the boat landing and are in the foreground of a spectacular view up the valley to the high peaks along the crest of the Cascades. Concern exists over the impacts of the landfill and development on the marsh and its wildlife at the head of the lake. The marsh is visited frequently by a flock of Canada geese and by loons, herons, and other waterfowl.

No landfilling has been done along the lakeshore in the Lake Chelan NRA since the establishment of the park complex. Landfill is regulated by the Shorelines Master Program of the Chelan County Regional Planning Council. The Master Program does not specifically prohibit landfill at the head of Lake Chelan, but the upper lakeshore is designated a "Conservancy Environment" where landfills may be permitted in "limited instances." Superintendent Keith Miller, however, said that the National Park Service will not allow any more landfill along the shore of the lake.[20]

Development has also been concentrated along the river at McGregor Meadows, which was subdivided in the 1960s. Eleven houses have been built in this area since the park complex was established.[21] Most of the other

construction in Stehekin in the last decade has been scattered throughout the valley along the main valley road and the Company Creek road.

As of 1979, 648 acres of private land in 203 tracts remain in the Lake Chelan NRA.[22] Fourteen of the tracts are greater than ten acres; six of these are between twenty and forty acres and one is 156 acres. Most of this largest parcel is located on the west side of the river in an undeveloped part of the valley that has no road access.

Although nearly twice as many houses existed in Stehekin in 1979 as at the time of creation of the Lake Chelan NRA, the National Park Service has until recently shown no concern with this trend. For nearly its entire administration, the Park Service has made no effort to keep records on building and development in the valley. The lack of NPS knowledge on building activity--which can critically affect the valley's natural integrity--is remarkable. This situation has changed slightly since summer 1979 when the county began sending all applications for building and subdivision permits in Stehekin to the National Park Service at the latter's request. This process allows the NPS the opportunity to review the permit applications and to recommend approval or denial. In one instance, however, confusion occurred and the NPS did not receive a permit request in time to respond to it before the permit was granted; the NPS recommendation in this case, though after the fact, was against approval of the permit. The extent of NPS influence over a decision on a permit application is limited, because the county presently has no legal basis to deny a permit if it is not in violation of county or health district regulations--even if the Park Service recommends that the county do so.

Because, as one county official said, "there was not much of a building department" before 1975,[23] the county itself does not have accurate

records on the extent of building in Stehekin Valley throughout the years. The recorded building permits do not reflect a true picture because until recently most construction in Stehekin was done without permits. According to Michael Cecka, associate planner for the Chelan County Planning Department, the building permit system is designed primarily to familiarize individuals with building restrictions and regulations.[24] The requirement that a building permit be obtained is not strictly enforced, and permits are frequently granted retroactively and without penalty to persons failing to obtain one before building. On-site building inspections in Stehekin are not conducted by the county on a regular basis.

Sewage disposal systems for new residences in Stehekin have been regulated with a similar casualness by the Chelan-Douglas Health District. In summer 1979, three inspection trips were made to Stehekin by a health district official; before then, inspection of sewage disposal systems in the valley was infrequent.

Of particular concern are the sewage disposal systems of the houses constructed on landfill along the lakeshore and at the head of the lake. Since health regulations require the bottom of a drainfield to have four feet of soil between it and the high groundwater level, it is doubtful the landfill can absorb high-density sewage without contaminating the lake or river mouth. According to Allen Hunter, an employee of the health district, permits for sewage systems are no longer being issued for Silver Bay.[25] This restriction may not prevent further construction in the area, however, since according to another county employee, the health district is willing to grant some unusual variances.[26] No tests have been conducted by local agencies, the Washington Department of Ecology, or the Washington Department of Game to determine whether pollutants from sewage disposal systems have



Landfill in Silver Bay *Ann H. Harvey*

entered the lake or river. The National Park Service occasionally sampled bacteria in the lake before the agency installed a waste-water disposal plant at the landing in 1976. According to Robert Wasem, NPS biologist for the North Cascades park complex, these counts were well within the water quality standards established by the state, although there were occasional high bacteria counts from the mouth of Purple Creek north along the lakeshore.[27] The park biologist's staff has done no water quality tests in the lake since the waste-water plant was built. The NPS does, however, regularly test public drinking water. Drinking water for private individuals is tested by the Chelan-Douglas Health District upon request.

The accelerated pace of development in Stehekin prompted a dozen valley residents and property owners in August 1978 to endorse a letter to the Chelan County Planning Commission expressing alarm over the recent building boom and asking for clarification of certain building regulations and restrictions. The letter apparently motivated some members of the planning commission to visit Stehekin in September 1978 to observe the situation first-hand. The Wenatchee World reported that after visiting Stehekin, Commissioners Al Kronschnabel and Tom Green "admitted more environmental, health, and building codes are being violated than they'd previously believed." Although some residents had requested a moratorium on development in the valley, the commissioners said, "A moratorium is probably not necessary...but bringing property owners in line with building, shoreline, and sewer codes is." The article continued, "Many buildings are going up without building permits, Kronschnabel said. A landfill in Silver Bay is apparently violating the state and/or county Shoreline Management Acts. And some sewer code violations were found, he said."[28]

The extent and pace of building in Stehekin since establishment of

the North Cascades park complex are striking. Even more notable is the failure of the National Park Service to discourage this development. The NPS has allowed building in the valley to be subject solely to Chelan County, which has been lax in enforcement of its own regulations. Yet the important issue here does not concern the quality of county administration but the responsibility of the National Park Service to control development in the Lake Chelan NRA that is seriously affecting the values for which Congress protected the area.

Another issue that has become increasingly controversial in the valley is subdivision. In the 1950s and 1960s approximately seven major subdivisions took place in Stehekin, giving rise to several distinct areas of development.[29] The two most prominent of these subdivisions involved the use of landfill at the head of the lake and along the lakeshore above the landing to construct building sites. Several other subdivisions were purchased by the National Park Service before they were extensively developed.

Since 1969, when the NPS assumed the administration of the Stehekin Valley, no large tracts of land have been subdivided into multiple small lots. The most extensive subdivision created six two-acre parcels out of one twelve-acre tract. Chelan County records show that three other subdivisions have been filed since 1977, each of which involved the formation of one additional parcel.[30] Prior to 1977 the county did not systematically keep records of subdivision applications, and therefore no figures are available for earlier years. We have no knowledge of other subdivisions that occurred during the NPS administration of the Stehekin Valley, although it is possible that some did.

The current county regulations governing subdivision in the Stehekin

Valley are broad and permissive. The general use zoning in the valley requires the minimum lot size in a subdivision to be one acre; if certain health regulations are satisfied, the minimum lot size is less. With more than forty private tracts remaining of sufficient size to be subdivided, and given the small scale of the valley, the potential impact of widespread subdivision, even if the subdivision occurs gradually, is enormous. The issue has understandably become a focal point of discussion and controversy in the valley.

Another notable change in the past decade is the skyrocketing value of land in the valley. In most land sales in Stehekin between 1977 and 1979, the cost per acre of land was approximately $9000, although a 1.2-acre parcel with two small cabins was sold in 1979 for $45,000. Property with lake frontage sells for considerably more; a slightly more than one-fifth-acre parcel on the lake was purchased in 1979 for $12,500.[31]

The escalation of land values will be most clearly reflected in the property taxes Stehekin land owners will be required to pay in the future. Property in Stehekin was reassessed in 1979 and, according to the Chelan County Assessor's office, property taxes are consequently expected to double.[32] This jump in property tax came not from a higher tax rate but resulted solely from the rising real estate values. Because Stehekin has passed no bond measures and supports only one small school, the tax rate for the valley has not increased much over the years except to accommodate inflation.

The reasons for the high cost of property in Stehekin are numerous. The public attention drawn to the area through creation of the park complex, along with the increasing availability of modern comforts in Stehekin, has made the valley a more popular place to live or vacation.

Moreover, Stehekin has been affected by the national pattern of recreational cabin development in remote areas brought on by increased leisure time and money. High-grade recreational land is generally scarce nationwide. With a severely limited amount of private property in the valley, these influences have forced land prices upward.

Whatever the causes, the implications of the high cost of property in Stehekin are great. A community where a substantial amount of money is required to purchase land and pay property taxes cannot be described as pioneering and self-sufficient. If property values continue to rise, as is expected, Stehekin will more and more be transformed into an exclusive haven for seasonal use by the financially secure. More than one valley resident said, "We are worried that property taxes could drive us out."

Compared with other areas in the country that have experienced rapid growth, the absolute number of houses in Stehekin is small. But the valley itself is small, and each additional dwelling places an added demand on the limited valley resources. The population growth and residential development in Stehekin during the past decade have resulted in a corresponding rise in the use of these local resources.

The Park Service is responsible for the management of such resources as gravel and wood in the NRA under section 402(a) of the park act. This section allows for "management, utilization, and disposal of renewable natural resources" and the "continuation of such existing uses" as are compatible with public recreation and conservation of the values of the area. Under this section of the act, the Park Service has allowed private use of sand, gravel, topsoil, and wood to continue on NPS land in the recreation area.

Wood, used mostly for home heating, is allocated under a yearly

permit system: six cords of wood for each permanent resident (defined by the NPS as someone who resides in the valley 240 days per year) and two cords for each part-time resident. The NPS allows firewood cutting only between September 10 and May 15, and only dead or dying trees may be cut. The permits granted by the NPS specify the area where each permittee may cut, but the choice of trees is usually left to the individual.

There are contradictory opinions of the ability of the valley to produce a sustained yield of firewood, particularly if the population of the valley continues to grow. One resident wrote:

> As yet, no wood or power crises have developed. Wood usage is presently 200 cords per year. In 1978, nearly all dead trees within sight of the access road were utilized, as well as perhaps 20 cords that were cut as hazard trees in public campgrounds the previous year from inside the National Park boundary. It is clear that the firewood need very nearly exceeds the production of dead trees. This exists without considering any new growth.

Firewood use rose sharply in 1978, from about 130 cords per year previously to 245 cords in 1978.[33] The increase in wood use is a cause of concern both because of possible future curtailment of wood allocated to each resident and because of the impact of excessive wood cutting on the natural features of the valley. One problem is the increasing difficulty of getting to the dead trees as the ones near the road are used. Small roads are made and lengthened each year by residents driving their trucks to wood sources. This expanding network of roads, if not checked, will have a profound effect on the wild character of the valley. The situation will become aggravated by increasing wood demand. Another resident wrote:

> My own opinion, based on life in Stehekin over the past three decades is that we may already be at the limit if the central values of natural beauty and wildness of the valley are respected. More could be cut if roads were to be opened to existing dead or dying stands. This, however, would be disastrous....However we look at it, limits have to be recognized.

Other residents said they would support extension of primitive roads into areas with dead timber. "In ten years those roads would not be visible," said one. "If dead timber were used up, we would support thinning of live timber in areas away from the road." Superintendent Keith Miller suggested that firewood could be shipped uplake and so should not be considered a limiting factor for growth of the valley's population.[34]

A study of the timber in the Stehekin Valley was started in June 1979 under a contract between the NPS and the University of Washington. The final report will be completed by June 1980 and "will document the existing forest resources of the lower Stehekin Valley floor (south of High Bridge) and determine firewood harvest practices, locations, and amounts permissible under servicewide national recreation area policy and local management conditions and considerations."[35] The report will propose alternatives to the NPS "for possible direction and/or acceleration of natural processes," including no removal of fuelwood, removal of only downed wood, high or low intensity removal of standing wood, selective cutting, and artificial regeneration. The final report will specify the "sustained yield capacity" of the forest under each alternative.

The boundaries of the timber study area were chosen by NPS personnel based on what they considered to be "reasonably accessible" areas.[36] The boundaries follow contour lines along most of the valley (1,400 feet in the lower valley, 1,600 feet from the area of Company Creek up to High Bridge), except that the Coon Lake area is included to an elevation of 2,600 feet. This part of the valley is presently roadless, and removing wood would be very difficult without damaging its essentially wild character. The west side of the Stehekin River in the areas of Sun, Moon, and Cabin creeks is equally wild and inaccessible, and the surveying of these areas could

inaccurately indicate the timber available for use. Research assistant Bruce Larson said the final report will take into account the difficulty of removing wood from these areas by dividing the timber stands into "accessibility classes."[37]

Superintendent Keith Miller said at a meeting in Stehekin in January 1979 that there would be a possibility of cutting green trees in the NRA on a sustained yield basis. "That might not be possible," he said. "We can't tell until the study is done."[38] According to one resident, however, Miller said in private conversation that he intended to limit use of local supplies of firewood to dead timber. Miller stated at the meeting that the Park Service would not issue permits beyond the sustained yield of the valley: "There has to be a limit." Miller also said that the idea of managed wood lots would not be considered; trees will continue to be removed selectively. No cutting of trees will be allowed in the North Cascades National Park.

It is commendable that the National Park Service is taking steps to determine the wood productivity of the valley. Although the timber study will provide quantitative information on the amount of wood being produced, the responsibility for deciding how much can be cut without damage to the valley lies with the Park Service. Again, the decision must be made as to what is "compatible use," and the timber survey cannot answer that question.

The use of logs from the Stehekin River for firewood is also of concern. Until now, residents have removed logs from the river on a "first come, first served" basis. The NPS has no written policy concerning this practice, but district ranger Noel Poe said one is being written. Old logs will probably be left in the river under the new policy, especially if they are stabilizing the banks, and newly fallen ones will be removed by the

Park Service if they are changing the course of the river. Some residents are concerned over the disruption of stream ecology and fish habitat by removal of the logs; one called the removal "an unjustified tampering with the natural processes of the area." Another disagreed, saying, "It's a waste to leave trees that wash down the river. The Park Service is carrying this ecology thing too far."

Park technician Darrel Wilsey said the Park Service does not use much wood because most of its buildings are closed in winter. Keith Miller said the Park Service will not be hiring more permanent personnel and so should not have more staff wintering in Stehekin than it does at present.

The use of gravel by valley residents (for foundations, septic fields, and fill) was not regulated until early 1979, and the National Park Service kept no records of its own gravel use before then. Until 1979 residents obtained gravel from several scattered sites on river bars. One resident estimated that fifty to seventy-five cubic yards a year were taken. The Park Service takes gravel from a large pit just off the main valley road near Rainbow Creek; it has used several other sites in the past. It uses gravel chiefly for road maintenance, although large quantities were used in 1973 when the road was paved and in 1976 when the Park Service built a 100,000-gallon concrete water tank near the landing for fire protection and domestic water storage. The gravel pit near Rainbow Creek is a large excavation that district ranger Poe acknowledged should have been closed several years ago. The pit will probably be closed in 1980. The NPS plans to smooth the pit over when it is closed, but the extensive excavation will almost certainly leave a scar. The NPS is examining other sites in the valley for use as gravel sources. No decision has been made whether a new

pit will be opened or where it will be if it is opened. The Park Service is also examining the possibility of shipping gravel uplake, but there are presently no barges on Lake Chelan large enough to carry the needed amounts of gravel. Obtaining enough gravel for road maintenance and other purposes will become increasingly difficult as existing sites are exhausted.

The National Park Service is also responsible for having opened a topsoil pit on one of the old fairways (areas cleared in the 1940s for a planned golf course). According to a resident, the NPS contracted to have a section of the road near McGregor Meadows upgraded in the early 1970s. The contractor removed some topsoil from the fairway in a search for gravel beneath it. There was no gravel, but the contractor went ahead and spread the topsoil on the road. As a result, the road becomes a "quagmire" during the spring snowmelt. The topsoil pit was never closed. This pit caused some controversy in spring 1979, when district ranger Noel Poe became concerned over a Stehekin resident taking topsoil out of the pit for use in private gardens and lawns. Seven truckloads had already been removed; the resident planned to remove fifteen more. Poe consulted with Superintendent Miller, then notified the community that no more sand, gravel, or topsoil was to be removed until a permit system had been established. Superintendent Miller came to Stehekin the next week to discuss gravel use with the Stehekin Community Council and valley residents. After the meeting, Miller sent a memorandum to Poe directing him (accompanied by the two residents who do most of the private concrete work in the valley) to make an on-the-ground survey of sites for gravel removal. The determination of sites was to be based on "minimum environmental impact and effect on the surrounding area." The memorandum specified procedures for allocating gravel:

> Any...individual will contact you prior to any removal and will provide you with the amount to be removed, and the use of the material. This information will be recorded.
>
> If there is any question concerning the type of use proposed or where excessive quantitites are requested, you will contact me. An individual determination will be made in these cases. I do not foresee too many occurrences of this type.
>
> Generally, we will not approve any use where the intent is by fill to modify the landscape above its normal contour except for approved driveway access routes.[39]

Noel Poe said that requests for more than fifteen or twenty cubic yards of gravel must be approved by Superintendent Miller.

The NPS will continue to allow use of topsoil from the pit on the fairway, but it will be regulated. Poe said the Stehekin Community Council has offered to monitor the amount of topsoil being used by residents and to make recommendations to the Park Service concerning the amount to be allocated. The NPS estimates that the fairway now being used contains about 2,600 cubic yards of topsoil. Poe said that the Park Service would like use of this topsoil to be spread over ten to twenty years, and that a specific limit will be placed on the amount to be removed each year. The Park Service will receive a certain percentage of this, and the rest will be available for community use. Poe said that no other fairways will be used for topsoil; the limits of this one will be put in writing, and when the fairway is used up, there will be no more topsoil allocated. "We don't want a pit from treeline to treeline," Poe said. "We want to leave enough topsoil for sloping and banking once the pit is closed." Residents will be allowed to use the topsoil for gardens and for some septic systems but not for lawns, Poe said. The Park Service uses topsoil mostly for landscaping and road and trail work. The NPS used about sixty cubic yards of topsoil and seventy cubic yards of sand and gravel in 1979.[40]

The National Park Service's management of gravel and topsoil in the

Stehekin Valley shows insensitivity towards the integrity of the valley as a unit of the national park system. After nine years of administration, the NPS finally took notice of the potential damage of gravel and topsoil removal and took steps to regulate it. The agency has shown little inclination to limit its own use of these resources, however. The planned removal of topsoil from an entire fairway is particularly surprising, since the NPS admits that at some point in the future it will prohibit further taking of topsoil. The Park Service has failed to confront the problems of limited resources. It has not limited its own use and has allowed private use of topsoil to continue as well, at the expense of the preservation of a portion of the valley.

Growth and development in Stehekin have placed the most evident pressures on the electric power resource in the valley. Both Stehekin residents and the Public Utility District (PUD) recognize that the existing power plant is operating near its capacity. Since 1968 the number of customers (meters) served by the PUD in Stehekin rose from 74 to 103 with total kilowatt-hour sales increasing from 542,434 in 1968 to 755,959 in 1978. Sixty percent of this is used by the National Park Service in the concession, staff housing, and maintenance buildings.[41]

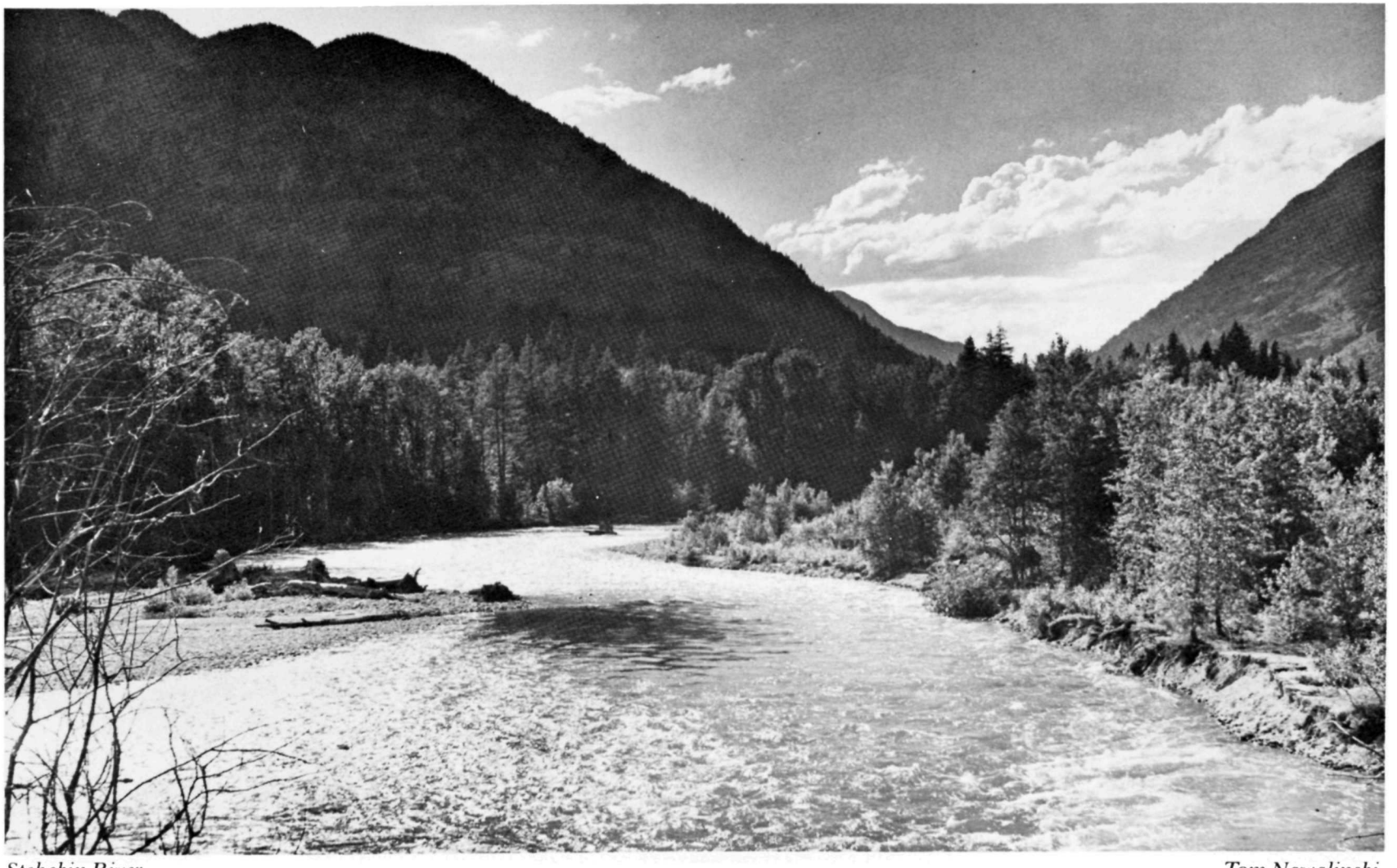
When the present power plant was constructed in 1967, the hydroelectric unit and the two small 75-kilowatt diesels were capable of generating a total of 350 kilowatts. The growing demand for power in the valley resulted in one of the small diesels being replaced by a new 250-kilowatt diesel generator in 1975. This small diesel was reactivated during fall 1979, bringing the total generating capacity of the plant to 600 kilowatts. The PUD considers the maximum load for the existing system to be 350 kilowatts to cover the possible malfunction of the large diesel or hydro unit

and to provide the additional energy required to restore power when the system fails. In July 1979 the peak demand reached 296 kilowatts--close to the recognized capacity of the power plant. According to Gerald Copp, director of customer service and engineering for PUD, "Not too much more demand can safely be put on the existing power facilities."[42]

The solution to the pending problem of limited electric power is not simple. According to Copp, the PUD is obligated to provide power and will try to accommodate the growing demand of Stehekin. If the demand threatens to overload the system, however, the PUD can refuse to supply electricity to new houses. The PUD chose this course of action once several years ago when it refused to provide new residences with power for electric heat. The installation of the 250-kilowatt diesel augmented the generating capacity, and the PUD dropped this policy.

According to Copp, the only economic way to expand power production in the valley is by increasing diesel generation. The current hydroelectric system cannot be substantially enlarged because sufficient water to operate a second generator is available only two or three months each year. The cost of developing a new hydroelectric project in a different location is prohibitive, said Copp.

Many valley residents are strongly opposed to expansion of diesel power and favor instead the development of additional hydroelectric sources, explaining that this would be economical in the long run. The opinion expressed by several valley residents was that shipping diesel fuel uplake was not in the valley's best interest. More than one valley resident would like to see the PUD shut down the power plant completely, thus effectively limiting further development. Another resident suggested that additional electric power be obtained by damming the Stehekin River at



Stehekin River *Tom Nawalinski*

High Bridge and forming a reservoir in the park, although he acknowledged that the Department of the Interior would probably not support such a project.

Local opposition to expansion of diesel power generation is based primarily on the high cost of oil. The price of diesel fuel in 1968 was twenty-four cents a gallon; ten years later the price had reached sixty-one cents a gallon.[43] In 1979 the price of fuel increased sharply and is expected to continue to rise.

In 1978 the PUD increased electricity rates in Stehekin 127 percent, which will go into effect gradually over a four-year period. Although Stehekin residents vocally opposed this increase, the PUD explained that the maintenance expenses of the power plant exceeded its income by nearly twenty percent. The price hike in electricity rates will cover maintenance costs, depreciation, and taxes on the power plant but will not provide a return on the initial investment for facilities, according to the PUD.[44] As in the case of the rising Stehekin property taxes, the increase in electricity rates makes a dependable and sizeable income for valley residents an even greater necessity.

Another noticeable effect of the growing population in the valley has been an increase in automobile traffic and the concurrent widening and improvement of the valley roads by the National Park Service. The valley roads, which originally were wide enough for only one vehicle, have been gradually widened over the years so that along much of their length two vehicles can pass each other. In 1973 the Park Service contracted with a private firm to improve the gravel road to High Bridge and to pave the first four miles of the road. Part of the roadside cliff about a quarter of a mile below High Bridge was blasted away in 1974 to widen the road,

and a large gravel dike was built in 1976 to protect a section of the Company Creek road from flood damage. These major improvements of the roads, in particular the paving, invite higher speeds and more automobile use in the valley. Even though the NPS has no express policy calling for widening of the road and, according to Superintendent Miller, does not intend further widening, the road grows wider each year through routine maintenance. The Park Service does not seem to recognize the effect this gradual widening has on the character of the valley. Superintendent Miller says no more paving of any part of the valley roads is planned, but the Company Creek road will receive a better gravel surfacing.[45]

District ranger Noel Poe estimated that there are about ninety private vehicles in the valley;[46] one resident estimated that there may be more than 150. Park Service vehicles also contribute significantly to traffic on the valley roads. Poe said NPS has eighteen vehicles in the valley and the Young Adult Conservation Corps (another frequent user of the roads) has two. There are no regulations relating to bringing vehicles into the valley nor for using them once they are there; private vehicles are permitted to drive all the way to the road's end at Cottonwood Camp. The expense and trouble of bringing vehicles in on the barge (the only way to get them to Stehekin) usually prevent people from bringing them in for short-term use. A corollary of this, however, is that once in the valley, vehicles tend to stay. There are several accumulations of broken and abandoned cars along Stehekin's roads. A few residents view these piles of old cars as part of Stehekin's heritage, and as a source of spare parts for other old cars that break down. In several places, however, they are very visible and detract from the scenic qualities of the valley. The Park Service did improve the situation by shipping four bargeloads of junked cars

out of the valley in the early 1970s. The first of these shipments removed sixty-five old cars.[47] For the Park Service to remove vehicles from private land, however, the owners must deed them to the agency. There are many old cars on NPS land as well. Park technician Darrel Wilsey says the Park Service will probably ship another load of junk out in the future. It is difficult, however, to dispose of the old cars at the other end of the lake.

Parking at the landing is sometimes a problem, especially when the boat is docked in the summer and the landing area is crowded with people, buses, and cars. Parking is not regulated, although the NPS encourages residents to park a short distance up the road where landfill along the lakeshore has been modified for parking.

The National Park Service runs a shuttle bus system in summer to provide transportation for visitors and to try to decrease residential traffic. The shuttle bus system, started in 1972 by the concessionaire and subsequently turned over to the Park Service, makes several trips a day up the twenty-three mile valley road to Cottonwood Camp. Park technician Darrel Wilsey estimated that because of the bus system, twelve fewer private vehicles make the daily trip to the landing than would otherwise. As part of its attempt to cut back residential traffic, the Park Service allows residents to ride the buses at no charge, but because of the system's inconvenient schedule, most residents prefer to drive their own cars to the landing. The buses are heavily used by visitors, however, and during the summer months they are usually filled to capacity. Before the shuttle bus system was started, a rental car business run by one of the lodge owners transported visitors around the valley. Residents said the rental cars frequently broke down on Stehekin's rough roads, caused

congestion at the landing, and raised clouds of dust as they travelled the valley "at all hours of the day and night." The Park Service did not approve of the rental cars, and the business ended when the costs and troubles of fixing the cars became too great.[48]

A point of contention among residents and others concerned about the Stehekin Valley is the National Park Service's policy of allowing vehicles to travel all the way to the end of the valley road. The NPS replaced the three major bridges along the road (Bridge Creek in 1970, Tumwater in 1973, and High Bridge in 1975) and continues maintaining the road to its end. Several residents believe that the Park Service should simply have closed the road to automobiles either at High Bridge or Bridge Creek rather than replacing the bridges. These residents believe that automobiles should not be permitted in what is otherwise wild country. The road end is only five and a half miles from Cascade Pass, a fragile alpine area that receives heavy use. Other residents disagree, pointing out that the road provides a way for non-hikers and older people to see some of the high country. District ranger Poe said the possibility of closing the road has been discussed for years because of the high costs of maintenance, but there are presently no plans to close it.

The continuation of the shuttle bus system and the removal of old cars from the valley demonstrate some concern on the part of the National Park Service for the potential impacts of automobiles on the scenic qualities and unhurried character of life in Stehekin. The continual widening and upgrading of the road, however, encourages more automobile use and higher speeds. The problem of congestion at the landing and traffic on the roads can be expected to increase as more private vehicles are brought into the valley.

Another problem that may increase as more people move into the Stehekin Valley is the frequency of human encounters with bears. Carelessness in disposing of garbage and storing food may lead to bears becoming "garbage bears," and subsequently being killed. In summer 1979, partly because of the dryness of the summer and the scarcity of berries in the high country, there was an unusually large number of bears in the valley. There were several reports of bear damage, and several bears were shot out of season by valley residents and by NPS officials. Bears killed one resident's pigs, at some peaches left outside a cabin, broke into an outdoor refrigerator, and investigated some campers' backpacks. District ranger Noel Poe said there is vocal pressure in the valley to get rid of all "garbage bears," but several residents we spoke with opposed the killing of any bears, saying that anyone who chooses to live in the valley should accept occasional bear abundance as one of the consequences of living in a still relatively wild place.

The National Park Service trapped four bears in the valley in summer 1979 and took them downlake to release them. The bears could be released no farther downlake than the boundaries of the NRA, about four miles from the Stehekin Valley, but the Park Service hopes to have a working agreement with the Forest Service by summer 1980 to release the bears farther away in the Wenatchee National Forest. Poe said the Park Service's policy is to trap and relocate a bear if it does something out of the ordinary or comes back repeatedly. If the bear returns after being relocated, the NPS may trap it again or dispose of it.

All these effects of population growth and residential development in Stehekin have considerably altered the valley's character during the last ten years. Many of the values of the old Stehekin community persist:

the social atmosphere is personal, mutual cooperation is practiced, and some independence from the modern industrialized society is still possible. Nevertheless, the fundamental character of the valley has been changed. As one long-time resident of the valley said, "The pioneering atmosphere of Stehekin is gone."

Although a great deal of the change in the Stehekin Valley is a result of private growth and development, much is due also to the National Park Service's activities and policies. The sizeable staff employed by the Park Service contributes to the valley's population, and housing must be provided for NPS employees. Various facilities have been built for staff, visitors, and residents; NPS administrative policies concerning such things as the valley airstrip, use of the Stehekin River, and solid waste disposal have also affected the valley.

The staff of the Stehekin District of the North Cascades National Park complex increased gradually between 1968 and 1979 to a total of one part-time and nine full-time permanent employees and twenty-five full-time seasonal employees in summer 1979, all but one of whom were based in Stehekin. The NPS plans no further increase in permanent staff size, and the seasonal staff will fluctuate as visitor use increases or decreases.

The NPS has made many jobs available to Stehekin residents over the years. Of the eight permanent positions based in Stehekin, five are held by people who were already residents before they were offered NPS jobs. During 1979, five residents worked as full-time seasonal employees for the NPS. Four other residents worked as part-time seasonals.

Five of the Park Service's permanent employees and three seasonal employees are property owners in the valley, and a sixth permanent employee

sold his property to the National Park Service and retains a lifetime use-and-occupancy lease. The Park Service's policy of local hiring is commendable since it makes it possible for some residents to remain in the valley who might not otherwise be able to, and it reduces the need for bringing in new workers who would need additional housing and resources. But there are also disadvantages: most of the residents hired by the Park Service are not committed to the principles of the national park system or to the Park Service, and some are openly hostile to park values. A potential conflict of interest arises between these employees' desires as land owners to build and to make use of valley resources, and their supposed responsibility as National Park Service employees to defend the natural and scenic qualities of the valley.

A number of summer seasonal employees are hired each year to work as backcountry rangers, interpreters, and bus drivers. It is Noel Poe's policy to hire employees who are experienced in other parks or who have held recreation-related jobs with other land management agencies, or people with degrees in forestry or natural sciences. Most of the seasonal employees in 1979, however, seemed to have little knowledge of the purposes and policies of the National Park Service itself. They had only a one-week orientation session during which, in addition to trying to learn the general features of the area, they received training in driver safety, radio and paperwork procedures, accident reporting and response, and fire control. The interpreters appeared to be inadequately prepared, and most of the evening interpretive talks we heard contained little information of substance about the geography, history, or natural history of the North Cascades. Shuttle bus drivers also gave interpretive talks as they travelled the valley road, and these were sometimes inaccurate or misleading.

The National Park Service provides housing for thirteen concession workers and the Stehekin schoolteacher, as well as for its own seasonal staff. Many of the seasonal employees stay in houses that the Park Service acquired from private owners, and others stay in four trailers placed on one of the old fairways. These trailers, which were shipped from Pennsylvania in 1974, were surplus government property given to the Pacific Northwest Region at no cost. The NPS accepted them for reasons of economy, but considerable expenditures were required for transportation into the valley, utility hookups, and roofs to protect the trailers from the winter's heavy snow load. Another trailer acquired from a private land owner in the valley is used to house several more seasonal employees; a roof was built over this trailer in fall 1979. Park Service officials say the trailers in the fairways are intended to be "strictly temporary," but at present the NPS has no plans to remove them from the valley. The trailers were brought in more as a matter of convenience than as a result of careful planning or consideration of appropriate development for the valley.

Park technician Darrel Wilsey said the NPS staff will continue to live in acquired housing.[49] District ranger Noel Poe said the NPS will consider costs of maintenance and staff needs in the future in deciding whether to remove acquired houses, but those standing empty and not needed by staff will probably be taken down.[50]

In addition to its regular staff, the National Park Service has had members of the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) working in the valley during the summers of 1978 and 1979. These workers are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three, and under the YACC program they do conservation work for one year for various federal, state, and local agencies. The maximum number of YACC workers allocated to the Stehekin Valley is fourteen.[51]

Most of the YACC's work in the Stehekin Valley has been landscaping, building renovation, and trail work around the landing--work that the Park Service would not otherwise have time to do. The YACC is sharply criticized by many residents, however, who believe that the work they accomplish is largely unnecessary, and that with their contributions to traffic on the valley roads and use of valley resources they do more harm than good. They also require living space, and to satisfy this need two bunkhouses and a utility building were built on a second fairway in summer 1978. The NPS views these buildings are permanent.[52]

Most summer visitors to Stehekin come uplake on the Lady of the Lake and remain in the valley for only an hour and a half, returning to Chelan the same day. It is impossible for these visitors to get much of a sense of the valley, both because their stay is short and because they must contend with the crowding of their 200 or so fellow passengers at the landing and on the buses. Since the Lady of the Lake is privately operated, the Park Service says it can do nothing in response to requests that it modify the boat schedule or provide several different boats to alleviate the crowding. When the boat is not in dock, the valley is much quieter. Unlike many parks, the North Cascades complex does not have a serious problem of public overuse, except in some alpine areas where trampling is causing erosion.

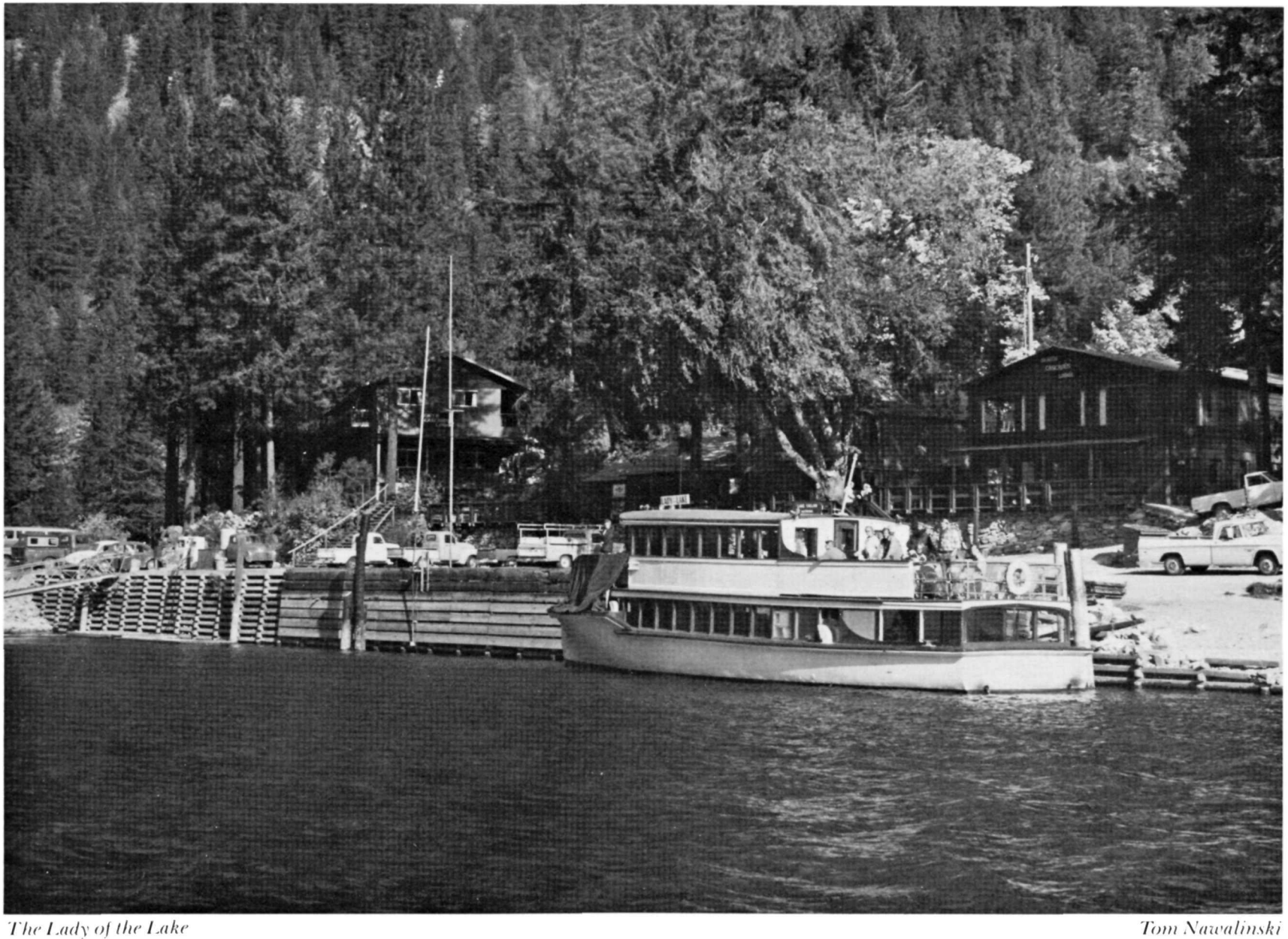
Lodging and food in the valley are provided by a concessionaire under a contract with the National Park Service. According to records at the Chelan County Assessor's office, the NPS had acquired the three private lodges in the valley (the Golden West, the Boatel, and the Swissmont) by 1970. The Golden West retained a use-and-occupancy lease until 1973; after

the lease expired the Golden West was no longer used for overnight lodging. The Park Service tore down about ten small Golden West Lodge cabins. The Golden West is presently used for an interpretive center; a slide show runs while the boat is in dock, and nightly interpretive talks are given during the summer months.

The Swissmont also retained a use-and-occupancy lease, while the owners of the Boatel sold outright to the National Park Service. The Swissmont became part of the concession when its lease expired. Both are now operated as the North Cascades Lodge.

Residents have varied opinions about the concession and the change the NPS made when it acquired the lodges. Many believe that the valley would be better off if lodging were still provided by private businesses; yet in 1971 the Stehekin Property Owners Association wrote to Superintendent Lowell White strongly recommending that all food and lodging facilities be combined under one concessionaire.[53] Several residents described the atmosphere at the landing before the NPS bought the businesses with such terms as "a three-ring circus" and "a zoo." One summer, the competing businesses installed loudspeakers at the landing, and each tried to outdo the others in luring the boat passengers in for lunch and lodging. Lodge employees were sent out to greet the passengers and direct them to one lodge or another. We were given contradictory information on the amount of business available for each lodge. One resident said, "Competition was terrible--the owners had to do all the work themselves, twelve or fourteen hours a day, in order to make it." Another said, "They were doing good business."

Four different concessionaires have operated the lodge since 1970. Management of the lodge and restaurant does present some special problems. When the boat arrives in summer, the landing is suddenly jammed with visitors,



The Lady of the Lake *Tom Nawalinski*

and the restaurant must have enough employees on hand to serve them all. The rest of the time business is light. The lodge can accommodate up to eighty people during the summer season, but in winter much of it is closed, and lodging is limited. Gary Gibson, the present concessionaire, says the summer staff consists of about thirty employees, and the winter staff is six part-time employees.

To treat sewage from the lodge and NPS buildings, the Park Service built a waste water disposal plant near the landing in 1976. Before that, each building had a separate septic system. According to Darrel Wilsey, drainfields were inadequate to handle the sewage, the area was becoming saturated, and the waste water was beginning to filter down to the lake.[54] It is to the National Park Service's credit that it has recognized the potential problems of sewage and solid waste disposal in the Stehekin Valley.

Prior to 1977 the valley's garbage was disposed of at a landfill dump on the east side of the valley near Boulder Creek. The Park Service closed this dump in 1977 and built a large building to house a garbage compactor on the fairway where the trailers are located. Garbage brought to the compactor is processed and shipped downlake to a landfill at Manson at no charge to Stehekin residents. Park technician Darrel Wilsey said that the dump was closed because landfills, if not properly sited, can contaminate groundwater and streams. Wilsey said there are no suitable spots for landfill dumps in the Stehekin Valley.[55]

While is is commendable that the National Park Service is concerned with the problem of solid waste disposal, the design and location of the compactor and the other buildings the NPS has placed on the fairway do not reflect sensitive planning. Before the Park Service started using the

fairways they were open, semi-wild clearings--"one of the most scenic parts of the valley." The NPS now uses three fairways: one for the trailers, the maintenance shop, and the compactor; one for the YACC bunkhouses and a storage yard for building materials; and one for the topsoil pit. In defense of the Park Service's use of the fairways, one employee said, "They don't impact the public--they're out of sight. We have to have someplace to put our facilities."

Another subject of disagreement in the Stehekin Valley is an airstrip that the Washington State Aeronautical Commission built in 1960 under a special use permit from the Forest Service. The airstrip is still in use under a five-year lease. Though officially for emergencies, the strip is used throughout the summer months by pilots with private planes coming into the valley for recreational purposes. The Park Service has not discouraged such use, and in fact has installed a campground near the strip. According to NPS figures, about thrity-five planes use the strip each month during the summer. The airstrip has a visual and noise impact on the valley, and some regard it as inappropriate for a national recreation area. It is certainly a dominant feature of the valley floor when viewed from trails above the valley. One resident calls it the valley's "single greatest desecration." Some residents also believe that it is unnecessary and dangerous. Several mentioned that some deaths resulted from a plane crash in the valley. The Park Service has no plans to close the strip or to deny the permit to the Aeronautical Commission when it comes up for renewal.

The National Park Service prohibited the use of jetboats on the Stehekin River several years ago after residents living along the river had protested that they were noisy and destructive of wildlife. The NPS failed to act in an earlier incident, however, in which the Army Corps of Engineers

came into the valley and with large bulldozers plowed logjams out of the lower stretches of the river. The corps came in at the request of several property owners who were worried about the river washing away their land, and according to Darrel Wilsey the NPS was given no advance notice. The corps bulldozed the logjams into piles and burned them. Fish habitat was destroyed and the stream channel disrupted. One resident who observed the incident wrote, "The deed was done before any possible objection could be made. National Park Service response to questioning afterwards was that the NPS had no power to stop what it admittedly considered inappropriate and hence did nothing even by the way of persuasion or protest." District ranger Noel Poe said he is not sure what jurisdiction the Army Corps of Engineers has over the Stehekin River but that the NPS will move to stop any such occurrences in the future.[56]

In another incident, the National Park Service asked a land owner to remove three large wooden barges that he had grounded on his property at Logger's Point. These barges were in violation of a federal regulation prohibiting private boats longer than sixty-five feet in national park system areas.[57] Instead of removing the barges, the owner cut them off to the required length, and the barges remain. Since they are on private land, the NPS has said it cannot remove them.

The fish and wildlife resources of the Lake Chelan NRA are managed jointly by the National Park Service and the Washington Department of Game. Both hunting and fishing are permitted in the NRA, under the regulations of the Department of Game. Neither agency may initiate research projects, transplant game animals into or out of the national park area, or implement new game, fish, or wildlife regulations without first consulting the other agency. Periodic fish stocking of selected lakes in the North Cascades

National Park is allowed in order to maintain "sport fishing opportunity" and to assure a "reasonable harvest success,"[58] although lakes that have never been stocked in the past will not be stocked. The Stehekin River and Lake Chelan are also stocked periodically by the Department of Game.

In about 1965 the Forest Service granted a five-year special use permit to the Washington Department of Game to build a fish spawning channel near the mouth of Company Creek. The Department of Game proceeded to crush and stockpile gravel at the site in preparation for construction of the channel. The special use permit was still in effect in 1968 when the NRA was established, and under Section 502 of the act establishing the park complex, the Park Service was obligated to honor it. The spawning channel was never built, however, partly because heavy flooding downlake at Twenty-five Mile Creek filled a similar spawning channel with silt.[59] Park administrators said they would probably prevent any channel construction since the permit has expired. The crushed gravel is still at the channel site, but ownership of the gravel is unclear at present.

Although hunting is regulated by the Washington Department of Game, the Park Service has the authority to close areas to hunting "for reasons of public safety, administration, fish and wildlife management, or public use and enjoyment."[60] The Park Service used this authority to close Buckner Ranch to hunting when it acquired the property. The rest of the NRA, except populated areas, is open to hunting. Because mountain goat populations have declined sharply in recent years, the Department of Game has closed the Stehekin and Lake Chelan areas to goat hunting.

Studies underway by the biologist's staff of the North Cascades complex focus on lake and stream ecology and the fish resources of the complex. A study of the distribution of introduced plants in the lower Stehekin

Valley is also in progress. Robert Wasem, biologist of the North Cascades complex, said other studies are planned but not yet begun, including baseline surveys and mapping of the soil types and plant communities of the complex, parkwide ecological studies of black bears, mountain goats, and mountain lions, an inventory and status determination of rare and endangered fauna, a study of the impact of bank stabilization and the removal of gravel and logs on the hydrology of the Stehekin River, and a study of the effects of pack animals on park ecosystems.[61] As far as we were able to determine, the park staff had completed no studies by the fall of 1979. It is essential that these studies be completed if management of the park complex is to be based on any real knowledge of the area, and if managers are to have a baseline against which to measure future impacts.

As a result of private development and NPS activities in Stehekin since 1969, there has been an unquantifiable loss in the valley's scenic and wild values. Stehekin Valley is still spectacular; it has not been irretrievably degraded. Added together, however, these minor and seemingly harmless effects of private development and NPS activities have substantially changed the valley. Throughout this period of change, the National Park Service has remained complacent. For ten years, the agency showed little concern for the incremental damage to the valley caused by both private development and its own activities. The deterioration of the wild and scenic qualities is particularly striking given that the Stehekin Valley was placed by Congress under National Park Service administration to preserve these values. The change that has occurred in the valley was clearly not intended by Congress and is hardly appropriate for this unit of the national park system.

6 Planning Efforts

In the last ten years, several attempts at land-use planning in Stehekin have been made, by both the National Park Service and Chelan County. In the early years of NPS administration in the valley, the agency produced a master plan for the complex, and Chelan County worked briefly on a land-use plan for the Stehekin Valley. The county did not complete the plan, and until 1977 nothing more was done to try to regulate land use in the valley. In 1977 the Park Service began work on another plan, but the effort was suspended following the release of a new nationwide NPS land acquisition policy and the plan has never been completed. Instead, Chelan County again began a plan for zoning and land use in the valley. The draft county plan was distributed for public comment in spring 1979. In October 1979 the Park Service expressed dissatisfaction with the plan, and the differences between the two agencies' viewpoints remain unresolved. Despite the several attempts at planning for the valley, little of substance has been produced, and none of the planning efforts has succeeded in slowing private development.

Two National Park Service documents, the Master Plan for the North Cascades National Park Service Complex (approved in 1970) and the Statement for Management (approved in 1978) address management of the park and the two recreation areas in general terms. These are standard documents for all areas of the national park system, but in many respects they are too general to be useful in making day-to-day administrative decisions.

Of particular importance to the Stehekin Valley is the establishment in the master plan of three land zones in the valley. The establishment of such zones is standard practice for national recreation areas large enough to allow compatible private uses to remain.[1] The master plan defines the three zones as follows:

> Zone 1, Public Use and Development: Includes those lands needed for the development by government and concessioner of administrative and public use facilities, and areas where full ownership is required for special management purposes....
>
> Zone 2, Preservation and Conservation: Includes those lands necessary for the preservation/conservation of the environment of the area....
>
> Zone 3, Private Use and Development: Includes lands within the recreation areas that are not required for public use but do serve a public purpose. Through close cooperation between the owner and Service, we hope to ensure that these lands will remain in private ownership as long as their uses are compatible with the purpose of the recreation areas.

The Senate Committee report on the North Cascades park bill specifies that the National Park Service will acquire lands outright in the public use and development zone, while acquisition in the other two zones may not be necessary if other land use controls such as local zoning or scenic or access easements are used.[2] In all three zones in the Lake Chelan NRA, acquisition by the Park Service is subject to the clause in the 1968 act specifying that the Secretary of the Interior may not acquire lands within the recreation areas without the consent of the owner, so long as the lands are devoted to uses compatible with the proposes of the act.

Some confusion exists among NPS administrators and others about these zones of use. Superintendent Keith Miller said that because of a statement made by the former director of the NPS, George Hartzog, under pressure from residents living in the area around the head of Lake Chelan, the NPS may not acquire lands in the private use zone under any circumstances, either by condemnation or from a willing seller.[3] Our research failed to

uncover any record of the statement. Neal Butterfield, captain of the study team that wrote the master plan, said there is no statement by Hartzog prohibiting NPS acquisition in this zone. "Theoretically, lands in the private use zone were to be left in private hands," he said, "while lands in the other zones were to be acquired. But the Park Service can acquire in the private use zone in the case of an incompatible use, as the Senate report makes clear."[4] Butterfield said that the private use zone was established because Hartzog told him to designate such a zone in the master plan, and that the master plan team decided on the location and size of the private use zone. Butterfield maintained that the private use zone was intended to be out of sight of the lake and main road, and he said that he went over it on the ground with an NPS administrator before any boundaries were drawn. The private use zone as it appears on the master plan maps includes the highly visible parcels at the head of the lake. Patrick Goldsworthy, president of the North Cascades Conservation Council and a member of the master plan team, said the private use zone was located at the head of the lake because that was already the area of greatest private development.[5] Roger Contor, the first superintendent of the North Cascades complex, said the zones carry no legal weight, and the Park Service is free to change their size or location.[6]

The Park Service made an early attempt to involve Chelan County in planning for the Stehekin Valley. In a memorandum to the regional director dated April 7, 1969 Superintendent Roger Contor wrote, "The director of the Chelan County Planning Office, Mr. George Volker, has promised a sympathetic zoning plan for the valley which will attempt to honor the objectives of the National Park Service. They plan to commence ground work near the end of April. Done properly, this could be a tremendous help in slowing

down subdivision of the private land in the valley and encouraging compatible uses."[7] The county began work and actually declared a moratorium on building in the valley. The plan was never completed, however, and according to Chelan County planner Michael Cecka, "The effort faded when the staff planners working on the project left the office, and when the directorship changed. There is nothing in the records indicating NPS questioning the lack of progress on the effort...."[8]

In 1977 another NPS planning effort for the Stehekin Valley was begun. A team of planners from the NPS Denver Service Center started work on a "Development Concept Plan" (DCP), which was to include plans for concessionaire and NPS housing, maintenance facilities, operations at the Stehekin landing, day and overnight visitor use levels, valley resident services, and "activities appropriate in the NRA."[9]

Regional Director Russell Dickenson said that he called in the planning team after several residents approached him concerned about changes occurring in the valley.[10] John Ochsner, the project manager for the Stehekin Valley Planning Team, wrote:

> The current planning effort for Stehekin came about as a result of problems the park staff was having in their relations with residents and property owners in the valley. The hope was that a planning effort with extensive, broad based public involvement could isolate the causes and identify specific concerns people had about management of the area."[11]

Ochsner said the DCP was originally intended to focus on specific problems of NPS management such as congestion and a "less than desirable visitor experience" at the landing, and the design and location of maintenance facilities and employee housing, but that it quickly became necessary to consider the relationship of private use to public use. It became apparent that without a definition of compatibility, planning for the valley would be very difficult. Ochsner said the fact that compatibility criteria

have never been established for the Lake Chelan NRA is a "gross oversight," but because of Stehekin's inaccessibility, nobody foresaw the present pressures for growth and development.[12]

In August 1977 the planning team began interviewing valley residents, and public workshops were scheduled for October in Stehekin, Chelan, and Wenatchee. The planning team sent out a list of questions to be discussed at the meeting, dealing with the private community, the visitor experience, resource management, transportation, and "future direction of the valley." The last question asked:

> Is the primary purpose of the Recreation Area:
> -To support and interpret an evolving community based on isolation and limited resources;
> or, is the primary purpose:
> -To gradually reduce development and restore to a natural condition?

This question was of deep concern to those conservationists who had fought to create the North Cascades National Park and the recreation areas, first because it completely ignored the legislative history behind the establishment of the park complex, and second, because it implied that the purpose of the NRA was an open question that could be decided on the local level. In the fall 1977 issue of The Wild Cascades, the publication of the North Cascades Conservation Council, one member wrote:

> At no time...was there any intent to leave open the question of what purpose the region should serve--or for whom. This has been explicitly declared a National Recreation Area, not merely a local or regional facility. Of even greater importance is the fact that the entire history of the discussions and legislation that led to Congressional action was based upon the recognition that the basic values of the area are scenic, wild, and natural. This is completely basic: there would have been no Lake Chelan National Recreation Area if there had been no North Cascades National Park. The purpose of the area--or rather, of the administrative arrangements which derive from the legislation--is thus essentially the same as that of the Park, subject to some qualifications allowing certain activities not grossly inconsistent with those of the Park "Complex" as a whole. The purpose is accordingly protection of the scenic, wild and natural values of the entire area. This should be understood as a given and one not open to reconsideration except by the due process of legislation by Congress.

Upon hearing of the planned workshops in Stehekin, Wenatchee, and Chelan, the North Cascades Conservation Council requested that a fourth workshop be held in Seattle, pointing out that the issues did involve an area of more than local concern. Superintendent Lowell White agreed, and the Seattle meeting was held at the end of November 1977.

The Stehekin Valley planning team compiled all the comments from the workshops, then summarized the most frequently expressed opinions. One concern expressed by nearly everyone at the Chelan, Wenatchee, and Stehekin workshops was that the primitive state of the valley and the unhurried pace of life should be preserved. In contrast, however, "almost universally mentioned was that the NPS should not interfere with development on private land (as long as pollution and other negative effects don't occur)." Some people ("far less in number") thought that some controls on the resident population and use of private land were necessary.[13]

Most participants in the Seattle workshop believed that population growth in the valley should be controlled by establishing limits on private development, while a few thought resident and visitor numbers should be allowed to "seek their own level."

The planning team's next step was to outline some planning assumptions and objectives, from which they planned to develop alternatives for future management of the valley. The objectives included providing a better visitor experience, defining compatible development, establishing visitor use levels, and identifying locations for NPS facilities. The alternatives were to be subject to further review before any would be selected for incorporation into the Development Concept Plan.

The planning team also conducted a visitor survey during summer 1978. Two thousand questionnaires were distributed to visitors; 1,333 were

returned. Most visitors were satisfied with the services and information available to them. To a question asking about the effect private homes in the valley had on their experience, seventy percent of the respondents replied that the private homes added an interesting dimension to their visit, eight percent said they interfered with the natural scenery, and eight percent didn't notice them. Sixty-five percent of the respondents stayed in the valley for an hour and a half.[14]

Project manager John Ochsner said the planning team has made a conscious effort to proceed slowly, to let the planning process evolve and not to impose the team's own ideas on the community.[15] While this caution and sensitivity to the concerns of the residents is commendable, the slow pace of the undertaking has caused a delay in any potential resolution of the problems of increasing development in the Stehekin Valley.

The NPS planning effort for Stehekin was suspended in September 1978 before any alternatives had been presented to the public, due to a series of events stemming from the release of a new nationwide NPS land acquisition policy in September 1977. Ochsner said he is not sure what form the Development Concept Plan will take when it is completed. Deputy Regional Director Edward J. Kurtz said one of the key elements of the NPS plan will be the definition of compatibility.[16]

The land acquisition policy issued in September 1977 was intended to protect areas within the national park system from private land uses that would impair the values for which each area was established. The revised policy was issued after several members of Congess had visited Grand Teton National Park and had expressed concern over the large number of new developments there. At about the same time, the House Appropriations Committee

became aware of the widespread development in national park areas and expressed disapproval that such new developments were being allowed, both because they detract from the natural qualities of the area, and because they raise the cost of NPS acquisition significantly. In response, the NPS released the new acquisition policy, which, in the words of NPS Director William Whalen, "clarifies our position with respect to the urgency required to acquire these unimproved lands prior to being developed."[17]

The revised policy drew a distinction between "inholding areas" and "newly authorized areas" of the national park system. Inholding areas were defined as "those older parks with remaining pockets of privately owned lands (areas without a statutory ceiling [on acquisition funds], generally those authorized prior to FY 1960)...." Newly authorized areas were "areas with a statutory ceiling, generally those authorized since FY 1960...often established in areas containing extensive amounts of private lands...."

The policy stated that in inholding areas, the National Park Service would acquire lands only from willing sellers, "unless the use of these lands is proposed for alteration that would make them further incompatible with the purposes for which the area was established." If incompatible uses were being made of the property, the NPS would attempt to negotiate with the owner; condemnation would be used as a last resort.

In newly authorized areas (including the North Cascades National Park and the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area) the policy stated that the Park Service "will acquire such property interest...as may be needed to provide for effective management, visitor use, and the achievement of the primary purpose for which the area was established."

The policy also discussed continuing private uses in both inholding areas and newly authorized areas:

> In some areas it is not essential to eliminate all private uses within exterior boundaries. The important consideration in the land acquisition program is that adequate lands be acquired by the federal government for public use and enjoyment and effective administration, accompanied by suitable control of the remaining lands to ensure that the resource values of the area are preserved and that private uses are not maintained or developed in a manner that would impair the primary purpose of the area. (emphasis in original)

The policy made it clear that the land acquisition program was to be carried out in accordance with the specific legislative policies for each NPS area.

Incompatible acts were also specified in the policy:

> Any development of unimproved lands or substantial alterations to existing improvements including major additions to existing structures constitutes an incompatible act. The construction of small facility type outbuildings (tool sheds, garages, etc.) normally would be permitted. Structures containing additional living accommodations or those that can be readily converted to living quarters, or expansions of commercial operations are not to be permitted. Likewise, the application for a building or sewer permit or the filing of a subdivision plat must be viewed as evidence of an incompatible act.

This rather strict definition of incompatible acts caused an outcry among land owners in several national parks, especially Olympic, Grand Teton, and Yosemite. These land owners banded together under the leadership of Charles S. Cushman, owner of a small property in Yosemite, to form the National Park Inholders Association (NPIA). Calling his group, "the Indians of 1978," Cushman travelled to national park system areas throughout the country mobilizing discontented owners of inholdings, urging them to join his organization, and receiving much publicity along the way, including a sympathetic Newsweek article.[18] Cushman claimed that the Park Service "has developed a cavalier and arrogant disregard to private property rights" and uses "pressure, harassment, threats, and intimidation" to carry out its land acquisition policies.[19]

Partly because of the NPIA's outcry and the adverse publicity surrounding the Park Service's attempts to implement the revised land acquisition

policy, the NPS released a slightly different version of the policy and scheduled public hearings in five cities in September 1978. This version of the policy gave examples of incompatible acts in greater detail, but it said that these standards of incompatibility applied only to inholding (pre-1960) areas. Nothing was said about incompatible uses in newly authorized areas. This second version also stated, "The intent of Congress is to acquire all of the privately owned lands in areas administered by the National Park Service as provided by each area's enabling legislation. ...Action to acquire property other than on an opportunity basis must not be initiated unless an incompatible act is proposed or undertaken." The need for fair and consistent implementation throughout the NPS was emphasized in this second version.

After holding the hearings and reviewing more than 1,000 comments on the policy, the National Park Service published a final version of the revised land acquisition policy in the Federal Register.[20] With regard to newly authorized areas, this version simply states that "acquisition is carried out in accordance with the policies prescribed by Congress in the authorizing legislation." As in the earlier version, acquisition in the inholding areas is on a willing-seller basis except in cases of a threat of incompatible use. Examples of compatible and incompatible uses in inholding areas are listed. The policy also calls for each National Park Service area manager to develop a land acquisition plan, outlining in general terms priorities and reasons for acquisition and type of interest to be acquired.

When the first version of the revised land acquisition policy was released in September 1977, NPS administrators were apparently unsure of just what application it had to the Lake Chelan NRA. A memorandum from Acting Regional Director Edward Kurtz accompanying a copy of the land

acquisition policy sent to Superintendent Lowell White on November 9, 1977 said in part, "While this only has application to Olympic National Park in this region, considerable controversy has been stirred by the affected land owners in Olympic and other inholding parks, such as Grand Teton and Yosemite, and you should be familiar with the policy." National Park Service officials apparently decided later that the policy did apply to the Lake Chelan NRA as well as to Olympic National Park.[21] It is clear from later versions of the policy that the definition of incompatibility was intended to apply to inholding areas and not to newly authorized areas; this was not clear, however, in the original version. Planning team leader John Ochsner said he was told by NPS administrators in Washingtion, D. C. that the compatibility standards in the policy did apply to the Lake Chelan NRA.[22] This conclusion significantly affected subsequent events in Stehekin.

Superintendent White sent copies of the 1977 policy to all Stehekin property owners in March 1978, and scheduled a meeting in Stehekin in May to discuss "in specific terms what could happen on the private lands in Stehekin if we were to continue, as in the past, to rely totally on the existing county zoning code."[23] White and Ochsner also met with the Chelan County Planning Commission to discuss the policy.

The National Park Inholders Association was not idle while these events were taking place. Many valley residents and property owners received NPIA documents in the mail, and NPIA president Charles Cushman visited the community of Manson (at the southern end of Lake Chelan) to speak before a group of Stehekin land owners and residents in May 1978, further adding to the distrust of the Park Service and the new policy. The president of the Stehekin Property Owners and Residents Association discovered that the NPIA was using his name on its letterhead without his knowledge or consent,

and he requested that it be removed.

Two weeks before the meeting with Stehekin residents, White and Ochsner sent a "Land Acquisition Discussion" to Stehekin residents and property owners. The discussion said that under current Chelan County general use zoning, the number of homes in the valley could increase from approximately 120 to approximately 340, and the population could increase to 900 people. Under these conditions, the discussion said, the valley would be faced with increased traffic, demand for additional services and roads, a tripling of the power system and corresponding rate increases, decrease in natural and scenic qualities, and decrease in air and water quality. Various degrees of zoning by Chelan County were suggested as alternatives to implementation of the strict compatibility standards of the land acquisition policy. This idea that county zoning would be an acceptable alternative to enforcing the policy was based on the opening sentence of the policy:

> The National Park Service will acquire all lands and waters within authorized park boundaries, except in those cases where, consistent with provisions of law, zoning satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior is in force, or in those cases where land uses satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior and compatible with park purposes are being implemented.

The discussion sent out by White and Ochsner implied that land within the "private use and development zone" designated by the North Cascades master plan was not subject to the compatibility standards of the policy and could continue to be developed. We questioned John Ochsner about the conclusion that land within the boundaries of the private use zone was exempt from the policy's compatibility standards, since the policy itself nowhere mentions such exemption. Ochsner replied, "...The conclusion that the private use zone was exempt from the policy was entirely my own. It

was based on the premise that the highly restrictive definition of compatibility in the revised land acquistion policy applied only to lands we wished to acquired, eq., in the public use zone."[24] Ochsner's premise is surprising, since the intent of the policy was to prevent adverse development of all unimproved lands within National Park Service areas, not merely those the NPS wished to acquire. Ochsner went on to say, "I also interpreted the discussion of continuing private uses [in the land acquisition policy]...as allowing development of unimproved property in areas where land acquisition would not take place." The discussion Ochsner referred to says:

> The Congress has provided that private uses in some areas may be continued as long as individuals, villages, or communities observe appropriate zoning or development restrictions in accordance with standards established by the Secretary of the Interior.

Again Ochsner's interpretation is questionable, since "continuation of private uses" is not necessarily synonymous with "development of unimproved property." Whether these conclusions were valid or not, the land acquisition discussion distributed by White and Ochsner led land owners in the private use zone to believe that they were not subject to the policy's compatibility restrictions. Given the confusion on the part of the NPS regarding the purpose of the Lake Chelan NRA, the status of the private use zone, and the application of the revised land acquisition policies to Stehekin, it is hardly surprising that Stehekin residents are similarly bewildered.

The meeting in Stehekin to discuss the land acquisition policy was led by Superintendent White and planning team leader Ochsner. No county representatives attended, though White maintained they had promised to be there. White told the audience at the meeting that unless Chelan County developed adequate zoning for the Stehekin Valley, the Park Service

would be forced to implement the compatibility standards of the new land acquisition policy. Ochsner reemphasized his point that the policy did not apply to the private use and development zone, and White said that the planning team might designate other areas of the valley "private use and development."[25]

It was decided at the meeting that the NPS and Chelan County should work with a committee of Stehekin residents to develop new zoning standards. A local resident announced that he had already "tentatively set up a meeting in June" with the Chelan County commissioners. When asked whether the Park Service could override the county's zoning restrictions if it did not approve of them, John Ochsner replied that it could. Since then, however, NPS officials have concluded that the agency lacks the power to override the county because the North Cascades park act does not specifically give it such power.[26]

The county planning effort began in June 1978 with a visit to Stehekin Valley by the Chelan County commissioners and associate planner Michael Cecka of the Chelan County Planning Department. The commissioners met with a committee of five people that had been appointed by the Stehekin Property Owners and Residents Association to work with the county planners. This committee, with the addition of a sixth person, subsequently became a "core group" that met several times with Cecka while the plan was being developed.

In a September 1978 meeting with the Chelan County commissioners and members of the planning department, Pacific Northwest Regional Director Russell Dickenson said that the Park Service's Development Concept Plan would be released in two or three weeks. Cecka said the county's plan

would probably not be ready until early spring, and on the request of the commissioners, the NPS agreed to suspend its own planning process and to make no decisions on its preferred plan until the county plan was completed. As indicated earlier, the NPS plan has never been completed, and it is not clear what the plan will include when it is completed. At the September meeting with the commissioners, Dickenson stated that the Park Service intended to define the term "compatible" as clearly as possible, and the county commissioners promised to take a "cautious approach" in issuing development permits in the valley.[27]

Beyond a few preliminary meetings, according to NPS administrators, the Park Service had little influence over the draft county plan. Keith Miller, who replaced Lowell White as superintendent in September 1978, attended all the meetings between Cecka and the core committee, but Miller said he attended the meetings to listen and to answer questions and not to take a position on the issues discussed.[28] Some residents found this disturbing; as one resident wrote to Miller in January 1979, "We feel like we are operating in a vacuum, and it is difficult to focus attention on the issues, because no one knows what the outside constraints are."

In the process of forming policies for the plan draft, Cecka solicited opinions in October 1978 and January 1979 with two different questionnaires. The manner of distributing these questionnaires was of concern to some residents, since no controls were placed on who answered them or how many each household answered. The results were tallied, and much attention has been paid subsequently to the percentages of respondents favoring or opposing certain key points in the questionnaires.

According to the county's analysis of the first questionnaire, respondents felt strongly that the National Park Service should be subject

to the same regulations as private owners and should define compatible use. Residents objected to the idea of paving more of the road. They also believed new commercial developments should not be prohibited, and disagreed with the suggestion that current development trends, if continued, would result in excessive residential densities.

The second questionnaire asked respondents to indicate which of a series of policy alternatives most closely matched their views. The alternatives dealing with building and subdivision have received the most attention. Alternatives ranged from allowing no subdivision and no new buildings to allowing subdivision down to 12,500 square feet and permitting building on all new and existing lots. The questionnaire stated that under this latter alternative, up to 500 new buildings could be built in the valley. According to the questionnaire results, two percent of the respondents favored no new subdivisions and no new buildings, twenty-one percent favored no subdivision but allowing building on existing lots, nine percent favored a twenty-acre minimum lot size for all future subdivisions, and fifteen percent favored a five- to ten-acre minimum, adding up to forty-eight percent of all respondents favoring much stricter controls than the existing one-acre minimum lot size. If residents alone are considered, nearly fifty-three percent favored at least a five- to ten-acre minimum.

Other important questions dealt with NPS land acquisition and electrical supply. Opinions about NPS land acquisition policies differed sharply between residents and non-resident property owners. Twenty-two percent of the residents said the Park Service should consider any new development to be incompatible and subject to condemnation, and should acquire as many parcels as it could on a willing-seller basis. Only four percent of the non-residents favored this policy. Nearly thirty-seven

percent of the non-residents and nineteen percent of residents opposed any more land acquisition by the Park Service. Nearly half the residents favored no further expansion of the valley's power plant, while only twenty-two percent of non-residents favored this alternative. Forty-five percent of nonresidents and twelve percent of residents favored expanding the power plant as needed.

After meeting with residents and property owners, consolidating the background information, and analyzing the questionnaires, Cecka and the core committee began composing the draft plan. In late April 1979 the draft plan was released for general public comment.

The first section of the plan contains information on the valley's natural features, cultural history, population trends, energy and resource supplies, and land use. These topics are followed by discussions of the concerns of the National Park Service, recreational visitors, residents, and non-resident property owners and a listing of the plan's goals. The substance of the plan is contained in the plan statement, which outlines policies and recommendations for land use in Stehekin. The last section contains a description of the steps required to implement the plan. An environmental assessment also accompanies the draft plan as a separate document. Although it reflects an effort by the county to confront the land-use problems in Stehekin, the plan is, in Cecka's words, "very permissive."[29] If implemented, the plan would do little to control development in the valley.

The policies and recommendations presented in the plan address a broad range of topics including floodway construction, water quality, resource use, transportation, subdivision, residential and commercial development, visual quality, and NPS activities and cooperation. The policies

dealing with subdivision and development are perhaps the most important since these will have the greatest effect on the future character of the valley. The two notable subdivision policies state that 1) suggested minimum lot size for any new subdivision should be two acres; 2) subdivision activity should be restricted to the short-platting process. (Short-platting allows the creation of four or fewer parcels. A five-year waiting period is required before any additional short-platting may be done on a piece of land that has been previously subdivided).[30] The two-acre minimum lot size would allow 250 additional houses to be constructed in Stehekin. If the plan's recommendations for precluding development on some of the large private parcels is carried out, 100 to 150 new houses could be built in the valley. This proposed policy on minimum lot size in undoubtedly the most controversial aspect of the county plan.

Another critical element of the plan addresses the county's relationship to the National Park Service:

> The Park Service should be willing to accept the principles that private property use and development activities undertaken in conformance with the concepts, goals, policies, and recommendations of this plan and its accompanying implementation measures, are compatible with the intent of the National Recreation Area legislation.

This passage proposes that the local county government make land-use decisions vital to the natural integrity of Stehekin, an area of national importance. This is particularly notable considering that the county's land-use plan suggests that substantially more development in the valley is acceptable, and offers few recommendations that would protect the natural values of the area. As one valley resident explained, "The plan well states present and prospective shortages of fuel and electricity--and, having failed to offer any serious solutions--recommends policies for their aggravation. The plan appeals for NPS cooperation while outlining policies completely at

odds with the reasons for which the North Cascades complex was established."

According to reports in the Wenatchee World, North Cascades park superintendent Keith Miller greeted the county plan enthusiastically. An April 23, 1979 article stated, "Supt. Miller said 'Frankly, I'm optimistic' that the Park Service will approve the plan. He said 'Mike (Cecka) has done a terrific job.'"

The NPS Pacific Northwest Regional Director, Russell Dickenson, had reservations about the county plan. In a May 1979 letter Dickenson said, "I find a number of items in the County's draft plan which we cannot currently endorse and these will be the subject of further discussion."[31] Dickenson later explained, "The county plan is virtually a spur to development. We will not endorse the plan unless changes are made."[32]

In September 1979 the National Park Service held a workshop in Seattle with representatives of state and national conservation organizations for the purpose of involving "a previously unheard-from constituency"[33] in the Stehekin planning effort. At the workshop, conservationists expressed their dissatisfaction with the plan and without exception agreed that further subdivision should not occur in the Lake Chelan NRA. Patrick Goldsworthy of the North Cascades Conservation Council stated, "My impression of this plan is that it's a growth plan. I belive that this should be a static community....It was my firm understanding and remembrance that Congress's intent was that the Stehekin Valley retain its pioneer, its primitive, its rather unhurried early type of lifestyle that existed prior to the formation of the park....Any houses built since 1968 are in the wrong direction. Any more built from now on are far more in the wrong direction." One conservationist said the plan "would invite development" while another said, "I think this is a good plan. I do think it's in the wrong

place. I just disagree with it when it's in the national recreational area."[34]

Conservationists also objected to the county plan on the grounds that planning for an area of national significance is the responsibility of the National Park Service and not the county, which represents a local constituency. One conservationist summarized his position, saying, "The Park Service should develop a plan and see if the county would be willing to endorse that."

After the workshop with conservationists, the National Park Service formally presented its position on the county plan at a public hearing of the Chelan County Planning Commission in Stehekin in October 1979. The NPS statement, prepared by Regional Director Dickenson and presented by Superintendent Miller, was the agency's first effort to define compatibility. The statement said in the opening paragraphs:

> Although I commend the efforts of the Chelan County Planning Department in the preparation of the comprehensive plan, I do not believe that it provides adequate zoning and land use controls. The plan would provide for growth of buildings and seasonal population to a degree that would be irreversibly damaging to the nationally signficant resources of Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. This plan, to date, does not reflect the public input of a national constituency which has appropriate concerns for this national area.

The most important point in Dickenson's statement regarded subdivision:

> The recent trend of expedited sales and development has been of great concern to us and, we feel, to the county planners. We believe this trend is incompatible with the purposes of the area envisioned by Congress. We are, therefore, opposed to any further subdivision in the valley.

This statement also included a recommendation for a two-year moratorium on any subdivision in Stehekin.

In his statement, Dickenson addressed building and development as

well as subdivision. He recommended that only one single-family dwelling be built on any existing parcel, building along the lakeshore and on the main valley road be set back or screened from view, the 156-acre tract be purchased by the NPS, and no major NPS or private developments be built that would increase visitor use. The statement also recognized that appreciable change in the size or character of the Stehekin community would be contrary to the purposes for which the area was established. If implemented, these recommendations would substantially limit development in the Stehekin Valley.

The strength and clarity of the statement by the National Park Service was surprising given the consistent lack of concern the NPS had shown towards growth and development in the valley during most of its administration. The NPS position was clearly not congruous with the county plan, particularly on the question of subdivision. It was not immediately evident whether the Park Service was prepared to enforce its position on compatibility or whether the statement was simply a recommendation to the county. According to Keith Miller, however, the statement will not be strictly applied at this time, but instead the NPS will meet with the county to try to reconcile their differences. "There may be chances to intermesh with the county on our position on visible development," said Miller, "I don't know if we can support the no-subdivision provision in court. We probably could get support for no subdivision on the 156-acre tract, but it would be hard to get support for no subdivision on the smaller parcels."[35]

Regional Director Dickenson appeared less open to compromise on the NPS statement. In a November 2, 1979 letter Dickenson wrote:

> An adequate or acceptable plan for the Stehekin Valley must preserve the character of the valley by which it gained its national significance to cause Congress to set it aside as part of the North Cascades National

> Park Service complex. The key to the preservation of this character is stopping the subdividing of the remaining undeveloped tracts in the valley. The continued subdividing and high density development of the remaining tracts appears to violate the congressional intent regarding the compatible use of the land. Thus, an acceptable zoning plan must control subdividing. However, such a plan could permit the building of a single-family residence where such residence building blends with the area so as not to mar the overall scenic beauty of the valley.[36]

Despite his opposition to subdivision and high-density development Dickenson favored cooperation with the county as the fastest solution to the land-use controversy in Stehekin. In the same letter Dickenson said, "The course that we have chosen--county regulation--appears at this time to be the most realistic approach to control land use in the Stehekin Valley." Dickenson went on to say that the National Park Service would not develop alternative plans until it was clear that a satisfactory plan could not be reached through cooperation with the county. The Park Service's decision to continue to cooperate with Chelan County was probably influenced by the agency's belief that it lacks power to control private land use in the Stehekin Valley, as well as by its aversion to the possibility of a lawsuit should it define compatibility.

If negotiations do not succeed between the National Park Service and Chelan County on an acceptable plan for Stehekin, Dickenson said the NPS will seek remedial legislation from Congress to clarify the agency's power in controlling land use in the Lake Chelan NRA.[37] In October 1979 Deputy Regional Director Edward Kurtz stated:

> The legislation for some national recreation areas contains a provision requiring approval of county zoning by the Secretary of the Interior, and Cape Cod National Recreation Area is an example. Our ability to meet our responsibilities at Stehekin would be assisted if such a provision were added to the North Cascades National Park Service complex authorizing legislation.[38]

At the present time there are no indications that the county and the NPS have resolved their differences over land-use regulations for Stehekin Valley.

In summer 1979 the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund (SCLDF) became involved in the controversy over land-use regulations in Stehekin, in part because the organization viewed the county plan as inadequate. Although the National Park Service neglected to define compatible uses during its early years of administration in the Lake Chelan NRA, the agency gave no indication until 1978 that it doubted its legal power to control private development in the valley. Regional Director Dickenson explained his position on NPS regulatory powers in a September 1, 1978 letter to a Stehekin resident. In July 1979 the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund challenged the NPS position as stated in this letter. An exchange of correspondence between Dickenson and the SCLDF has since ensued.

In the 1978 letter, Dickenson argued that "it is apparent from the report and subsequent legislation that Congress intended that private development should continue in the recreation areas" and that this intent was emphatically expressed "...through the device of restricting [condemnation] authority of the Secretary within the recreation areas." According to Dickenson, little guidance was provided for determining compatible uses in Stehekin, and a very heavy burden of proof has been placed on the NPS to show that a use is indeed incompatible with the intent of Congress. Therefore, the NPS expected to establish zones of use in the valley to serve as guidelines for determining an incompatible use. In conclusion, Dickenson stated:

> It is apparent from my review of this matter that the only feasible alternative at this point in time, and at this level of management, is the action that we are taking to establish zones of use. Once these zones have been established and incorporated into our master plan, we will be in a position to seek condemnation action for any lands which use is incompatible with the predominant use of the zones. However, short of legislative direction, there is little else the National Park Service can do to further control land use development within the recreation area.

The establishment of the zones of use mentioned by Dickenson was apparently postponed indefinitely when Chelan County began its plan for Stehekin in late 1978. The NPS has since made no mention of these zones. Dickenson's view that Congress intended private development to continue in the valley was modified in his 1979 statement on the county plan, in which he acknowledged that development should not continue to a point where the community's size or character were changed.

In a November 2, 1979 letter to the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, Dickenson again argued that it is not clear whether the NPS has authority to regulate land use in Stehekin. Dickenson said, "It may be argued that we can effect such control through condemnation. However, there is a wide latitude in defining what is a compatible use. While we believe that we are correctly interpreting the intent of Congress, there is no assurance that the court will agree with such interpretation."

The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund's response to Dickenson's argument consisted of two basic points: "First, there is no Congressional intention to allow private development in the Valley that restricts the ability of the Park Service to limit activity which threatens the wilderness character of the area. Second, the Park Service may regulate such activities effectively by condemnation, enforcement of existing regulations in Title 36 CFR, and the promulgation of new regulations under that title." The SCLDF also said that there is no indication in the park act or its legislative history that "Congress intended the Park Service to sit idly by while further development and resource depletion permanently altered the character and qualities of the Stehekin Valley. The area's natural beauty, wildlife resources, air and water quality, as well as life-style are not afforded second-class protection by virtue of the fact that the Valley is not a part of the

North Cascades National Park."[39]

In response to Dickenson's viewpoint that the establishment of zones of use is the only feasible alternative for controlling land use, the SCLDF stated:

> Based upon your Solicitor's advice that condemnation is an ineffective land-use control, you have apparently concluded that the only effective Park Service regulatory tool is the establishment of "zones of use" within the NRA. We agree that such zoning may be a valuable component of a regulatory program, but do not share your conclusions as to the limitations of such a zoning scheme....A condemnation action may properly be brought in any case in which the land use involved threatens the preservation of the Valley's natural endowments, not merely in those cases where the use is incompatible with applicable zoning.

The SCLDF further argued that the National Park Service is authorized "to use the full array of regulatory mechanisms which are applicable to National Parks in administering the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. ...These mechanisms enable the Secretary of the Interior to carry out his trust duty to protect the scenic and natural resources of public preserves against degradation....The recent federal court decisions in the Redwood Park case...confirm that the Park Service has a statutory obligation to promulgate and enforce such regulations as may be necessary to preserve the natural endowments of the Stehekin Valley."

Regarding the county plan for Stehekin, The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund said:

> We strenuously disagree with the Plan's underlying philosophy that more growth and more pressure on the Valley's resources and unique values is to be taken for granted, despite the harmful results which must inevitably follow. We believe that this philosophy is antithetical to the Congressional concern for the preservation of the historical community of Stehekin which prompted the creation of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area in 1968. We also believe that the time has come for the National Park Service to act forcefully so that the purpose of the NRA are not sacrificed for the pursuit of localism and quick profits.

The legal questions raised by the National Park Service and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund add another dimension to the controversy over

private land use in the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. The outcome of the SCLDF's challenge to the Park Service remains to be seen; these questions may have to be resolved finally by either Congress or the courts. The resolution may have important effects in other areas of the national park system.

That the situation in Stehekin has evolved to a point where the local county government is planning for the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area without firm direction from the National Park Service--which is questioning its own authority to control private development in the valley--is further evidence of the Park Service's reluctance to protect the natural values of the Stehekin Valley. In an apparent attempt to avoid local hostility, the NPS has allowed Chelan County to plan freely for Stehekin, perhaps with the hope that the local government would take the responsibility for implementing stringent land-use controls in the valley.

7 Local Attitudes

The issues of continuing private development, resource use, and Park Service management policies are of deep concern to most of the residents of Stehekin, since those who live there will be most directly affected by whatever administrative or legislative decisions are made concerning private land use in the valley. Opinion varies widely among residents, and there is no consensus as to the best course of action to be pursued. Some residents favor severe restrictions on development; others want no limitations placed on the use of private property. Some support the Park Service; others resent the agency's presence in the valley. Some believe that matters are approaching a crisis in Stehekin; others do not even acknowledge that a problem exists. We made no attempt to conduct any sort of poll of local opinion, and we cannot claim to present all the viewpoints of the Stehekin residents in this chapter. Rather, we have attempted to present the range and diversity of opinion in the valley.

As discussed earlier, Stehekin remained free of regulations and restrictions far longer than most American communities because of its small size and isolated location. There are still relatively few restrictions enforced in the valley, and one of the most commonly expressed sentiments in Stehekin is a desire to remain free of restrictions of any sort. "The essence of Stehekin is the freedom to do what you want," one resident said. Several residents seemed to value this lack of regulation above any other feature of life in Stehekin. Even if the lack of restriction means more development and decreased privacy and space for each existing household,

these residents would object to restrictions because they believe controls on growth are contrary to the individualism and independence that characterized life in Stehekin over the years. Some residents believe that Congress was aiming to protect the independent and unregulated lifestyle in Stehekin, and that, therefore, any attempt to limit an individual's freedom by imposing restrictions is contrary to Congressional intent.

Other residents are opposed to regulations on the grounds that such regulations infringe on their rights as private property owners. It is a common view in the valley that the freedom to do as one pleases with one's own property is an unlimited and inviolable right. The lack of controls on private property use in the valley has encouraged this attitude. Many residents believe strongly that if they own a piece of land, their desires and plans for the use of that land should not be subject to the control of governmental agencies and should have priority over the desires of anyone else. As one property owner said, "If somebody wants to build something on their own property, that should carry more priority than the fact that 200 million other people say that you shouldn't." Some residents believe the legislative clause limiting the acquisition powers of the National Park Service was included because Congress wanted to protect their private property rights.

Another comment often heard is that to control Stehekin's growth by restrictions on building and subdividing would essentially kill the community. The phrases "evolving community" and "stagnant community" are expressions commonly used to describe Stehekin under policies of unregulated growth and limited growth, respectively. "No community was ever intended to stop," one resident said. "Growth is inevitable." Another said, "This is a developing community, not a museum." These residents equate growth

with the health of the community, while no growth is equated with stagnation. Even some of those who do not view growth as desirable object to the prospect of trying to control it; as one said, "I'd rather live with the cancer than kill the host."

Another point emphasized by some residents is that the local people should be trusted to take care of the Stehekin Valley. These residents say that if anything were proposed that threatened the valley, they themselves would be up in arms to fight it, and that therefore there is no need for the National Park Service or any other agency to try to protect the valley through regulations.

These attitudes are sharply criticized by other residents, who see the central value of the Stehekin Valley as its scenic beauty, tranquil atmosphere, and wildness. These residents believe that these values must be preserved, and that such preservation has priority over the rights of any individual to use his or her property in a way that would be damaging or obtrusive. Several believe that the pioneering, resourceful, and independent way of life of early Stehekin was long gone by 1968, and that the claim that regulations will intrude on this lifestyle is based on a myth. Others believe that some of the social qualities of the old Stehekin remain, but that these qualities are threatened more by growth of the community and the accompanying pressures than by regulations and restrictions. In contrast to the idea that limiting growth will kill the evolving community of Stehekin, these residents believe that continuing development is the real threat to the community, and that with more houses, roads, cars, and people, the essential qualities that drew everyone to Stehekin in the first place will be lost. And in response to the predominant belief in the sanctity of private property rights, these residents point out that in many

areas of the United States there are very strict controls on the use of private property. As one wrote, "Even some metropolitan suburban areas have five-acre zoning or more. Why should we have less protection in a National Recreation Area in the mountains of northern Washington? Indeed, why should any subdivision be allowed here at all?" The feeling that the residents should be trusted to protect the valley and do not need to be regulated was refuted by another resident, who said, "The people here are not self-restricting; they're as selfish as people anywhere."

Although these residents believe that some sort of restrictions on private development are absolutely necessary, there is some disagreement as to what controls are appropriate. Many residents would like to see subdivision halted altogether or limited to multiple-acre lots, and strict building codes implemented to protect scenic values, water quality, and the essentially natural character of the valley. A few objected to the idea of large minimum lot sizes, however, pointing out that such a provision would make it impossible for anyone but the affluent to buy land. In response to this objection, another resident said, "The folks who say poor people can't afford land unless it's subdivided aren't aware of the high price of lots in other places downlake where land has been subdivided. Those folks are kidding themselves."

An alternative means suggested to control growth was to make living in the valley more difficult, primarily by eliminating electricity from the valley or allowing each household only limited electric power. Another suggestion was to stop plowing the road in winter. Without electricity, plowed roads, or other services, the population of Stehekin would almost certainly decrease. Several residents believe that summer homes are incompatible with the character of the small community Congress was trying to

preserve, and that further construction of these should be prohibited.

Other residents argue that the valley's population need not be limited, that it will "seek its own level" naturally. Several reasons are offered to justify this belief: the employment base in the valley is very limited, land for sale is scarce and expensive, few people would be interested in settling in such a remote and isolated place, and living in the valley is more difficult and inconvenient than living elsewhere. These residents believe that changes in Stehekin have not impaired the quality of life, that there are enough resources to go around, and that worrying about future overdevelopment in the valley is "carrying your umbrella while you cut hay." This is in sharp contrast to the belief held by other residents that matters in Stehekin are already at a critical point. One wrote, "For a number of years I have been watching with growing dismay the accelerating deterioration of the Southern Unit of the North Cascades Complex....It is evident that matters here are now approaching a crisis. I do not believe it too much to say that a disaster is impending."

It is curious that such different opinions are held about the seriousness of the situation in Stehekin, and that both long-term and short-term residents can be found on both sides. To a large extent these differences in opinion reflect fundamental differences in values. Some of the residents believe that the increased building and development do not detract from the natural qualities of the area, while others find them deeply offensive. Some are willing to tolerate such development because to curb it would threaten their own property rights. As one resident said, "They don't want to admit that Stehekin has changed because they'd be cutting their own throats." For others, property rights are secondary to other values. One wrote:

> I believe in private property rights. But I consider them to be only one element of a whole array of constituents of quality of life--the only thing of any real value. It is more important to me to be able to breathe clean air than to be able to subdivide my land. It is worth losing some of my property value in order to be able to live in a beautiful place that will be changed more by the works of nature than of man.

We heard many different opinions expressed about the reasons for the current rush of building in Stehekin. Some people believe that Stehekin's problems with growth are part of a nationwide phenomenon. "What's going on here is going on all over the country," one said. "How can we be an island?" Also offered as reasons were the nationwide interest in outdoor recreation and the widespread affluence that allows people to build weekend and summer homes. Several residents stated that the Park Service itself was responsible for the growth. Reasons for this belief include the numbers of visitors drawn to the area each year by the NPS, and the employment the agency provides, which makes it possible for many people to live in Stehekin who would not otherwise be able to. Most frequently mentioned was that many property owners feel threatened by the Park Service's revised land acquisition policies and the recent activity surrounding the planning efforts and are building quickly while they still can. Undoubtedly, all these factors have contributed to the increased development in the valley.

Attitudes toward the National Park Service are as varied as attitudes toward growth and regulations. Almost all the residents consulted had some criticism of the NPS, but the criticisms differed considerably. Some believed that the Park Service should have no role in any regulation of private land use; some even expressed the opinoin that the Park Service "should just move up to High Bridge and leave us alone." Several believed that the Park Service should not provide residents with such services as the shuttle bus and garbage compactor because these services decrease the

self-sufficiency of the private community and make it more dependent on the NPS. Many feel somewhat threatened by the Park Service because it is a federal agency over which they have little control. Several people expressed the fear that unless the residents remain constantly on guard against encroachments on their rights as property owners, they will eventually be "driven out of the valley" by the Park Service. This fear has been aggravated by the land acquisition policy released in 1977 and the ambiguities in its phrasing, the confusion on the part of the NPS regarding its application to Stehekin, and the outcry raised by the National Park Inholders Association. The fact that the revised version of the policy does not apply directly to Stehekin has done little to ease the worries of some residents, who remain convinced that it is only a matter of time before the Park Service will attempt to buy out all private inholdings. Part of the desire to have Stehekin remain an "evolving" (i.e., growing) community is based on the belief that there is strength in numbers, and that only by maintaining a strong local force can private land owners successfully resist the National Park Service.

On the other side are residents who, rather than criticizing the Park Service for trying to control private land use, condemn it for its failure to do so. These residents believe that the ultimate responsibility for protecting the valley's resources lies with the National Park Service, and that the agency is being negligent by allowing local demands to override its mandate to protect the scenic, scientific, historic, and other values of the Lake Chelan NRA. One said, "The Park Service needs to take a broad view, what is best from the point of view of the public. The Lake Chelan National Recreation Area is a unit of the North Cascades Park. You shouldn't have a say if what you want to do will deteriorate the area."

Almost without exception the residents we spoke with criticized the Park Service for failing to define "compatible use," and many were understandably upset at the confusion and misinformation surrounding NPS policy and planning efforts. Many acknowledged that they view the Park Service as the final authority in the NRA. As one resident said, "The Park Service could have control here, if they'd say what they want, what is compatible. We're just kind of waiting." Another wrote:

> There is something puzzling about recent Park Service claims that it is without power to act to protect the NRA and its failure to do so. What NPS has been saying is that it hasn't acted because it doesn't have power. More and more I'm inclined to believe the truth is the other way around: NPS is claiming to lack power to protect the area because it has failed to do so.

Many residents had specific complaints about the Park Service's use of resources, the design and location of its buildings, and its contribution to traffic on the valley roads. One resident wrote in 1978:

> While I have been actively working to impose a more restrictive zoning code in the valley, the Park has added three more 'temporary' buildings to its collection of unused dwelling units. While I have been pointing out to residents the inevitable and undesirable consequences of population growth in the Valley, the Park Service has increased its work force dramatically during this past summer and has been steadily adding to its permanent staff in the Valley. And everything I may have urged Valley residents and property owners to do to preserve the natural beauty of the area seems pretty meaningless when the Park opens a junk yard in a beautiful open space....In spite of these actions by the Park Service, I still look upon that organization as our only hope for accomplishing what I most desire for the Stehekin Valley--the preservation of its quality of life.

Several residents thought highly of the services the NPS provides and of the responsiveness and understanding NPS personnel have demonstrated in their dealings with the residents. "They're just dandy," one said. "They'll meet you more than halfway."

Residents' views toward use of resources from NPS land are also varied. Some believe that there is no shortage of resources, that there is plenty of

wood and gravel, and that the small hydroeletric projects on the Stehekin River or its tributaries could easily supply the valley's need for electricity. Some interpret the phrase "continuation of...existing uses" in the 1968 act to mean the right of unlimited use, since use of resources was virtually unlimited in 1968. One commonly expressed view is that until the Park Service is willing to limit its own use of these resources, it should not be heavy-handed in limiting private use. "It's hard for me to accept them telling me about the damage I cause," one resident said, "when they use so much more."

From those residents most opposed to controls on growth to the most avid conservationists, none supported the idea of eliminating inholdings from the valley. Several believe that property owners serve a necessary function in keeping an eye on the activities of the Park Service. As one wrote:

> I feel that there is not only a place for but an actual need for the continued existence of private, year-round inholders where such now reside within Park boundaries. Because of their intimate and daily contact with the natural surroundings, these inholders can help to prevent the unnecessary development that the Park Service is all too prone to introduce into unspoiled areas....On the other hand, I see no reason for expansion of inholdings or for any building on currently undeveloped private lands in Park areas.

Other residents are understandably concerned about being able to continue to live in the valley under stricter regulations, and, as indicated earlier, some feel threatened by the National Park Service and the powers of the federal government. As one wrote:

> I maintain that our biggest worry here is not the residents at all but the Park Service itself who if encouraged by "public support" will under the guise of a very democratic procedure make it so tough on us that it will be impractical to live here....
>
> ...As much as I would not like to see big private development in

> Stehekin I would even less like to see a purge to eliminate "inholdings" as though these are second class people. I do not think big private developments are at all likely but I feel a cool wind from the other direction and it goes against everything that I stand for.

Many of the more recent arrivals in the valley (particularly those who moved into the valley after the creation of the park complex) commented that since they were allowed to move into the valley and build they do not believe that they should now keep others out. Others who make their home in the valley point out that continued development and growth in the valley's population may threaten those who already live there:

> It does not appear to be an open option to take actions or make plans that would materially or substantially impair the central values of natural beauty or remaining wildness of the Valley or that would threaten the future of the Park itself....Actions or planning that would pose such threats would in time bring about national governmental actions that might well result in the permanent eviction of all of us who are devoted to the Valley. We in our family devoutly wish to continue there and to be able to live there on a modest scale so long as we can do so without causing damage to its central values. Unfortunately, if such or greater privilege is conceded on an indefinitely expanding basis, all must be compelled to relinquish the privilege. Somewhere limits have to be accepted, or the Valley will be overwhelmed by a disaster such as that which has overwhelmed Lake Tahoe.

A phrase more and more frequently heard during the recent events in the Stehekin Valley is "national interest." A number of Stehekin residents have consistently argued over the years that events in Stehekin, although most immediately and directly affecting the residents of the valley, are of more than local concern. By designating the area part of the national park system, the importance of its qualities to the nation as a whole was recognized, and, these residents argue, this recognition should not be forgotten now. To a majority of the residents, however, "national interest" is an unfamiliar concept, and these residents place far more importance on local needs and desires. A good deal of the resentment some residents feel toward the Park Service is based not on specific complaints (although these are

many) but on a fundamental belief in local--as opposed to federal--control. Many residents believe that they should be allowed to govern themselves, and that if some governmental agency must be involved, it should be Chelan County and not the National Park Service. Some of the most vocal resentment of federal control and the idea of "national interest" is not from residents who owned property before the creation of the park complex, but from those who settled in Stehekin after 1968, presumably with the full knowledge that they were moving into a National Park Service-administered area.

Many residents also believe that outsiders (such as conservation groups) have no real understanding of events in Stehekin and therefore have no business trying to influence local affairs. One resident said, "I don't see what the conservation groups have to do with a Chelan County plan for private land in the Stehekin Valley." Other residents take the opposite view, questioning why a local governmental agency should be allowed to plan for a national recreation area.

Many Stehekin residents are not particularly concerned with national park values or the philosophy underlying the national park system. These residents emphasize that Stehekin is not in a national park but in a national recreation area, a different and, they believe, lesser category than a national park. Undoubtedly, several would favor removing the valley from national recreation area status if such an action were possible. Others, several of whom fought for years for the establishment of the park complex, look to the National Park Service and a wider-than-local interest as the only hope for Stehekin. One pointed out the consistency with which local and nearby interest groups and business associations opposed the creation of the North Cascades National Park complex during the Congressional hearings in 1967 and 1968, while national groups with a wider constituency favored it.

This resident wrote:

> We remain convinced that the National Park Service is the only agency under which this superb area has a chance to retain its essential qualities. We are nonetheless sickened by what is happening here and appalled that it should be occurring under the aegis of NPS.

Although opinion in Stehekin is highly diverse, as indicated here, there exists what one resident referred to as "the myth of unanimity." The most vocal opinion is often taken by the Park Service and by interested outsiders as the opinion of the entire community. The Stehekin residents themselves may be reluctant to contradict the prevalent opinion, so that it is difficult to get an accurate picture of how wide the range of opinion is. As one resident explained:

> Unless [the residents'] opinion is elicited in a secret ballot, worded in a nonmanipulative way, whoever is working with them or their electees may get a grossly distorted view of what the community thinks. I have seen that throughout the planning effort. In gathering after gathering there was the aura of county and valley David vs. NPS Goliath. Those whom I had seen go into tirades privately over the proposed county plan would sit quietly at public meetings. Or start hedging if asked. Or not go at all.
>
> The failure to go to, or speak up at, meetings in Stehekin does not reflect a lack of interest or concern. There has been a real feeling of intimidation there, especially in the face of angry hostility from landowners living elsewhere in Chelan County. There has also been a good deal of misunderstanding by residents of what their neighbors' thoughts and needs really are, and above all, a desire to avoid open warfare in a small community....

The Chelan County questionnaire (discussed on page 93) revealed the lack of agreement among residents. As the resident quoted above pointed out:

> Mike Cecka's questionnaire showed that nearly 1/3 of those he identified as residents wanted no subdivision at all. Almost ½ wanted 20-acre zoning or no subdivision. This is a very impressive minority indeed, wanting very strong controls on subdivision in their community. And yet you would never guess at their existence from attending a public meeting in Stehekin, or listening to some of the people who are supposed to be representing them.

We observed this reluctance to express publicly opinions that were admitted freely in private. For example, a surprising number of the residents we

interviewed favored a larger minimum lot size than the two-acre minimum called for in the draft county plan, but we heard few of these residents express their views at public meetings. In a small community such as Stehekin, maintaining good relations with neighbors is especially important, and many residents do not wish to jeopardize their good standing with the rest of the community by taking unpopular political stands. Park Service personnel in Stehekin are subject to the same pressures to conform to the predominant local views.

Opinion in Stehekin has emerged predominantly on the side of opposition to regulations and to the Park Service. Although there are indeed many proponents of this viewpoint, it is by no means unanimous, and judging from our observations and the results of the Chelan County questionnaires it is not even the majority viewpoint. There is a small but persistent group in Stehekin that, through letters, petitions, and personal contact, and at the risk of offending neighbors, has worked to draw the attention of the Park Service, the Chelan County commissioners, and the conservation organizations of the Northwest to the situation in Stehekin. This group should not be overlooked, nor should those who for the sake of maintaining peace in the community prefer not to speak out.

8 Trends in Park Service Management

The ten-year history of National Park Service administration in the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area is complex and troubling, and it raises vital questions about the present direction of NPS management of the national park system. Although many events documented in this case study if taken separately are small, the pattern of NPS behavior that emerges has serious and far-reaching implications. At the center of these issues lies a doubt as to the ability and readiness of the National Park Service to protect the lands entrusted to its care--lands of supreme importance for their extraordinary natural, scenic, and wild qualities.

The accelerating private development and resource use that have occurred in the Stehekin Valley since establishment of the North Cascades park complex have been virtually ignored by the National Park Service until recently. The cumulative result of these ten years of unrestrained development has been a substantial change in the character of the Stehekin community, a change contrary to the intent of Congress as shown in the legislative history of the North Cascades park. Congress left the National Park Service with the responsibility of determining the land uses compatible with the purposes of the act, but the agency made no effort to define these uses in the first decade of its administration of the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. In the meantime, the natural values for which the Lake Chelan NRA was established have been eroded by growth and development. A strong statement concerning incompatible land uses was finally issued by the NPS Pacific Northwest Regional Director in late 1979. This statement,

if firmly adhered to, will provide adequate constraints on private development in Stehekin and prevent further deterioration of the valley's natural qualities. The regional director's statement, however, has been undermined by subsequent statements by North Cascades park officials.

The complacency with which the National Park Service has viewed development in Stehekin has been justified by the agency with the explanation that the purpose of the Lake Chelan NRA is ambiguous. Although the legislative record does not set forth detailed management policies for the Stehekin Valley, it does make Congress's intent in establishing the Lake Chelan NRA quite clear. The doubts expressed by National Park Service personnel on the purpose of the area are accordingly difficult to explain. On the basis of the 1968 park act and its history, the NPS has a clear responsibility to prevent private land uses that damage park values.

The National Park Service administration of the Lake Chelan NRA has been poor in other respects as well. The design and placement of its facilities, its unrestricted use of gravel and topsoil, the expansion of the road, and the failure to prevent the Army Corps of Engineers' clearance of logs from the river are a few examples of the insensitive and, in some cases, almost negligent behavior of the National Park Service in Stehekin. The Park Service appears to have accepted the claim of developers that the NRA is inferior in quality to the adjacent park and is hence to be treated as inferior in status. Much that the NPS has done with its own facilities is on a par with what has been done by private land owners.

The National Park Service has exhibited some concern for the visual impacts of its own developments by locating them out of sight of the main road, but the agency has failed to demonstrate any concern for the impacts of its building and development on the natural values of the area. Although

this concern for the visual quality of the Stehekin Valley is important, it is by no means sufficient. The natural qualities of the valley may be less tangible, but are certainly no less important than the scenic resources. The Park Service's emphasis on the visual quality of the Lake Chelan NRA has led to a pervasive agency attitude of "out of sight, out of mind," wherein the impacts of NPS developments are regarded almost solely in terms of the day visitor's visual experience. But even this professed concern for the scenic resources of the Stehekin Valley extends only as far as the Park Service's own developments and does not include developments on private land. During its first ten years in Stehekin, the National Park Service took no steps to eliminate, or even minimize, the substantial visual impacts caused by private development, particularly along the upper shores of Lake Chelan. The regional director's October 1979 statement on compatibility was the Park Service's first recognition of these problems of visual quality.

Although the National Park Service has repeatedly stated that it would prevent the construction of any large, grossly incompatible development in the Stehekin Valley, the agency has failed to acknowledge that the impacts of incremental growth from residential development can be equally damaging to park values.

By far the most alarming trend in the Lake Chelan NRA has been the quiet and gradual acquiescence of the National Park Service to local interests. Although opinions in Stehekin are highly diverse, the pressure to conform to the vocal anti-park viewpoint is so great that the community is regarded by some of those within it and many outside as unanimously opposed to the federal government, park values, and land-use regulations. In Stehekin's isolated location, the persistent pressure from this dominant

local opinion has weakened the will of some NPS administrators to protect the natural values of the area. These NPS officials have instead gradually made accommodations to local demands as a means of maintaining friendly relations with their valley neighbors.

This tendency towards local domination has been encouraged because most of the Stehekin population is economically dependent on the National Park Service. The well-intended effort of the NPS to hire Stehekin residents as a way to minimize the park's disruption of their lives has over time caused the Park Service to identify with the residents because the two groups have to a large extent become interchangeable. Local hiring, together with the inadequate training of seasonal personnel, has also resulted in a situation in which most of the NPS staff is ignorant of and unsympathetic to the principles of the national park system.

Over time, these constant local pressures have caused a serious diversion of the Park Service's purpose in the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area. As a result, some NPS administrators in the North Cascades park complex have become confused about their responsibilities and have watched passively as the natural values of the Stehekin Valley have slowly deteriorated from private development. The national interest in Stehekin has been largely forsaken in the face of local demands.

The inadequate administration of the National Park Service in the Stehekin Valley as revealed in this study depicts an ominous trend in NPS management. Although the Stehekin Valley has not been irretrievably lost, substantial damage has already occurred to its natural, scenic, and wild values. Over time, this damage may also have a noticeable impact on the entire southern unit of the North Cascades park complex and the ajoining Glacier Peak Wilderness, which form a coherent geographic unit with the

Stehekin Valley at the core. But beyond these impacts, a major cause for concern is the possibility that the pattern of park management documented here may become prevalent elsewhere in the national park system.

The implications of these issues have perhaps the greatest relevance for the recently designated park units in Alaska. Located within the boundaries of several of these new units are small communities; unless local development pressures are resisted by the National Park Service, a gradual deterioration of park values is likely to occur. Pending federal legislation on the national interest lands in Alaska gives local residents in these park units preferential hiring treatment with the NPS,[1] a laudable provision but--as shown here--one that can create even greater pressure on NPS officials to make accommodations to local demands.

The management problems in the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area that result from the supposed ambiguity of its other-than-park designation can be expected to be found in national seashores, national scenic areas, national reserves, national preserves, and other loosely defined categories. These other-than-park designations can be expected to become increasingly common in the future; many of the remaining areas deserving NPS protection will not be given traditional park status because they contain land uses and developments considered inappropriate within national parks. Unless firm legislative mandates are established for these park categories and these mandates are competently implemented by the NPS personnel assigned to the areas, the likelihood is great that these lands will have development problems similar to those observed in Stehekin.

The National Park Service's reluctance in the Lake Chelan NRA to protect park values, firmly control incompatible development, resist local pressures, and defend the national interest forms a pattern with implications

for the national park system as a whole. Though the problems of local domination and new park system categories are pertinent to only some park units, the response of the agency to the problems in Stehekin raises the general question of the competence of the National Park Service to fulfill its legislated mandate "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner...as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[2]

The traditional view held by public interest groups that the National Park Service needs little watching must be reexamined. Although the NPS is certainly the federal land agency most concerned with protection of natural values, the inclusion of an area in the national park system does not necessarily ensure its protection. In the absence of constant attention from interested groups, park areas can slowly and subtly deteriorate through day-to-day administration. Only continual public vigilance can halt this deterioration and guarantee a national park system of the highest caliber.

Notes

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Public [Law] No. 235, August 25, 1916, Ch. 408.

2. Public Law 90-544, October 2, 1968.

Chapter 2. Early Stehekin

1. Erwin N. Thompson, North Cascades N.P., Ross Lake N.R.A., and Lake Chelan N.R.A. History Basic Data (Eastern Service Center: National Park Service, 1970).

2. Ibid.

3. National Park Service, "Master Plan: North Cascades National Park Service Complex," approved by John A. Rutter, Director, Pacific Northwest Region, 1970, p. 11.

4. National Park Service memorandum, Raymond L. Freeman, Acting Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities to Director, March 31, 1967.

5. Ibid.

Chapter 3. The Fight for a Park

1. As quoted in David R. Simons, The Need for Scenic Resource Conservation in the Northern Cascades of Washington (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1958), p. 31.

2. North Cascades Study Team, The North Cascades (U.S., Department of the Interior and Department of Agriculture, 1965), p. 30.

3. Darrel Wilsey, Stehekin resident, conversation in Stehekin, August 30, 1979.

4. Harvey Manning, The Wild Cascades: Forgotten Parkland (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965), p. 109.

5. Grant McConnell, Stehekin resident, conversation in Stehekin, July 31, 1979.

6. Virgil Fellows, conversation in Stehekin, October 14, 1979; Ray Courtney, conversation in Stehekin, October 29, 1979. Fellows and Courtney are Stehekin residents.

7. Guy Imus, Stehekin resident, conversation in Stehekin, September 28, 1979.

8. As quoted in David R. Simons, The Need for Scenic Resource Conservation in the Northern Cascades of Washington (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1958), abstract.

9. Ibid., p. 12.

10. Manning, The Wild Cascades, p. 117.

11. Grant McConnell, "The Cascades Wilderness," Sierra Club Bulletin, 41:10, December 1956, p. 24.

12. North Cascades Study Team, North Cascades, p. 154.

13. Ibid., p. 90.

14. Darrel Wilsey, Stehekin resident and NPS employee, conversation in Stehekin, August 30, 1979. Wilsey was employed by the U.S. Forest Service in Stehekin during the 1960s.

15. Mrs. F. D. Mack to Senator Jackson, June 4, 1967, reprinted in U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, North Cascades National Park: Hearing on S. 1321, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, p. 649.

16. Conversations with Stehekin residents, July-October 1979.

17. Grant McConnell, Stehekin resident, conversation in Stehekin, September 4, 1979.

18. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, North Cascades National Park: Hearing on S. 1321, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, p. 631.

19. Skagit Valley Herald, "North Cascades Park controversy won't be resolved current session," Mount Vernon, Washington, June 3, 1968.

20. Allan Sommarstrom, "Controversy in the North Cascades," in Congress and the Environment, ed. Richard A. Cooley and Geoffrey Wandesforde-Smith (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1970), p. 79, (66, and 81).

21. Public Law 90-544, October 2, 1968.

Chapter 4. The Issue of Compatibility

1. Woody Gray, Chief of NPS Division of Lands, Western Region, conversation in San Francisco, June 4, 1979.

2. U.S., Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 90th Cong., 1st sess., November 2, 1967, p. 30916.

3. Ibid., p. 30917.

4. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, North Cascades National Park: Report to Accompany S. 1321, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, S. Rept. 700, p. 3898.

5. Ibid., p. 3900.

6. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, North Cascades National Park: Report to Accompany H.R. 8970, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., 1968, H. Rept. 1870, p. 11.

7. U.S., Congress, House, Congressional Record, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., September 16, 1968, p. 27039.

8. Conversation in Seattle, August 6, 1979.

9. Conversation in Seattle, August 8, 1979.

10. Telephone conversation, September 26, 1979.

11. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, North Cascades National Park: Hearing on S. 1321, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, p. 649.

12. U.S., Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 90th Cong., 1st sess., November 2, 1967, p. 30916.

13. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, North Cascades National Park: Hearing on S. 1321, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, pp. 414-418.

14. Ibid., p. 632.

15. Ibid., p. 686.

16. Ibid.

17. Telephone conversation, September 26, 1979.

18. U.S., Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 90th Cong., 1st sess., November 2, 1967, p. 30916.

Chapter 5. Change in the Valley

1. Conversation in Seattle, September 26, 1979.

2. Telephone conversation, September 26, 1979.

3. Conversation in Seattle, September 26, 1979.

4. Daugherty to Susan Georgette, November 13, 1979. Daugherty was Acting Chief, Land Acquisition Division, Pacific Northwest Region.

5. Conversation in Seattle, September 26, 1979.

6. Noel Poe, district ranger, conversation in Stehekin, September 4, 1979.

7. Chelan County Planning Department, "Draft Stehekin Plan," 1979, p. 13.

8. Compiled from conversations with several Stehekin residents, July-November 1979.

9. Compiled from conversations with several Stehekin residents, July-November 1979.

10. Compiled from conversations with several Stehekin residents, July-November 1979.

11. Property assessment fieldbooks, Chelan County Assessor, Wenatchee, Washington.

12. Michael Cecka, associate planner for Chelan County, to Ann Harvey, October 17, 1979.

13. The figure for trailers does not include those brought into the valley by the National Park Service for staff housing.

14. Compiled from our observations, conversations with Stehekin residents and Chelan County Assessor records.

15. Compiled from conversations with Stehekin residents and Chelan County Assessor records.

16. Michael Cecka to Ann Harvey, October 17, 1979.

17. Property assessment fieldbooks, Chelan County Assessor, Wenatchee, Washington.

18. Compiled from our observations, conversations with Stehekin residents, and Chelan County Assessor records.

19. Compiled from our observations, conversations with Stehekin residents, and Chelan County Assessor records.

20. Conversation in Stehekin, July 23, 1979.

21. Compiled from our observations, conversations with Stehekin residents, and Chelan County Assessor records.

22. National Park Service, "Draft Land Acquisition Plan, North Cascades National Park Service complex," March 1980.

23. Michael Cecka, associate planner for Chelan County, conversation in Stehekin, July 19, 1979.

24. Conversation in Stehekin, July 19, 1979.

25. Conversation in Wenatchee, August 9, 1979.

26. Michael Cecka, conversation in Wenatchee, August 9, 1979.

27. Telephone conversation, August 1979.

28. Wenatchee World, "Stehekin area 'still pristine' despite some impact," Wenatchee, Washington, September 29, 1978.

29. Darrel Wilsey, Stehekin resident and NPS employee, conversation in Stehekin, November 12, 1979.

30. Chelan County Planning Department records, Wenatchee, Washington.

31. Chelan County Assessor records, Wenatchee, Washington.

32. Conversation with Chelan County Assessor's office employees, Wenatchee, August 9, 1979.

33. Chelan County Planning Department, "Draft Stehekin Plan," 1979, p. 17.

34. Conversation in Stehekin, July 23, 1979.

35. Chadwick D. Oliver, James K. Agee, and B. C. Larson, "Forest Resource Survey and Related Consumptive Use of Firewood in Lower Stehekin Valley," (Research proposal, University of Washington, n.d.).

36. Bruce Larson, timber survey research assistant, conversation in Stehekin, August 28, 1979.

37. Conversation in Stehekin, August 28, 1979.

38. From tape of January 13, 1979 meeting in Stehekin .

39. National Park Service memorandum, Keith Miller, Superintendent of North Cascades park complex, to Noel Poe, district ranger, May 25, 1979.

40. Noel Poe, conversation in Stehekin, October 18, 1979.

41. Gerald Copp, director of customer service and engineering, Public Utility District, conversation in Wenatchee, August 9, 1979.

42. Gerald Copp, conversation in Wenatchee, August 9, 1979.

43. "Stehekin Power Data," computed by Gerald Copp for Michael Cecka, January 11, 1979.

44. Gerald Copp, conversation in Wenatchee, August 9, 1979.

45. Conversation in Stehekin, September 6, 1979.

46. Conversation in Stehekin, October 18, 1979.

47. Darrel Wilsey, conversation in Stehekin, August 30, 1979.

48. Darrel Wilsey, conversation in Stehekin, October 19, 1979.

49. Darrel Wilsey, conversation in Stehekin, September 4, 1979.

50. Conversation in Stehekin, September 4, 1979.

51. Rick Terway, YACC camp director, conversation in Stehekin, August 28, 1979.

52. Darrel Wilsey, conversation in Stehekin, October 19, 1979.

53. Stehekin Property Owners Association to White, October 18, 1971.

54. Conversation in Stehekin, August 30, 1979.

55. Conversation in Stehekin, August 30, 1979.

56. Conversation in Stehekin, August 30, 1979.

57. 36 C.F.R., Sec. 3.14.

58. National Park Service records, Stehekin.

59. Darrel Wilsey, conversation in Stehekin, October 19, 1979.

60. Public Law 90-544, October 2, 1968, Sec. 402(d).

61. R. Wasem, "Research/Resources Management Studies Relating to Stehekin Valley," September 1979.

Chapter 6. Planning Efforts

1. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affiars, North Cascades National Park: Report to Accompany S. 1321, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967, S. Rept. 700, p. 3.

2. Ibid.

3. Conversation in Stehekin, July 23, 1979.

4. Conversation in Seattle, August 8, 1979.

5. From tape of September 25, 1979 meeting in Seattle between the National Park Service and conservation groups.

6. Telephone conversation, September 26, 1979.

7. National Park Service memorandum, Contor to Regional Director, April 7, 1969.

8. Cecka to Ann Harvey, October 17, 1979.

9. National Park Service, "Statement for Management: North Cascades National Park Service Complex," April 1978.

10. Conversation in Seattle, August, 7, 1979.

11. Ochsner to Ann Harvey, July 23, 1979.

12. Conversation in Seattle, September 26, 1979.

13. NPS Denver Service Center, "Stehekin Valley Development Concept Plan: Comprehensive Analysis of 1977 Public Input," February 1978.

14. National Park Service Denver Service Center, "Stehekin Valley Visitor Survey Summary Report," February 1979.

15. Conversation in Seattle, September 26, 1979.

16. Kurtz to Susan Georgette, October 16, 1979.

17. National Park Service memorandum, Director To Directorate, Field Directorate, and Division Chiefs, WASO, September 14, 1977.

18. Stryker McGuire, "Land Grab by the Parks," Newsweek, August 14, 1978.

19. Testimony for National Park Service Land Acquisition Hearings, 1979.

20. Federal Register, Vol. 44, No. 82, April 26, 1979.

21. National Park Service Memorandum, Superintendent, North Cascades National Park Service Complex, to Regional Director, November 14, 1977.

22. Conversation in Seattle, September 26, 1979.

23. White to Stehekin property owners, March 28, 1978.

24. Ochsner to Ann Harvey, October 19, 1979.

25. Transcript of tape of May 13, 1978 meeting, Elizabeth Byerly, transcriber.

26. Keith Miller, Superintendent of North Cascades National Park, conversation in Stehekin, July 23, 1979.

27. Chelan County Planning Department, "Stehekin Planning Notes," October 12, 1978.

28. Conversation in Stehekin, October 18, 1979.

29. Conversation in Stehekin, July 19, 1979.

30. Chelan County Planning Department, "Draft Stehekin Plan," 1979, p. 45.

31. Dickenson to Grant McConnell, May 31, 1979.

32. Conversation in Seattle, August 7, 1979.

33. Russell Dickenson, conversation in Seattle, August 7, 1979.

34. From tape of September 25, 1979 meeting in Seattle.

35. Conversation in Stehekin, October 18, 1979.

36. Dickenson to Michael Sherwood, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund Attorney, November 2, 1979.

37. Conversation in Seattle, August 7, 1979.

38. Kurtz to Susan Georgette, October 16, 1979.

39. William Curtiss, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund Attorney, to Dickenson, July 9, 1979.

Chapter 8. Trends in Park Service Management

1. H.R. 39, passed by U.S. House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st sess., May 1979, Sec. 807(a).

2. Public [Law] No. 235, August 25, 1916, Ch. 408.