AN EVALUATION OF EBEY'S LANDING NATIONAL HISTORICAL RESERVE: A CASE STUDY IN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

by

HEATHER D. GOODSON

A THESIS

Presented to the Interdisciplinary Studies Program:
Historic Preservation
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science

March 2004

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"An Evaluation of Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve: A Case Study in Cultural Landscape Preservation," a thesis prepared by Heather D. Goodson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in the Interdisciplinary Studies Program: Historic Preservation. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

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Dr. Michael Hibbard, Chair

Collaborative approaches to preserving cultural landscapes without displacing communities represent a recent paradigm shift in the National Park Service's policy. This parallels the paradigm shift in the general field of land use planning in which principles of collaboration and growth management have emerged.

Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve, the subject of this thesis, has the unique mission of preserving the cultural landscape established by the original European settlers while accommodating the vibrant community of today. Tensions between the community's need to adapt to changing circumstances and the desire to safeguard its heritage pose a challenge to the Trust Board, the Reserve's managing organization. Through in-depth interviews with residents and business owners within the Reserve, and case studies of the Columbia River Gorge Scenic Area and Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, this research evaluates the Trust Board's role in preserving the cultural landscape in the context of a working community.

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INTRODUCTION

Standing on the bluff overlooking Ebey's Landing, I watch the ferry glide across the water from Port Townsend with the snow-capped Olympic Mountains providing a dramatic contrast to the sparkling ocean and the green fields of the prairie below. The rustle of the grass and the distant calls of cattle allow my imagination to drift to what the scene might have looked like over one hundred years ago when the ferries landed just below the Ferry House. Travelers disembarked at Ebey's Landing, and after a brief rest at the Ferry House, began the journey across the prairie dotted with farms to Coveland, and later Coupeville. It is not difficult to imagine what the landscape of central Whidbey Island looked like back then. Although there are a few more houses and the development of the modern world dotting the prairies and hills now, the essence of the landscape remains. Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve (Reserve) was created in 1978 to protect this spectacular cultural landscape that continues to evolve with the presence of a vibrant community.

Background of the Problem

Intended to be an innovative approach to land preservation for the National Park Service (NPS), the *reserve* concept is similar to the model used in some European countries for protecting land without displacing communities (Orlando and Luxenberg

1991). The concept utilizes a partnership approach to land stewardship. The challenge of the living landscape, as Holdaway and Smart (2001, 3) write, is:

> Rather than being set aside for landscape conservation and protected against human interference, the protected areas are multi-purpose; they are landscapes with communities where people live and work, and which are enjoyed by countless numbers of people. While they are protected through the application of strict planning policies, they are not "no go" areas so far as development is concerned. Their protection also depends on influencing the management of the land, most of which is in private ownership, and the activities that take place within them. It is a major challenge to ensure that the means of conserving and enhancing these areas is organized and funded in a way that recognizes their national and international importance, on the one hand, as well as the interests and roles of the many stakeholders and local communities involved.

This collaborative approach represents a paradigm shift not only for the NPS, but also in the planning field in general. Collaborative management methods for preservation and protection are as unique as each of the areas in which they are utilized. The circumstances of the cultural landscape and its working community dictate the methods. Where land use regulations may be appropriate in one circumstance, technical assistance, public education and incentives are appropriate in another. The challenge of the collaborative management structure becomes the facilitation of all the partners involved to reach consensus on which methods are most appropriate and how to implement them on a long-term basis. Finding the balance between resource preservation and varied interests, often on limited budgets, requires ingenuity to meet the challenges.

Statement of the Problem

In 1978, after a long battle to prevent the subdivision of a farm in the heart of Ebey's Prairie, legislation was passed to create the Reserve, the first unit of this type in the NPS. The NPS's Revised Land Acquisition Policy of April 26, 1976, defines national

reserves as, "Federal, state and local governments form a special partnership around an area to be protected. Planning, implementation and maintenance is a joint effort and is based on a mutual desire to protect the resource." The mission of the Reserve is unlike that of traditional NPS units. Within the Reserve lies an evolving community of relatively new inhabitants as well as descendants of the original settlers, and therefore it cannot be entirely frozen in time, as conventional NPS sites often are (McKinley 1993, 2). Little of the over 17,000 acres in the Reserve is owned by the federal government. The NPS has acquired scenic or conservation easements on farms and other open spaces in the Reserve. Additionally, unlike many NPS units, the Reserve is managed by an organization - the Trust Board - comprised of representatives from federal, state and local governments and citizens.

Purpose of the Study

The unbroken historical record to the present time honors the present as well as the past, continuity as well as change. The opposing forces of the community's need to adapt to changing circumstances and the need to safeguard the character and experience of place pose a significant challenge to the Trust Board.

The primary goal of this thesis is to provide general lessons about cultural landscape preservation as a technique for growth management. To that end, this research is an evaluation of the management structure of the Reserve, informed by case studies of the Columbia River Gorge Scenic Area and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor. This evaluation will also help inform the Trust Board's continued efforts of preserving the landscape. A secondary goal is to provide a continuation of the

Reserve's history since 1994, when the Administrative History of the Reserve was completed.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide this study:

1. How is the Trust Board preserving the cultural landscape while accommodating the evolving community living within the Reserve?

2. The Reserve was established to honor the past and present, as well as accommodate an evolving community. How well is the Reserve meeting that original intent of preserving the cultural landscape while accommodating an evolving community and managing growth twenty-five years later?

3. What are the positive outcomes and negative consequences of this type of approach for similarly managed protected areas?

Importance of the Study

This evaluation provides an understanding of the role of land use regulations and collaborative management in the preservation of cultural landscapes, an emerging new approach. It also draws upon case studies to provide conclusions and recommendations about the Reserve.

Methodology

The research is based on a case study approach. Case studies focus attention on one or a few instances of some social phenomenon, and may be descriptive or yield explanatory insights (Babbie, 2001). According to Yin (1997, 69-70), "The case study method of evaluation depends on the use of and ability to integrate in a converging fashion information from multiple sources of evidence...and is intended to examine a phenomenon in its real-life context."

Data were collected on each case through reviews of relevant materials such as planning documents and reports, and through interviews. Semi-structured interviews allowed for meaning and understanding to be explored in depth (Arksey and Knight 1999). "Interviewing provides access to the context of people's behavior and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior. A basic assumption in in-depth interviewing research is that the meaning people make of their experience effects the way they carry out that experience" (Seidman 1998, 4). In program evaluation, interviews are useful when the evaluator needs to develop an understanding of the program and to obtain information from people with unique information. It was important for this research to understand the perceptions of those interviewed of what the Reserve's role has been in preserving the cultural landscape in the context of an evolving community. Using a semi-structured approach, I was able to adapt questions as necessary and to ask follow-up questions while still getting the same type of information from each person.

While the research focuses predominantly on the Reserve, two other cases were selected in order to inform conclusions and recommendations about the Reserve. In selecting these two cases, I was interested in identifying other areas established to protect and preserve cultural landscapes while accommodating evolving communities, and managed in a similar manner to the Reserve. Another consideration in the selection was whether or not the established areas were units of the NPS. For comparisons, I selected one NPS unit, Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, and one area that does not fall under the auspices of the NPS, the Columbia River Gorge Commission.

Twenty-one interviews were conducted between August 2002 and January 2004 using snowball sampling. This type of sampling is appropriate when the members of the population are difficult to identify. During the first interview, I asked that individual to suggest others who might have experiences of interest to me. This process of getting a "referral" was used in each interview to gain subsequent interviewees. Interviews were also conducted with staff at the two case study locations. When it was not possible to conduct in-person interviews, telephone interviews were conducted. Posavac and Carey (1989, 59) state, "An alternative to interviewing a participant face to face is a telephone interview…Research indicates that the material obtained is of nearly equal validity."

Scope and Limitations

The scope of this research is an in-depth case study of the Reserve, drawing on information gathered through less intensive studies of the Corridor and the Commission to provide insights about innovative methods for preserving cultural landscapes and managing growth. As with experiments, "case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions not to populations or universes" (Yin 2003, 10). Therefore, this study allows for the expansion and generalization of theories about collaborative management practices and cultural landscape preservation methods (Yin 2003, 10).

Outline of Remainder of Thesis

Chapter two presents my review of the literature relevant to this research. In order to provide a broader perspective of the collaborative or partnership management approach, Chapter three presents studies of two cases similar to the Reserve - the

Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor. Chapter four, my findings, traces the history of the Reserve from Euro-American settlement to the present, and also presents the results of the interviews conducted with people associated with the Reserve. Conclusions and recommendations formed based on this research, as well as a summary of the thesis, are presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION AND GROWTH MANAGEMENT

The National Park Service has seen a paradigm shift in organizational culture over the last several decades where collaborative approaches to land conservation have become more and more common for new NPS units. A review of the relevant literature, as presented in this chapter, examines how this paradigm shift fostered itself in the cultural landscape preservation movement and makes the connection to growth management. This literature review sets the framework for the subsequent evaluation of Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve.

Cultural Landscape Preservation

For many, the term *cultural landscape* often conjures up an image of a rural landscape comprised of vast agricultural fields, dotted occasionally by a complex of farming-related buildings. "The landscape contains important evidence of past relationships with the land as well as present uses. Landscapes are central to a sense of identity, a sense of place" (Lucas 1992, 2).

The National Park Service defines *cultural landscapes* as those geographic areas, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values (Birnbaum 1994, 1).

Hayden (2000, ix) offers a more eloquent definition that expresses the true range of possibilities as *cultural landscapes*:

> "The cultural landscape is by definition unique – that combination of natural landforms and buildings that defines a particular place or region. It is the creation of women, men and children who lived their lives within the landscape. Preserved and interpreted for the public, the cultural landscape tells us who we are, as Americans, far more effectively than most individual works of architecture or exhibits in museums ever can. Main streets and mail order houses, casitas and steam baths, small towns and big parks, Pueblo Indian kivas and Midwestern flower gardens – all convey the specific traces of American material life as generations of diverse peoples have lived it."

Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve is a cultural landscape comprised of several elements – the rural, agricultural lands, the historic main street in a small town, and remnants of our nation's military history, just to name a few. The cultural landscape of the Reserve is not only a testament to yester years, but continues to evolve as humans interact with the natural environment.

A goal of the Reserve is to preserve its cultural and historic heritage while accommodating a vibrant community. It is the use of the word *preserve*, however, that causes some conflict when applied to cultural landscapes. While *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (1995) defines *preservation* as, "the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property," Alanen and Melnick (2000, 3) ask: "the very concept of cultural landscape preservation may sound like an oxymoron to some people; because cultural landscapes are composed of natural elements that grow, mature, erode, move, die, and revive once again, how can they possibly be preserved?" This is an issue grappled with worldwide.

Beginning in the early 1970s, the World National Parks Congresses have been held decennially to explore this very question posed by Alanen and Melnick. The Declaration of the 1982 World Congress (McNeely and Miller 1982, xi) asserts,

> "People are a part of nature. Their spiritual and material wellbeing depends upon the wisdom applied to the protection and use of living resources. Development need for the betterment of the human condition requires conservation of living resources for it to be sustainable…experience has shown that protected areas are an indispensable element of living resource conservation…an essential contribution to sustainable development."

Though cultural landscapes can not arrive at the point of total preservation, as Alanen and Melnick (2000, 3) point out, incorporating preservation and conservation techniques into the management of these landscapes, such as the Reserve, maintains the uniqueness, sense of identity and sense of place of them.

National Park Service

In the very early days of the National Park system in America, the planning and management foci were on protecting the natural and scenic values while satisfying the needs of visitors to the parks. Residents in communities adjacent to park areas were not traditionally considered (Foresta 1984; Stevens 1997; Achana and O'Leary 2000). However, the focus began to shift by the 1930s toward conservation and national parks becoming nature preserves managed to restrict human activities in and around them.

Associated with this rise in the conservation movement, was an increased focus on historic preservation. The NPS had been marginally involved in historic preservation from its inception due to the inclusion of Mesa Verde, Colorado in the original holdings. However, with the addition of the Civil War battlefields to the system in 1933, the

agency began taking a greater role in historic preservation. The addition of the Washington D.C.'s great monuments to the system secured the NPS's place as the "keeper of the flame of patriotism, the overseer of the sacred American places" (Foresta 1984, 130).

While the decades between the 1930s and 1960s saw few additions of natural parks, there was a steady increase in the number of historical sites added to the NPS. However, the historical wing, according to Foresta (1984, 131), continued to take a back seat to the natural wing of the park system. Additionally, questions of what historic sites were worthy of inclusion in the park system were continually being asked. Unlike the natural branch where "immediate, direct appeal of landscapes was the central criterion," the historical branch had a much more complicated situation. As Foresta (1984, 131) points out, the questions to be asked were numerous:

> What if a great event occurred but almost nothing remained of it on the landscape? Should such a site be added to the System? Or what of the reverse: What if the remains were well preserved but the events with which they were associated were not of prime importance? Should interpretability be a factor? What if the event was important but did not readily lend itself to interpretation?

With the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, the status of the historical branch of the National Park Service changed. The 1950s and early 1960s saw wholesale destruction of historic sites and urban commercial districts under the Modernism movement. The development of the interstate highway system also contributed to what eventually became the outcry to raise historic preservation to a higher level of importance in the federal government. Due in large measure to the efforts of George Hartzog, then Director of the National Park Service, the agency was assigned the

role of carrying out the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act, thereby elevating historic resources to equal footing with the natural resources (Foresta 1984).

The NPS entered another period of expansion in the 1960s and 1970s, but the expansion was no longer the result of major land gifts, such as the Rockefeller gift of the Grand Tetons and Acadia National Park. Although the Land and Water Conservation Fund had been established in 1964 to allow the federal government to acquire recreation land, it was apparent by the early 1970s that this would not be sufficient to accomplish the nation's land protection goals (Foresta 1984). The state of the economy and increase in land prices during the 1970s decreased the purchasing power of the dollars earmarked for land acquisition. Foresta (1984, 238) states, "In recent years there came to be a feeling in the Park Service and among the agency's supporters that heavy reliance on direct acquisition was a luxury neither the Park System nor the nation could afford any longer." Two solutions emerged from the debates on how to deal with this situation – less-than-fee acquisition and the greenline park concept. The former solution merits brief discussion but it is the latter solution that was applied to Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve upon the Reserve's inception (Degen 2003, 14).

The less-than-fee acquisition concept has been applied to those NPS units in which residents continue to live. Some lands were acquired outright and others were protected by easements or through zoning ordinances of the local government. Implementation of this concept, and the greenline park concept, set a shift in NPS leadership's thinking in motion. They began thinking of "cultural as well as historical and natural preservation, and when whole living landscapes came under its consideration,

there evolved a new preservation synthesis which allowed the agency's mission to be viewed in entirely new terms" (Foresta 1984, 239).

Greenlining also gained prominence, as an alternative for those places that have great scenic, historic, ecological and recreational value but also have the stamp of man's presence in some way (Corbett 1983, 1). Greenlining became a way to protect these areas through a combination of federal, state, and local means under a coordinated regional plan. Zoning, land trusts, conservation easements, tax incentives and other means could be used to protect the land that was to be managed by an intergovernmental commission with strong public involvement (Corbett 1983; Foresta 1984).

The American greenlining concept was based on a number of European countries, such as Britain, Germany and France, with similar systems (Corbett 1983; Foresta 1984). Britain's system was established shortly after the close of World War II on populated, working landscapes rather than being carved out of wilderness. With little recreational development within the country's national park system, the primary management aim was to preserve the rural landscape and its scenic amenities (Foresta 1984, 247). As an intensely industrialized country, Germany developed a national park system based on local zoning to limit the extent of development on the natural and agricultural lands of the countryside (Corbett 1983, 2).

With increasing support to apply this concept to the parks of America's future, New Jersey's Senator Case introduced a bill in 1977 to "establish a national system of reserves for the protection of outstanding ecological, scenic, historic, cultural and recreational landscape" (Foresta 1984, 249). Senator Case's system of national reserves

did not come to fruition in 1977, nor did the greenline parks become a category of NPS units. The concept generated enough interest that it did have strong influence on park legislation of the late 1970s, and the establishment of the *Reserve* category was the result of the shift in thinking occurring in the NPS leadership.

Realizing that not all places can be frozen in time, the NPS created the *Reserve* category to accommodate those units in the park system with vibrant, evolving communities within the boundaries, using a partnership approach to protect resources (Alanen 2000). Thus, the NPS became a partner in the preservation of cultural landscapes (Lins 1991). The partnership park concept descended from the greenline movement of the 1970s and 1980s, and "reflects many of the same goals but pursues them with a greater diversity of techniques in response to local conditions and local desires, and by eschewing land acquisition, avoids the most politically problematic part of traditional park designation," according to Hamin (2001, 126).

This movement toward incorporating partnership parks into the National Park System corresponded to the global movement of protected areas as a tool for sustainable development. In their article on conservation models for the 21st century, Beresford and Phillips (2000, 19) contend that the recognition of local people and their inclusion in the parks planning process is a new paradigm, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. A new paradigm for the world's protected areas

As it was: protected areas were...	As it is: protected areas are...
Planned and managed against people	Run with, for, and in some cases by them
Run by central government	Run by many partners
Set aside for conservation	Run also with social and economic objectives
Developed separately	Planned as part of a national or international system
Managed as "islands"	Developed as networks (strictly protected areas buffered and linked by green corridors)
Established mainly for scenic preservation	Often set up for scientific, economic, and cultural reasons
Managed for visitors and tourists	Managed with local people more in mind
About protection	Also about restoration
Viewed exclusively as a national concern	Viewed as an international concern, too

Source: Beresford, M. and Phillips, A. 2000. Protected landscapes: A conservation model for the 21st century. The George Wright Forum, 17(1): 19.

The paradigm shift toward collaborative processes is not exclusive to partnership parks and protected areas. The field of planning, generally, has seen this shift in recent decades, as Hamin (2000, 124) notes, and current education in planning theory reflects. Collaborative planning brings together stakeholders working toward consensus, rather than using the principle of majority rule (Healey 1992; Innes and Booher 1999; Margerum 2002). Complex issues are resolved more readily and mutually accepted goals are achieved when participants of a wide range of interests participate in planning processes (Margerum 2002). Additionally, new ideas leading to creative solutions are generated (Innes and Booher 1999). It is this premise on which the Trust Board of the Reserve functions in order to preserve the cultural landscape and manage the future growth within the Reserve.

Growth Management

"Growth management is active and dynamic…; it seeks to maintain an ongoing equilibrium between development and conservation, between various forms of development and concurrent provisions of infrastructure, between the demands for public services generated by growth and the supply of revenues to finance those demands, and between progress and equity" (Chinitz 1990, 4).[1] Working to resolve issues and problems stemming from the changing character of communities, whether they are rapidly growing small towns and suburbs or mature and even declining communities, citizen and professional planners are broadening their understanding of vital links among development, the environment, and social and economic conditions of everyday life (Porter 1997, vii). The very reason the Reserve was created some twenty-five years ago was in an effort to resolve the issues of development pressures and manage future growth. Though rural in nature, the Reserve is continually under development pressure. It is located within commuting distance of Seattle and only ten miles away from Whidbey Island Naval Air Station, and has, therefore, become home to those who want to live in a rural environment but be close to the conveniences afforded by a major city or military base.

The advent of the growth management concept is linked to the environmental protection movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, as discussed earlier in relation to

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[1] A related concept, *smart growth*, has emerged since the 1990s to focus specifically on compact, mixed use, transit-oriented and environmentally sound development and land use patterns (Szold and Carbonell 2002, 3).

national parks (Porter 1997). Later evolving to focus on supporting and coordinating the development process and broadening the perspective, growth management has become "a positive force for guiding community development rather than a means for restricting growth" (Porter 1997, 9).

Nelson and Duncan (1995, 1) describe urban sprawl as, "Unplanned, uncontrolled, and uncoordinated single-use development that does not provide for an attractive and functional mix of uses and/or is not functionally related to surrounding land uses and which variously appears as low density, ribbon or strip, scattered, leapfrog, or isolated development." This type of development has a myriad of consequences including increased capital facility costs, loss of agricultural lands and other open space, intensification of residential segregation, and endangered natural and cultural assets of a community, to name a few (Nelson and Duncan 1995; Parker 1997). In order to counteract these consequences, several states, including Washington, have become growth management states by enacting land use planning laws. These laws establish statewide goals and policies to guide local jurisdictions through a comprehensive planning process.

Washington Growth Management Act

Drawing on Oregon's experience with its statewide planning program, the state of Washington enacted the Growth Management Act (GMA) in 1990. The Act's purpose is to eliminate uncoordinated and unplanned growth throughout the state. Reducing sprawl is one of the legislation's primary goals. The centerpiece of the legislation's program to effect the reduction in sprawl is the Urban Growth Area (UGA). The UGA delineates the

urban and rural areas, represents the pre-designated limit to urban sprawl, and is designed to protect open space, resource lands or other natural amenities. The purpose, according to Easley (1990, 1), of the UGA is to "promote compact urban development within and adjacent to existing urban areas so as to insure efficient utilization of land resources and to facilitate the economic provision of urban services."

According to Beaumont (1996, 296), "The law encourages cooperative, coordinated planning by local governments within a given region. County plans must harmonize with the plans of cities within the county, and the plans of neighboring jurisdictions must comport with each other." The law is applicable to counties that meet the following criteria: 1) those counties with a population of 50,000 or more, and that either grew more than ten percent in the 10 years preceding May 16, 1995, or after that date are growing by more than seventeen percent in the preceding ten years; 2) any county that has grown more than twenty percent in the last ten years; or 3) any community which voluntarily elects to plan under the GMA. As fully planning counties, those that meet one of the three criterion are required to meet all of the Act's goals and requirements (*A short course in local planning* 1999, 3-8). Island County, the county encompassing the Reserve, is a fully planning county under the GMA.

The GMA identifies five key components and presents guidelines for each task in order for counties and cities to meet the growth management goals. The five key components are (*A short course in local planning 1999*, 3-9):

> 1. Classification, designation, conservation, and protection – the steps in resource lands conservation and critical areas protection.
> 2. Population, urban growth boundaries, county-wide policies, regional plans – regionalizing the local planning process.
> 3. Comprehensive plans – the heart of the redefined planning process under growth management.
> 4. Zoning, platting, and official controls – the coordination of local development regulations and requirements of "consistency" with comprehensive plans.
> 5. Project review – the requirements of "consistency" and environmental review in planning and development: Land use designations, levels of development, infrastructure, characteristics of development, and identification of probable adverse environmental impacts.

The GMA brings together the national, regional and local frameworks under which the preservation of the Reserve's cultural landscape can occur. A study of the Reserve's example of cultural landscape preservation as a growth management technique further informs the literature presented here. A program evaluation, as defined below, facilitates this study.

Program Evaluation

To explore the questions presented in Chapter One that form the basis of this research, I draw upon the literature on program evaluation to guide my analysis. Program evaluations are conducted to gather information to improve practices and program structure. Additionally, a variety of administrative decisions can be enhanced by evaluative data. Two of the reasons to evaluate programs identified by Posavac and Carey (1989, 8) are to assist staff in program development and improvement, and to learn about

unintended effects of programs. However, as Posavac and Carey (1989, 10) suggest, program evaluation should not be confused with basic research with questions of theoretical interest without regard to immediate needs of people or organizations. Program evaluation tries to help inform improvements in effectiveness and make programs accountable to the public.

According to Vedung (1997), the classical approach to program evaluation is goal-attainment evaluation. This approach measures goal achievement and assesses impacts. The two key questions to this type of program evaluation are: "Are the results in accord with program goals?" and "Are the results produced by the program?" (Vedung, 1997, 37-38). After the goals of the program have been identified, the next steps are to determine to what extent the premeditated goals have been realized in practice and to determine the degree to which the program has promoted or dampened goal realization. The goal-attainment model of program evaluation is used for this research because the critical point of this model is to determine if the premeditated program goals have in fact been achieved and then to try to find out to what extent the program has contributed to goal achievement (Vedung 1997).

In her discussion on how European techniques for protecting cultural landscapes can be applied to American landscapes, Hamin (2002, 355) writes:

> "In reviewing the literature, it becomes clear that most who write in this field are also advocates or practitioners for protected landscapes, so that the failures and complexities of practice receive less treatment than the successes. The most pressing need appears to be for systematic and rigorous evaluations of outcomes from designating areas as protected lands generally and protected landscapes in particular...that sort of evaluation across highly individualized situations is complex and prone to issues of incommensurability of cases...More generally, application of solid social science techniques to the questions of local participation in, and support for, protected landscapes is a promising area for more work.

The review of the literature set forth in this chapter forms the foundation for this research using a program evaluation methodology to critically examine a case in cultural landscape preservation.

CHAPTER 3

TWO APPROACHES TO CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

I knew from the first moment I entered Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve that it is an unique and special place. There is no other place like it in our country. This became even more apparent as I began research to identify other areas in the country that might serve as case studies to help inform my research. In selecting the case studies, I sought two areas that had been designated to preserve cultural landscapes while accommodating evolving communities, and managed by a collaborative organization. Size of the designated unit could not be used as a criterion for selection as my research did not yield information on any other units of comparable size to the Reserve. Designation as a unit of the National Park Service was not a limiting factor in selection.

The result of my research was the selection of the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor. Both entities are managed by commissions comprised of representatives from the various levels of government within their boundaries, and have missions to preserve the cultural landscapes. Although the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area falls under the U.S. Forest Service umbrella, rather than the National Park Service, it was selected for its potential to yield an understanding of how an area with a cooperative management structure functions in the state of Washington relative to the Washington State Growth

Management Act. The Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor was selected primarily for the understanding of how partnerships and incentives alone serve to preserve a cultural landscape. The remainder of this chapter presents both cases providing a discussion of their histories, management structures, benefits, challenges and consequences. Lessons from the case studies are utilized in Chapter Five to help inform my conclusions and recommendations about the Reserve.

Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area

Beginning at the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, the Columbia River flows for hundreds of miles toward the Pacific Ocean, feeding major tributary rivers such as the Snake, John Day and Deschutes Rivers. At the point where the river encounters the Cascade Mountains, near the present-day city of The Dalles, and extending for seventy-file miles westward, millions of years of volcanic activity, erosion, sedimentation, northward movement of the river, cataclysmic flooding and extensive land sliding have created a gorge. (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1994; Abbott, Adler & Abbott 1997). As a near sea level passage through the mountains, the river became a natural trade route for the humans who have inhabited the area for some 10,000 years. (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1992). The trade route's marketplace was found at Celilo Falls, near the present-day site of The Dalles Dam. The falls marked the change in landscape between the interior plateaus and the forested lands, and was the point of division in cultures between the Chinook-speaking peoples and the interior tribes such as the Nez Perce, Shoshonis, and Paiutes (Abbott, Adler & Abbott 1997).

After the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1805 followed the river to the point at which it opens into the Pacific Ocean, this route became important to America's expansion westward. Steamboat travel was introduced to the river in the 1850s, and by the late 1800s, a railway lined each side of the river, connecting the region to the rest of the United States. When the Columbia River Highway was completed between Troutdale and Hood River in 1915, and completed to The Dalles in 1922, it opened the Gorge to new possibilities for development along the river's shores. An engineering marvel constructed to take advantage of the Gorge's spectacular scenery, the highway also opened the area to recreational opportunities (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1992). Today, the river serves as a major transportation link with an interstate highway, a rail corridor and a thoroughfare for barge traffic between Portland and the Snake River (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1992; Abbott, Adler & Abbott 1997).

As development along the Gorge increased in the early part of the 20th century, concerns began to be voiced about the impacts of that development on the region's special qualities. As early as 1937, efforts were made to establish some sort of protection for the Gorge as a nationally significant area. World War II put those efforts on hold, however. In the 1950s, both Oregon and Washington established commissions as vehicles for protection of the Gorge's resources, and by the 1970s, the commissions were meeting together to set special zoning provisions for the Gorge. A study by the National Park Service released in 1980 found that development trends threatened the Gorge's resources thus beginning a long, controversial battle to pass the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area Act in 1986 (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1992).

The Act established an innovative system for protecting and enhancing the gorge. Recognizing the need for environmental protection and economic development, the region was divided into urban areas where most of the future development would occur and non-urban areas where any development must protect the scenic, cultural, natural and recreation resources of the Scenic Area. *See Figure 1*. The second provision of the Act was the creation of a partnership between a new Gorge Commission, the U.S. Forest Service, state and local governments, Native American tribes, land owners and interest groups. Thirdly, Congress required the development by all partners of a comprehensive management plan to achieve the purposes of the Scenic Area. The Gorge Commission and the U.S. Forest Service served as the lead agencies in the creation of the plan, adopted by the Gorge Commission in October of 1991 (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1994). According to Martha Bennett, Executive Director of the Columbia Gorge Commission,

> "It took 75 years for them to figure out how to do the protection. The challenge was that the gorge has been a place where humans have lived for 10,000 years so what kind of national park or national monument would it be? It would be a challenge for the park service to deal with. Secondly, one of the reasons it took so long was the focus on making it a park so once the leaders in the 80s broke through the notion that it had to be a park then the ability to protect it became easier" (Personal interview 12/20/03).

The Act called for the creation of the Gorge Commission as a compromise between the governors of Oregon and Washington in order to maintain some local control and to balance between national goals and local interests. It was important for the state and local governments to retain control of how the Gorge would be protected. A number of the proponents for the Act's passage were from Oregon and thus many of the

components of the Act reflect Oregon's planning model of urban growth boundaries and preservation of open space and farmlands. At the time of the Act's passage, planning was a fairly new concept in Washington. Washington's Growth Management Act was not passed until the early 1990s so the state did not yet have a land use planning system at the time of the Scenic Area Act's passage. Therefore, planning on the Washington side of the Gorge, left to the discretion of individual counties, was fairly fragmented in the early days of the Gorge Commission's work.

The 300,000 acre Scenic Area, stretching eighty-five miles from the east side of the Portland metropolitan area to the Deschutes River west of The Dalles, is divided into three management areas: Special Management Areas, General Management Areas and Urban Areas. The Special Management Areas include approximately 115,000 acres of land mostly within the boundaries of the two national forests, Mount Hood National Forest and the Gifford Pinchot National Forest. The U.S. Forest Service has direct management of these areas. There are approximately 149,000 acres in the General Management Areas that contain a mixture of resource uses and private lands managed by the Gorge Commission. The thirteen Urban Areas of North Bonneville, Stevenson, Carson, Home Valley, White Salmon, Bingen, Lyle, Dallesport, and Wishram in Washington and Cascade Locks, Hood River, Mosier, and The Dalles in Oregon are exempted from the Management Plan. However, these urban areas are invited to cooperate in implementing the Management Plan in order to receive federal funds (Abbott, Adler & Abbott 1997, 8-9).

Tasked with implementing the Scenic Area Management Plan in the General Management Areas, the Gorge Commission is comprised of members from each of the six counties (Multnomah, Hood River and Wasco Counties in Oregon and Clark, Skamania and Klickitat Counties in Washington) appointed by the governing body of each state; three members who reside in Oregon, at least one of whom shall be a resident in the Scenic Area, appointed by the Governor; three members who reside in Washington, at least one of whom shall reside in the Scenic Area, appointed by the Governor; and one ex officio, non-voting member who is an employee of the U.S. Forest Service (U.S. Congress 1986b). A small staff supports the Gorge Commission. The Gorge Commission is funded equally by each state, and its duties include the following:

> 1. Develop and adopt land use and resource protection policy through the Scenic Area Management Plan;
> 2. Work with Gorge counties that administer land use ordinances to implement the Management Plan, or administer a Scenic Area ordinance in counties that have not adopted their own ordinance;
> 3. Work with agency, tribal and community partners on projects, such as new recreation sites or economic development projects, to improve the Gorge;
> 4. Certify grants and loans for economic development projects that are consistent with the Scenic Area Act;
> 5. Monitor how the Management Plan carries out purposes of the Scenic Area Act and monitors the actions of counties that administer Scenic Area ordinances; and
> 6. Serve as an appeals board for Scenic Area land use decisions issued by a county or by the Commission's Executive Director and challenged by another party.

The U.S. Forest Service, in addition to having an ex officio member on the Gorge Commission, manages the land with the Special Management Areas. Because some of the land in the Special Management Areas is privately owned, the Gorge Commission adopts the regulations set by the Forest Service for these lands so that the federal government

does not participate in zoning of private lands. Additionally, the Forest Service provides direct services by running numerous recreation sites in the Gorge and provides technical assistance in specialized fields such as biology, archeology and fire fighting. Finally, the Forest Service is also a granting agency providing financial support to various projects undertaken to enhance the Gorge and protect its resources.

The role of the states in the Scenic Area is to administer forest practices, run parks and other recreation sites, promote economic development, and administer a special fund authorized by the Scenic Area Act. Additionally, the states provide expertise in historic preservation through the State Historic Preservation Offices, and technical work for natural resources. While the Gorge Commission works to promote economic development by encouraging development to happen inside the urban areas rather than in the Scenic Area, the states take the lead in promoting and supporting economic development.

To date, five of the six Gorge counties - all three counties in Oregon and two counties in Washington - have adopted land use ordinances to implement the Management Plan. Klickitat County has chosen not to do this, thus the Gorge Commission directly administers the land use ordinance in that county. To illustrate, if a land owner in Klickitat County decides to build a new house in the Scenic Area, he or she would have to obtain a Scenic Area land use permit from the Gorge Commission and then obtain land use and building permits from the county. In the other counties, the applicant would obtain all necessary permits directly from the county (Bennett 2003).

Cities manage the urban areas and don't have any responsibility under the Scenic Area Act. The four tribes located in the Scenic Area, which have treaty rights, also play a role in the management of the Scenic Area by providing cultural and natural resource expertise, for example. While the Gorge Commission's Executive Director coordinates the six partners in the management of the Scenic Area, there are many other parties involved, including agencies or organizations such as the six ports and gorge-wide chambers of commerce that conduct business promotion, and interest groups such as the Friends of the Columbia Gorge and the windsurfers group (Columbia River Gorge Commission 1992; Bennett 2003).

Bennett (2003) gives several benefits of this type of management structure for protecting the Scenic Area. The first benefit is the nice balance between achieving federal goals for the protection of a federally significant landscape and the interests of the local people living there. Sometimes that balance, however, is controversial. When it is controversial, it is played out locally rather than in Washington, D.C. That's a benefit, she says, to all who live in the Gorge. Another benefit is that the land is protected as a living, working landscape. If the Scenic Area were solely managed by the National Park Service or the U.S. Forest Service, it might be a difficult challenge to maintain it as a working landscape due to the organizational culture toward protection. Finally, by bringing the various partners in the management of the Scenic Area to the same table, the Gorge Commission is able to draw upon the wide range of knowledge, experience and perspectives to address issues and develop appropriate management techniques.

On the other hand, Bennett also finds some challenges of the Scenic Area's management structure. First, contrary to the case for a national park or national forest, it is not clear what level of protection they are aiming for in the Scenic Area. Second, keeping all the partners on the same track can be challenging. For Bennett, it is easy to keep the mission in sight as she travels throughout the Gorge, meeting with partners or making presentations to interest groups, among her other duties. A third challenge, as it is with most organizations, is funding. As previously mentioned, the Gorge Commission is funded equally by the two partner states. Recent budget cuts in both states have affected the services the Gorge Commission and its staff can provide to the Scenic Area. A related challenge is that since both states "own" the Gorge Commission due to the interstate compact agreement, it isn't clear to whom the Gorge Commission is accountable. A final challenge of the Scenic Area's management structure is balancing preservation of the spectacular landscape's values that make the Scenic Area nationally significant with the needs of the local residents.

As the leaders of the efforts to establish the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area grappled with how to accomplish the mission to protect and enhance the Gorge while supporting the economy of the area, they attempted to envision all the consequences of this innovative management approach. However, external factors have had unforeseen consequences on the Gorge Commission's work. For example, the rise of the property rights movement and the passage of ballot measure seven in Oregon have

changed the political and legal systems in which the Gorge Commission functions.[2] Another unforeseen consequence, according to Bennett, is that of the 1800 approvals and approximately twenty decisions made by the Gorge Commission on land use cases, several of the cases, such as the Bea House which received national attention, have become legends of almost mythological proportions.[3] Though these have been unforeseen consequences for the Gorge Commission, situations such as these have served to underscore the need for an active partnership to protect the resources that make the Columbia River Gorge the wonderful place it is, while promoting economic development in appropriate ways. A ten-year review of the management plan conducted in 2002 found that, "The plan has worked well overall to protect scenic views. The combination of land use zoning, protection standards and land acquisition has been successful in preventing what surely would have been a loss of landscape qualities that the public values" (*The Columbian*, August 18, 2002).

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[2] Oregon ballot measure seven was passed by voters on November 7, 2000 and required compensation to landowners for any land use regulations passed after acquisition that reduced the market value. The Oregon Supreme Court found the measure unconstitutional on October 4, 2002.

[3] The Gorge Commission has developed a measure, called *visual subordination*, to determine whether or not a development of any type has adverse effect on the scenic view. Visual subordination means that if someone is standing at any one of the key viewing areas identified in the Scenic Area Management Plan and scans across his or her view shed, any development should not stand out enough to immediately catch the eye (Bennett 2003). Design guidelines, height restrictions and landscaping guidelines were established to ensure visual subordination of development. Controversy surrounding the house being constructed by Brian and Jody Bea began when it was determined that the house was taller than the approved 25 feet, and trees screening the house from prominent view in the Scenic Area were removed (Meers 1999).

Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor

While the Columbia Gorge Commission provides a case study of an organization directly involved in land use management as a mechanism for cultural landscape preservation, the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission (Corridor Commission) is a partnership organization that preserves its cultural landscape through technical assistance, advocacy, education and grant making.

The birthplace of the American Industrial Revolution, the Blackstone River Valley has made "a major contribution to our understanding of the American experience" (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor 1989, 1). After European settlement in the mid-seventeenth century by Quakers fleeing Boston, the valley grew as a commercial and manufacturing center for the region. Following the American Revolution, Samuel Slater, a former of employee of the Arkwright mills in England, used his knowledge "to help establish America's first successful water-powered textile mill… More than any other single event, this successful transplantation of the Arkwright factory system can be said to mark the birth of the American Industrial Revolution and the complete transformation of American life and character" (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor 1989, 4).

By the early 1800s, water-powered mills lined the banks of the Blackstone River and many of the industries adopted the organizational and technological elements of the factory system. The once agrarian landscape of the valley was transformed to one of mill villages along the river. Based on the Rhode Island system, the multi-storied mills were constructed of wood, stone and brick in the centers of these villages, with workers'

houses, stores, and other community buildings surrounding them. Company farms surrounded the villages. Workers were recruited from the countryside and signaled the shift from "selling your work to selling your time. Critics called it *wage slavery*, and many believed it to be a radical transformation in the American dream" (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor 1989, 5).

Mill owners soon encountered a problem for which they thought the Blackstone River could provide a solution – a transportation route to markets. Or so it seemed at the time. Based on the success of the Erie Canal, construction on the Blackstone Canal was completed by 1828. However, it proved to be a failure for several reasons and the railroad soon after supplanted the canal as the transportation route to markets.

Large portions of America, including the Blackstone River Valley, enjoyed tremendous industrial growth during much of the nineteenth century, particularly with the advent of the steam engine. The introduction of steam power allowed for expansion previously curtailed due to limited water supplies. However, by the early 1900s, the textile industry began moving south as owners invested in new facilities and technology rather than in upgrading the existing facilities. By 1923, fifty percent of the nation's cotton cloth production had moved from the north to the south (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor 1989, 8). The Great Depression significantly impacted the mills in the Blackstone River Valley and by the close of World War II, an estimated ninety percent of the mills had closed (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor 1989, 8).

Realizing the importance of this region to America's heritage and to create new opportunities for valley residents, the region's leaders have been working since 1985 to revitalize the Blackstone River Valley. In 1986, Congress established the John R. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor in Massachusetts and Rhode Island for the purpose of "preserving and interpreting for the educational and inspirational benefit of present and future generations the unique and significant contributions to our national heritage of certain historic and cultural lands, waterways and structures within the Blackstone River Valley in order to provide a management framework to assist the states...and their units of local government in the development and implementation of integrated cultural, historical, and land resource management programs in order to retain, enhance and interpret the significant values of the lands, waters and structures of the Corridor" (U.S. Congress 1986a).

Extending for forty six miles from Worcester, Massachusetts to Providence, Rhode Island, the Corridor includes 454 square miles, twenty four communities, and thousands of historic buildings and sites. *See Figure 2*. Based on civic pride and economic revitalization, some 500 organizations, business, private agencies and individuals developed a regional vision for the Corridor. A nineteen-member federal commission serves as the managing entity for the Corridor and uses a strategy of public education, partnerships and targeted investments to carry out its mission. The National Park Service, through its Corridor staff, is a partner, facilitator and advisor but does not acquire or manage heritage areas or regulate private property (Degen 2003). The Corridor Commission is comprised of the Director of the National Park Service, ex officio, or a

delegate; six individuals nominated by the Governors of Massachusetts and Rhode Island who shall be the Department of Environmental Management Directors, the State Historic Preservation Officers, and the Department of Economic Development Directors from each state; four representatives of local government from Massachusetts and four from Rhode Island nominated by the Governors; and two individuals from each state nominated by the Governors to represent other interests each Governor deems appropriate (U.S. Congress 1986a). Unlike the Gorge Commission, the Corridor Commission is funded by the federal government for technical assistance and operations, and it manages a federal appropriation to fund a grant program for projects in the Corridor.

The *Cultural Heritage and Land Management Plan* for the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor was published in 1989 as the guiding document for the Corridor Commission's work. Upon the Corridor Commission's authorization in 1996 for a second ten-year period, the *Ten Year Plan* was developed to supplement the *Cultural Heritage and Land Management Plan* and reaffirmed the Corridor Commission's commitment to the Corridor.

In the *Cultural Heritage and Land Management Plan* (1989, v), the Corridor Commission identified a 20-year vision for the Corridor:

> 1. The Blackstone River Valley is a model for balanced preservation, recreation and economic revitalization.
> 2. Wise land use and redevelopment actions enable the communities of the Valley to retain their distinction as individual villages and cities rather than succumb to haphazard growth.

3. Residents hold a strong sense of pride growing from their awareness of the Valley's remarkable heritage, its national importance and their accomplishment in its rebirth.
4. The Blackstone River is clean and enjoyed for its parks and recreation all along its banks, a living symbol of the unity and commitment of Valley residents.
5. The National Heritage Corridor's biking, hiking, boating and other recreation activities are enjoyed by residents and visitors alike.
6. The Corridor's innovative interpretive programs, exciting museums, information centers and annual special events engage people of all ages as participants in the Valley's heritage.
7. New businesses are good neighbors, many occupying the Valley's historic mills, bringing with them jobs and a promising future for the Valley's young people.
8. In the Valley there is a strong continuity of values, emphasizing family and the identification with community; newcomers are accepted and put down roots, in ways that build upon the cultural and social strengths of the Blackstone River Valley's traditions.
9. A new level of cooperation exists among the 20 local governments and the two states, as well as among the many civic organizations instrumental in achieving the Valley's regeneration. Together they have been working in harmony toward strong, community-held goals.

To effect this vision for the Corridor, the Corridor Commission's goals are to 1) protect the Valley's historic, cultural and natural resources in an integrated manner; 2) educate and interpret the Corridor's importance to the people of the Valley and its visitors; 3) foster specific activities that tap the Valley's unique resources and invite people to enjoy and celebrate them; 4) encourage public and private investment in the Valley's physical and human resources that reinforce these values; 5) stimulate the research necessary to understand the Valley's role in the American Industrial Revolution and the lessons it holds for our times; and 6) coordinate and encourage all the partnerships that will be necessary to achieve these goals (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission 1989, vi).

The *Ten Year Plan* (Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission 1997, 2) reaffirmed the Corridor Commission's commitment to its mission and goals by setting forth several key elements for its future work. These elements include heritage infrastructure, heritage programming, strategic design and planning assistance, preservation and enhancement programs, river recovery and recreational development, establishment of the Blackstone Valley Institute, and a transition for the Corridor Commission toward a self-sustaining management framework. To further understand how the Commission and its staff accomplish its mission, I interviewed Halford Welch, Director of Planning and Project Management for the Corridor.

Prohibited from having any influence over land use decisions in the Corridor, the Corridor's staff provides professional training to encourage the use of best practices by communities. With the federal appropriation, the Corridor Commission puts out a call for proposals every two to three years to put the money out in the communities for projects that fit with the Corridor's mission. Additionally, the Corridor Commission and its staff provide technical assistance to communities, organizations and individuals in the Corridor. Communities often make their first phone call to Corridor Commission staff when considering major initiatives to consult on issues such as balancing preservation and growth (Welch 2004).

Touted as an experiment in regional cultural resource management, the Corridor has been a success thus far, according to Welch (2004). The management structure has proven successful because by virtue of title, the Corridor Commission includes members who are experts in areas such as historic preservation and environmental management.

While it has been challenging to preserve the cultural landscape solely through partnerships and incentives, it has been a positive experiment. The Corridor Commission and staff have built huge identity and allegiances with the community.

Summary

Examining the Columbia River Gorge Commission and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission provides insights on two very different approaches to preserving the cultural landscapes. They are each different from the approach used by the Reserve Trust Board as well, underscoring the fact that unique places require unique methods of preservation and protection. However, that is not to say that lessons can't be taken from the case studies' experiences and applied to the evaluation of the Reserve's Trust Board.

CHAPTER 4

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF EBEY'S LANDING NATIONAL HISTORICAL RESERVE

Believing that the "noblest aspiration of freemen is to better, to improve their condition in life", Isaac Neff Ebey left his family in Missouri in 1848 to try his luck in the California gold rush (Farrar 1916). From there, he headed north to Puget Sound. Exploring Whidbey Island, Ebey was quick to grasp the possibilities of the land on the prairie and claimed a square mile of land for himself and his family under the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, thereby becoming the first permanent Euro-American settler on Whidbey Island. After sending numerous letters to relatives and friends about his paradise and with his encouragement to come before all the best lands were claimed, Ebey convinced his parents, his wife's three brothers, and several friends to move to Whidbey Island. By 1852, his family and friends had laid claims in several areas around central Whidbey Island. News of the fertile lands spread and within five years, the best farmlands were claimed by other easterners moving to the region (McKinley 1993).

Taking advantage of his property's natural landing on the shores of Admiralty Inlet, Ebey built a dock for commercial traffic on the Puget Sound, especially trade from Port Townsend on the Olympic Peninsula. Therefore, most of the transportation activity occurred at Ebey's Landing. Mail was delivered to the dock and then taken by stagecoach to Coveland, and later to Coupeville. Ferry passengers disembarked there as well, and often stopped at the Ferry House, built circa 1860, for a meal and/or lodging before

making the trip across the prairie to Coupeville. The dock was active until a new dock was built at Fort Casey at the turn of the century (Neil and Brainard 1989).

With reputation as a paradise of nature, Euro-Americans continued to be drawn to the rich loam of the prairies (McKinley 1993). The town of Coveland was the county seat and the center of commercial activity until the 1870s when farmers and merchants found Coupeville more convenient for handling trade, thereby establishing it as the commercial center. The county seat was relocated to Coupeville in 1881 and the town was platted in 1883. Front Street, with its false-front shops (many of which are still standing today), took shape by 1890. Penn's Cove, on the eastern side of central Whidbey Island, also developed as a harbor.

While there were two speculative frenzies on the Island, sparked by false hopes of a railroad terminus in Coupeville, in the late 1860s and late 1880s, agriculture has been the region's economic mainstay. The fishing and logging industries have played significant, though short-lived, roles in the region's economic development. Fort Casey, part of the defense system for the gateway to the Puget Sound constructed in the late 1890s, became an important part of the local economy and remained an active training base until after World War II. Seattle Pacific University now owns a portion of the Fort and operates a conference center and hotel. The other portion is owned by the State of Washington and is a state park. Therefore, the Fort continues to be an important aspect of the local economy.

The Oak Harbor Naval Air Station, created in the early 1940s and now called Whidbey Island Naval Air Station, concentrated thousands of military workers and their families in central and northern Whidbey Island by the late 1940s. Their presence stimulated the local housing market, in part because they often returned in later years to retire. Thus, new pressures on the lands of the region began to develop. Between 1950 and 1960, Coupeville's population doubled. The overall population of Island County increased by 222 percent between 1940 and 1960. In the next two decades, it doubled again (McKinley 1993). As land costs rose, farmers were sometimes tempted to sell their property to developers, and the farmland began to diminish.

Creation of the Reserve

People with deep roots on Whidbey Island grew concerned about the loss of established farms to residential development (McKinley 1993). Farmers were well aware that to maintain an agricultural economy, sufficient numbers of farms had to survive in order to sustain the services, which in turn supported them. Newer arrivals who came to escape the urban sprawl of the mainland found that it threatened to tag along with them.

The central and northern portions of Whidbey Island are in the rain shadow of the Olympic Peninsula and only receive about eighteen inches of rain per year. While this makes these parts of the island desirable places to live, islanders have also confronted issues related to the rapid growth. The limited amount of rain limits the amount of groundwater available. Additionally, development threatened dwindling wetlands and the remaining natural habitat of the island's wildlife. The growing environmental and

preservation movements of the 1960s and 1970s provided vehicles for addressing the issues islanders were experiencing as a result of rapid growth.

In 1970, one family decided to rezone a portion of their farm. This "simple" request to the county commissioners triggered a prolonged dispute among citizens of central Whidbey Island and erupted in a controversy that required over a decade to resolve. Once the dust settled, the farm remained in tact and the local residents achieved a unique partnership with the NPS and local governments. The result was the 1978 legislation creating Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve. The language of the law cites the unbroken historical record of the central Whidbey Island community "from nineteenth century exploration and settlement in Puget Sound to the present time" and emphasized four historic eras: Vancouver's exploration of the Puget Sound in 1792; the first permanent settlement on Whidbey Island, led by Isaac Ebey; the Donation Land Claim settlements and subsequent settlements; and the development of Coupeville (U.S. Congress 1978). *See Figure 3*. Several aspects of the legislation made the Reserve an unusual addition to the National Park system. The Reserve was the first historical reserve in the country. Secondly, the Secretary of the Interior would transfer management responsibility to state or local government. The day-to-day management and administration of the Reserve was not intended to remain with NPS but rather with a unit of local government. Finally, another stipulation, unusual for NPS, was that lands and/or interests in lands could be acquired, but only with the consent of the owner. No condemnation could occur in the reserve. The law required a comprehensive plan within eighteen months. This plan established the Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve

Trust Board, a partnership of federal, state and local governments and citizens, to manage the Reserve. It took another ten years for elements of the comprehensive plan to be implemented and the Trust Board to be put into place. Today, the Reserve has a full-time manager and part-time resource manager and administrative assistant who work for the Trust Board.

The mission of Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve is unlike that of traditional National Park Service units. Within the reserve lies an evolving community of relatively new inhabitants as well as descendants of the original settlers, and therefore it cannot entirely be frozen in time, as conventional NPS sites often are (McKinley 1993). Little of the approximately 17,000 acres in the Reserve is owned by the federal government. NPS has acquired scenic or conservation easements on farms and other open spaces in the reserve.

Early Administrative History

The purpose of this research is to examine cultural landscape preservation as a growth management tool based on the study of the Reserve. *An Unbroken Historical Record: Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Administrative History* by Laura McKinley (1993) provides a thorough discussion of the Reserve's early history and how the Trust Board was created. This discussion is summarized here as a foundation for my examination of the Reserve's history since 1993 and evaluation of the Trust Board.

After the passage of the 1978 legislation creating the Reserve, the first order of business was to create the Reserve's comprehensive plan. Reed Jarvis, assistant superintendent of Olympic National Park and experienced park planner, facilitated the

efforts. A Citizens Advisory Committee was appointed by the mayor of Coupeville and the Island County Board of Commissioners to lead the planning efforts for the Reserve in order to ensure local interests were represented and kept at the forefront. As McKinley describes (1993, 49), the committee had to first learn how to work in conjunction with a federal agency. It was also challenging for them to develop a conceptual plan based on very broad wording in the legislation and no precedent to follow. Working in three groups, the committee worked to identify the three specified use area categories: public use and development, historic and natural preservation, and private use subject to appropriate local ordinances (McKinley 1993, 50). One result of this work was the designation of priority areas for the Reserve:

1. Ebey's Landing/Perego's Bluff and Perego's Lake/Hill Road
2. Ebey's Prairie and Valley Sides
3. Town of Coupeville
4. Fort Casey/Keystone Spit/Camp Casey Campus
5. Monroe's Landing
6. Crocket Prairie
7. Jacob Ebey Uplands and Ridge
8. Scenic Highway Routes
9. Grasser's Hill
10. Fort Ebey/Point Partridge
11. Grasser's Lagoon
12. Crockett Uplands
13. San de Fuca/West Beach Uplands
14. Fort Casey Uplands
15. Kettleholes
16. Blowers Bluff and Uplands
17. Smith Prairie

Other areas considered for this list were Penn Cove Park, Surf N' Sands, and Libbey Road/Sierra. However, they were found to be too heavily developed and were excluded from the list. The committee identified these priority areas for low-impact tourism and passive appreciation of the landscape out of concern that visitors would overwhelm those continuing to make their living from the land (McKinley 1993, 51).

During the development of the conceptual plan, the idea to have a trust board as the Reserve's manager surfaced. As McKinley (1993, 52) states, "The trust board idea was intended to resolve two seemingly contradictory points of view: the county's, which wanted to maintain strong local control, and the Park Service's, which had a mandate to maintain oversight." The conceptual plan for the Reserve was completed and adopted in the early days of 1980, leaving NPS with only four months to complete the Reserve's comprehensive plan.

The comprehensive plan set forth the best strategies possible within the existing laws, regulations and policies to implement the conceptual plan. Smith Farm and approximately 200 acres for wayside exhibits were the only lands identified in the comprehensive plan for fee simple acquisition. Five critical areas – Ebey's Prairie, Keystone Spit, Crockett Lake and Uplands, Grasser's Hill and Lagoon, and Monroe's Landing – were identified in the comprehensive plan as areas where acquisition of scenic easements and development rights should be concentrated (U.S. Department of the Interior 1980, 45). Other components of the comprehensive plan are a development schedule, cooperative management schedule and interpretive devices. The plan was approved in mid-1980.

Island County adopted a comprehensive plan in 1977, recognizing the Central Whidbey Island Historic District as a special planning concern (McKinley 1993, 55). In 1984, the County revised its land use ordinances and standards. The new ordinances established protections for important resource lands, scenic corridors and areas of scenic value, emphasized clustered development, and permitted transfer of development rights.

In the years following the approval of the comprehensive plan, Jarvis and land acquisitions specialist Harlan Hobbs spent much of their time negotiating with landowners for the purchase of scenic easements and other acquisitions, as well as developing the Land Protection Plan. The Land Protection Plan was required by the Department of the Interior for all NPS units containing private and non-federal land within their boundaries, and detailed the specific tracts of land to be protected, the justification for the selection of land, and the methods by which they would be protected (McKinley 1993, 64).

The first Trust Board was installed in the spring of 1985, and was comprised of members representing the Town of Coupeville, Island County, Washington State and NPS. Bringing in NPS professionals, college professors, land management and historic preservation experts, Jarvis and Kristen Ravetz, the Reserve's on-site representative, spent many months training the Trust Board before full management of the Reserve was handed over to them. The Trust Board established its mission and developed goals and objectives to meet that mission. Various committees were formed, and the Trust Board participated in projects while Javis and Ravetz retained administrative responsibilities

during the first year as the Trust Board anticipated the transfer of management in early 1986 (McKinley 1993, 77-78).

However, administration of the Reserve was not turned over to the Trust Board for another three years for several reasons: 1) the NPS was absorbed in land acquisitions and other programs; 2) the County Board of Commissioners was reluctant to accept responsibility because of concerns about funding; and 3) concern that the objectives of the comprehensive plan had not been met. The legislation called for the transfer of administration to a unit of local government which meant that the state or the county were the only recipients. The state was not considered and the Trust Board wanted to retain independence the County would not afford. After long debates about this issue, the resolution was to establish the Trust Board as a unit of local government under the Washington Interlocal Cooperation Act. "The Washington statute authorized municipal governments to create joint boards for the administration of services or functions common to two or more governmental units" (McKinley 1993, 79).

Richard Hoffman, Superintendent of San Juan Island National Historical Park added Ebey's Landing to his responsibilities after Jarvis became the regional chief of resource management and visitor protection in Seattle. Indicative of the change in organizational culture created by this new approach to management, McKinley (1993, 81) states,

> Handling two NPS units simultaneously necessarily removed Dick Hoffman from daily contact with the reserve; the commute by ferry from San Juan Island took several hours in each direction. The assignment required adjustments for Hoffman in many ways. Feeling sometimes like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Hoffman was a traditional superintendent at San Juan, but expected to cooperate with a trust

> board at EBLA. Accustomed to a clear line of authority, Hoffman gradually warmed to the concept of a trust board managing an NPS unit. He came away, he says, a believer in the idea of reserves."

Hoffman worked through 1986 and 1987 to complete the interpretive program of the Reserve's comprehensive plan so that administration could finally be transferred to the Trust Board. Ravetz's temporary assignment to the Reserve expired in the summer of 1987, and the Trust Board restructured that position and re-titled it "reserve coordinator." Rob Harbour was hired to fill the position due to his extensive knowledge of planning and his strong connection to the local community (McKinley 1993, 82).

On June 28, 1988, attorneys for the governmental partners in the Reserve finalized the terms of the interlocal agreement. In a ceremony at the Prairie Overlook on July 24th, NPS Acting Regional Director Briggle formally transferred administrative authority to the Trust Board. Subsequent cooperative agreements outlined the various roles of the Reserve partners. Over the next several years, the Trust Board continued to work through issues related to this unchartered territory of collaborative management and make adjustments as necessary. They learned to be creative in finding funding sources for operations and worked with local groups to accomplish their goals.

A primary concern during this time was the monitoring of easements. Hoffman urged the Trust Board to develop a plan to document the easements and conduct a systematic annual review. An incidence with new landowners on Grasser's Hill claiming no knowledge of development restrictions on their lands underscored this need. The Trust Board effectively handled the dispute, and the NPS authorized the Trust Board in 1990 to prepare the monitoring plan locally (McKinley 1993, 87).

In 1989, Hoffman returned to San Juan full time and Cindy Orlando, a concessions management analyst in the regional office, was transferred to the Reserve. She was assigned full-time to the Reserve "in order to show the Service's commitment to establishing professional management for the reserve. Orlando would focus in particular on the transition to full board management" (McKinley 1993, 88). However, she was promoted to superintendent of Fort Clatsop National Memorial in Oregon in September of 1990, thus ending the final phase of NPS management at the Reserve by a full-time, uniformed manager. Gretchen Luxenberg was Orlando's replacement, but as an NPS advisor and liaison to the Trust Board rather than as a manger, and as a collateral position with her historian duties. Her previous work on the Reserve's cultural landscape inventories in 1983 familiarized her with the Reserve.

Between 1991 and 1993, the Trust Board firmly established its position in the community, by raising awareness of the Reserve, and becoming involved in issues such as design review with both the Town of Coupeville and Island County. After changing the Reserve's status in 1987 to that of an affiliated unit, which affected federal funding to the Reserve, NPS reinstated the Reserve's status as permanent full unit in 1992, thereby putting it on equal footing with other units (McKinley 1993, 90).

Administrative History since 1993

In order to evaluate the Trust Board and begin to answer my research questions, it is necessary to continue the Reserve's administrative history from the point of McKinley's publication to the present day. Utilizing annual reports for each year between 1994 to 1998 and 2000 to 2002 (the reports for 1999 and 2003 are not available), the

following section provides a general history of activity in the Reserve and the Trust Board's strategies for preserving the cultural landscape.

Land and Water Conservation funding was not available to the Reserve in 1994 to allow for the purchase of scenic easements although individuals did contact the Trust Board during the year regarding donations and the tax benefits of easements. The Trust Board spent significant time on Board development during the year and created a vision statement, mission statement, goals and objectives, as well as a position description for new Trust Board members. Participation in special events, a new museum exhibit, a new four-color brochure, newsletters, and a curriculum project promoted the Reserve to area residents and visitors. The University of Washington's work on a visitor use survey was funded by the two percent funds, and logistical planning was started. In order to complete the Resource Management Plan, a special public meeting was held to receive input from the public on issues related to the plan. The first draft of the Resource Management Plan was reviewed by a number of people during the year. Finalization of the Plan was scheduled for 1995. Other Trust Board work throughout the year included designing signage for the Reserve, an operations evaluation, and providing technical assistance to National Geographic for an article on the islands of Puget Sound (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 1994).

The Trust Board and the Reserve Manager continued their work in 1995 to preserve and protect the cultural landscape despite the fact they weren't able to secure Land and Water Conservation Funding for scenic easement acquisitions again that year. Trust Board members continued to serve on various County and Town committees,

working to review a new construction project proposal on Front Street, the first new building in over half a century, and to develop a new design review ordinance for the Town of Coupeville. Volunteers provided numerous hours throughout the year on projects in the Reserve, assisting with office management after the Office Manager's departure in 1994, and developing school curriculum. The visitor use survey was conducted by the University of Washington during the summer months of 1995. Several cooperative agreements were reaffirmed and modified, including an agreement between NPS and Island County Parks Department for implementation of the trail plan. The Resource Management Plan was finalized and approved. The work on the plan was conducted by the resource management specialist at North Cascades National Park and serves as an example of leveraging limited resources while providing new challenges and training opportunities for employees. The Reserve Manager worked on another major project to assist the County with a grant to implement a trail plan connecting key recreation areas with the Reserve. North Cascades National Park staff and staff from the Rivers and Trails Division of the NPS Columbia-Cascade System Support Office also assisted with this project. The Trust Board members participated in a variety of activities, events and festivals throughout the year to promote the Reserve. Trust Board members planted two fir trees at the Ebey Prairie Wayside in honor of George Knapp, second chairman of the Trust Board, who passed away that year (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 1995).

In 1996, Land and Water Conservation Funding wasn't available to the Reserve to continue land protection efforts through the acquisition of scenic easements. Therefore,

efforts were directed toward interpretation and community relations. The Trust Board finalized four interpretive wayside panels for installation at Fort Casey State Park's Keystone Spit. Involvement in several special events during the year gave the Trust Board exposure in the community and allowed the opportunity to promote the Reserve. Volunteers assisted the Trust Board in areas such as resource management, wayside maintenance, hosting special guests, and representing the Reserve at special events or meetings. The maintenance staff from North Cascades National Park provided a variety of assistance, as well. Trust Board members served on the County and Town design review committees. The Oral History Program garnered extensive local media coverage, and a Travelers' Information System was installed at the Reserve to broadcast radio messages about visitor information. Workshops and meetings were held, and a new brochure was created on the significance of historic hedgerows by the Trust Board after the county mowers were overzealous with their spring mowing. The Trust Board reviewed several easement issues and project proposals, such as the addition of a radar dome at Outlying Field, the expansion of Sunnyside Cemetery's boundaries, and the realignment of Madrona Way, during the year. The cultural landscape and historic building inventories were updated for the National Register of Historic Places, and Reserve staff worked with Coupeville to begin the development of the town's historic preservation plan. Finally, the Reserve Manager worked extensively with the County on the Kettles Trail Project. NPS provided technical assistance on the project as well (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 1996).

Trust Board members serving on Coupeville's Design Review Board, the county's Historic Advisory Committee, the Town Council, and the technical advisory group for Conservation Futures funding helped keep the Trust Board's work to further its mission for the Reserve in the local spotlight in 1997. The Town Council took a major step forward in the town's contribution to the Reserve by designating a fixed percentage of the two percent funding generated from the hotel/motel tax for the Reserve, equating to ten percent of the town's proceeds this year. The Trust Board participated in various community events such as the annual Penn Cove Water Festival, National Trails Day, and a volksmarchers walk for almost 500 people. In a joint effort between state parks and NPS, an interpreter was hired at Fort Casey State Park to provide interpretive services on behalf of the whole Reserve. The Trust Board was actively involved in a land trade between Washington State Parks and private landowners, worked to garner support for Land and Water Conservation funds, and monitored easements already in place. A visitor use study was completed by the University of Washington and was submitted to the Trust Board. The Reserve Manager and Chairman gave presentations to community groups and received media attention about the study. The Trust Board worked with a local individual to develop a feasibility plan for the San de Fuca School, and prepared a draft demolition ordinance for the county. The oral history program continued throughout the year and information about the Chinese tenant farmers began emerging, which will be used for an interpretive wayside panel. The Coupeville High School Honor Society and the local Lions Club adopted interpretive waysides for maintenance. New entry signs were installed near Keystone Spit and at the Prairie Wayside along Engle Road. Finally, initial

planning for the 20th anniversary of the Reserve celebration, to be held in November 1998, began (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 1997).

The Trust Board's main focus for 1998 was the 20th Anniversary celebration. Educational and recreational events were held between May and November, coordinated by historian Theresa Trebon. A community barbeque was held for over 1500 people at the Smith Barn in the heart of Ebey's Prairie. The Trust Board participated in the Penn Cove Water Festival, hosted weekend walking tours and hosted its third annual Archeology Week. Brochures on the Chinese tenant farmers at Ebey's Prairie, driving/biking tour, and archeology were produced. An interpretive panel for Keystone Spit was developed. The other highlight for the year was the receipt of Land and Water Conservation Funds to continue the Trust Board's land preservation program after a decade of no action. Work with the Trust for Public Lands commenced to secure options on a key parcel in Ebey's Prairie and to craft a land protection package for the bankrupt Engle Brothers Dairy Farm. NPS funded the first phase of Coupeville's historic preservation plan. The Trust Board carefully reviewed and provided comments on Coupeville's proposed design regulations and the Island County Comprehensive Plan due to the potential impact of each on the Reserve. An amendment to the National Register of Historic Places nomination for Ebey's Landing was completed, adding hundreds of buildings and structures to the National Register based on their contribution to the historic district (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 1998).

Details about the Trust Board's work in 1999 were not available. The year 2000 was dominated by efforts to protect important lands within the Reserve. The Trust Board,

its staff and their partners the Trust for Public Land and The Nature Conservancy, protected key historical and recreational sites essential to the mission of the Reserve. Land and Water Conservation Funding for the year totaled $3.25 million, second only to the Everglades. The acquisitions included the Ferry House and Ebey's Landing (111 acres), The Pratt Preserve at Ebey's Landing (400 acres), Jenne Farm (140 acres) and Engle Farms (180 acres fee simple and 110 acres scenic easement). Senator Slade Gorton was hosted by the Trust Board and the Nature Conservancy during his visit to the Reserve. The Reserve and its partners received extensive media coverage on the radio, in regional newspapers, and in travel magazines throughout the year to highlight the need for Land and Water Conservation Funds. Work began on the Reserve's General Management Plan. Coupeville increased its financial contribution to the Reserve by including general funds with the funds from the hotel/motel tax. A Historic Resource Study commenced in order to provide a comprehensive human history of the Reserve for future use in educational and interpretive materials. The county reviewed the first cell tower proposal within the Reserve but denied the application due to the high visibility of the tower from Ebey's Prairie and Reserve waysides. Trust Board staff worked with the county to assess the impacts and discuss alternatives with applicant. Various efforts to protect rare native plants were undertaken during the year, as well (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 2000).

Once again in 2001, the Trust Board's main focus was the land protection program. Negotiations for three of the acquisition plans carried over from 2000. The Robert Y. Pratt Preserve at Ebey's Landing is The Nature Conservancy's most visited

preserve in the Pacific Northwest. The Trust Board added a staff member to assist with land protection and resource work. The Joint Appropriations Committee Report for fiscal year 2002 included $1 million for the Reserve, bringing national attention to the Reserve. The Trust Board actively participated in partnership planning efforts with Washington State Parks, Coupeville, Island County, The Nature Conservancy and AuSable Institute. The Trust Board began publishing its meeting schedule in the local newspapers in the hope of increasing public participation. In September 2001, the Trust Board and NPS staff from the Pacific West Region met to conduct a self-evaluation and to discuss how to best serve the Reserve with changing circumstances and challenges. A Coupeville High School took first place in his division in the national History Day competition with his project based on the story of the Chinese tenant farmers on Whidbey Island. During the year, the Trust Board continued to foster collaborative activities with other organizations, and work continued on the Reserve's General Management Plan. A newsletter and meetings with community interest groups facilitated public input on the plan. Additionally, a workshop was held for several partners to develop alternatives for the General Management Plan. Various resource management issues were addressed during the year (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board 2001).

In the most recent year for which Annual Reports are available, 2002 was a busy year for the Trust Board with land acquisition and protection efforts, development of the General Management Plan, and hosting the Sixth Annual Pacific Northwest Preservation

Field School[4]. The Reserve's administrative offices moved from the Island County Historical Museum to its new office in the cottage that had been a part of Robert Pratt's estate. The Trust Board formed the Agricultural Advisory Committee, composed of local farmers, landowners with agricultural experience and the head of the local county conservation district to advise the Trust Board on resource protection issues and how to maximize the return on agricultural land owned in fee by NPS. Due to major financial problems, the county eliminated its contribution to the Reserve from its budget. Trust Board staff, Island County's Planning Director, Historic Advisory Committee (HAC) members and county staff held discusses about upgrading HAC guidelines and the application review process. As a result, they decided to start work on developing a brochure for residents to explain the design review process. Washington State Parks began their park planning process, called *CAMP*, for Ft. Ebey and Ft. Casey State Parks, and Ebey's Landing. The Trust Board attempted to coordinate their General Management Plan planning process with the CAMP process. AuSable Institute, an environmental education organization, and the Trust Board shared an intern to work on native plant propagation and prairie restoration for several months as their first major collaborative venture. A number of interpretive projects were undertaken during the year including several brochures and a video. Although land acquisition funds were borrowed by Congress for emergency fire fighting efforts in other parts of the country, the funds were

[4] The Pacific Northwest Preservation Field School is sponsored by the University of Oregon, the National Park Service and several other agencies. Five, one-week sessions are held at a different location each year to give attendees the opportunity to do hands-on projects with historic buildings while learning preservation theory and techniques. In 2002, I was looking for an excuse to get out of town for a few weeks that summer and spent the five weeks cooking for field school participants. My time in the Reserve that summer inspired this thesis and gave me the first glimpse of a spectacular place that I will return to again and again.

restored and conservation easements were purchased on the Jenne Farm. The Reserve's timeline for completing the General Management Plan fell behind schedule due to other Pacific West Region General Management Plans not yet completed. Public meetings were held to get input on important areas in the Reserve, and as a result character areas within the Reserve were identified and defined. The Trust Board actively participated in the update of Coupeville's Comprehensive Plan, and was involved in discussions about the proposed expansion of the Camp Casey Conference Center due to the presence of Golden Indian Paintbrush in the area of the proposed development.

There are 17,400 acres in the Reserve. Four thousand of those are the waters of Penn Cove. To date, the federal government owns approximately 400 acres in fee simple and has protected 2,000 through scenic easements. Forty-five percent of the Reserve is protected in some degree, either as parks owned by the state or county, or through organizations such as The Nature Conservancy and Trust for Public Lands (Harbour 2003). The landscape architecture firm of Jones & Jones conducted a study as part of the development work for the General Management Plan to illustrate changes in land use in the Reserve between 1983 and 2000 (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board. "Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve GMP Alternatives Development Workshop Report" 2001*)*:

- No farm clusters lost
- 50% gain in structures, 1000 new structures
- Loss of 14 historic structures in Reserve; 30 in Coupeville
- Coupeville increased 30%
- 2 new subdivisions with a total of 233 acres
- No change in linear miles of hedgerows though location has changed somewhat
- Increase of 25 miles in minor roads (those under 100 feet long)

Tracing the Reserve's history over the last twenty-five years illustrates the cumulative effects of the original administration's, and later the Trust Board and staff's work, to preserve and protect the cultural landscape of the Reserve. While the first ten years of the Reserve's history are important to examine because they set the stage for the Trust Board to take over management of the Reserve, it is the history since 1988, coupled with the findings in the next section, that answer the research questions. The approval of the Interlocal Agreement and transfer of authority to the Trust Board in the summer of 1988 mark the beginning of truly collaborative management of the Reserve.

Findings

Interviews were the critical component for this evaluation to answer the research questions presented in Chapter 1. Additionally, three site visits, including a five-week stay in the Reserve during the summer of 2002, allowed me to participate in community activities, attend design review committee meetings, and meet the residents in person. While the interviews provide the data so to speak for analysis, the site visits afforded me the opportunity to experience the Reserve and understand why it is such a special place. Between August 2002 and January 2004, I conducted twenty-one interviews either in person or by telephone with landowners and business owners within the Reserve, as well as with Trust Board members. (See Appendix A for interview questions.) A series of questions were asked to gauge the interviewees' awareness of the Reserve, pertaining to both the management structure and the Reserve's vision statement. Questions were also asked to determine the positive and negative consequences of the Reserve, as well as about experiences with the design review process. As semi-structured interviews, there

was also the flexibility for me have discussions with interviewees on related matters or to ask additional, probing questions in order to get more detailed information.

To begin the interviews, I asked several baseline questions to determine longevity of residence, whether or not the respondent was a descendent of the original settlers, and business questions. A majority of the respondents have lived in the Reserve for 30 years or less. Two are descendents of the original settlers, and three are second or third generation residents. While I was able to get some perspective from those who have deep ties to the Reserve, it is the perspective of the "newcomer" that has the most influence on this evaluation. Additionally, two of the respondents are high school students providing the youth's perspective on the Reserve.

Approximately half of the respondents either work within the Reserve or own a business within it. Several respondents who are business owners, three in tourism- related businesses, stated these are "second careers" for them, in that they retired from previous careers and moved to central Whidbey Island to start the businesses. Two of the respondents are farmers. In general discussions with people while visiting the Reserve, the issue of the economic viability of farming came up on several occasions. Therefore, during the interviews with the farmers, I was able to discuss this issue with each of them to more clearly understand it.

A decade ago, there were ten dairy farms in the Reserve, and now there are only two or three. Due to lack of critical mass to support farm-related businesses, the farmers must go off the island to have machinery repaired or to even have the milk processed. These costs often outweigh the savings gained in such things as growing the cattle's feed

on the farm, thus making the continuance of farming economically challenging. Diversification and adaptability are the keys to viable farming practices in the future, according to both respondents. They both feel strongly enough about the protection of the land for farming that their farms' development rights have been sold to NPS.

Awareness of the Reserve

All respondents are aware that the Reserve is part of the National Park Service and managed by the Trust Board. Even though the wording was quite varied, they all had similar responses when asked about the purpose of the Reserve. However, several respondents indicated there are two groups of people – those who know about the Reserve and understand what it is all about, and those who have no idea what is going on. One respondent added a third category – those who think the Reserve has been completely protected and there is nothing left to do[5]. Interestingly, both high school students said that, for the most part, the youth see the Reserve as an everyday part of life, nothing out of the ordinary, and don't know much about it. The exceptions are those students in certain organizations who do volunteer work for the Reserve, or work on school projects related to it.

Responses about the roles of the partner governmental agencies didn't vary much, except with regard to Island County. Several respondents stated they didn't know specifically what role each agency plays but they were all working toward the same goal – preservation of the landscape. The National Park Service's role was identified as

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[5] It is worth noting that my intention was to interview people from the full spectrum of awareness about the Reserve. However, the fact that all of my interviewees are fully aware of the Reserve illustrates a limitation of the chosen sampling methodology.

advisory. The state's role, according to respondents, is to manage the parks within the Reserve, and to help ensure the continuation of funding through Congress. With regard to Coupeville's role, several mentioned the town does as much as it can, given its limited resources. Three people cited the town's strict design guidelines as a major contribution to preserving the Reserve.

Respondents were most critical of Island County's role in the Reserve. One person pointed out the history of the Trust Board's establishment and the County's hesitation of taking on the administrative responsibilities (prior to the interlocal agreement), and noted that the County is beginning to take a more active role in the Reserve. Additionally, the area encompassed in the Reserve is only a small part of the county, and is not, therefore, the County Commissioners' only concern. Other respondents stated the County's ordinances don't effectively limit development. The minimum five-acre lot size was cited by several people as being detrimental to the preservation of the landscape.

Vision of the Reserve

To support the vision statement for the Reserve, the mission of the Trust Board is to:

- preserve and protect, in perpetuity, the historic, natural, cultural, scenic, recreational and community resources which are vital to Ebey's Landing NHR;

- foster appreciation, understanding, and enjoyment of Ebey's Landing NHR through education and interpretation;

- further the purposes of Ebey's Landing NHR by establishing and maintaining productive partnerships between federal, state and local governments, public and private organizations and individuals

- administer and manage Ebey's Landing NHR as a unit of the National Park System, consistent with the mandate of Congress (PL 95-625) and the Interlocal Agreement of July 26, 1988 between the National Park Service, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, Island County, and Town of Coupeville (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve website 2003).

The next series of questions relate to the Reserve's strategies for protecting its cultural and natural inheritance and for promoting educational and recreational opportunities. My goal with these questions was to gain an understanding of what respondents know about the Trust Board's specific strategies. Regarding protection of historical inheritance, those respondents who answered this question identified acquisition of land and development rights, awareness of the Reserve, public education, and design review as the strategies used. When asked about natural resources, responses included coordination with other groups such as birding groups and the beach watchers to identify and protect the resources, and interpretive brochures. One respondent also mentioned the study on the golden paintbrush, a rare species of flower found in the Reserve.

While I asked a question specifically about educational opportunities for area residents, and then asked about educational opportunities for visitors, respondents did not indicate any difference in these opportunities. Wayside interpretive panels, brochures, talks at various functions, guided walks in the Reserve, and participation in events were the opportunities indicated by respondents.

The last two questions in this category asked respondents to indicate which recreational opportunities in the Reserve they utilize and how frequently. Only four

respondents stated they utilize the recreational opportunities: walking the trails and beaches, and taking a driving tour of the Reserve. The frequency ranged from several times a week to only when showing visitors around the Reserve.

Positive and Negative Aspects of the Reserve

It is sometimes very difficult to convey meaning in writing of a verbal response. Each time I asked an interviewee to describe the positive and negative aspects of the Reserve, the person did not hesitate to start naming positives. A common response was "there are too many to list" or "millions." Listing any negatives was much more difficult for several people. They did so with hesitation. I mention these reactions because I think they were indicative of their opinions about the Reserve's success in preserving the cultural landscape. This was confirmed when I asked each of them if they felt the Reserve has been successful and got a resounding "yes" from each person. Table 2 lists respondents' answers about the positive and negative aspects of the Reserve.

Table 2. Positive and Negative Aspects of the Reserve

Positive	Negative
Tourist dollars	Intrusion of strangers
Preserve open space	Traffic
Gives people a chance to see remnants of a different way of life	Thoughtless people who litter/don't appreciate the Reserve
Positives outweigh the negatives	Lack of funding
Miraculous endeavor	Developers & real estate agents
Courage and effort of people who work to protect	Long and tedious process for transfer of development rights work – a streamlined, friendlier process is needed
Public access to gorgeous areas	Economics
A million positives	NPS purpose of public access sometimes causes conflict with private landowners
Awareness and appreciation	Local realtors don't mention the Reserve
Initial work to buy development rights	More education is needed, some aren't aware
Preservation of farmland	Confusion about how the Reserve works
Preservation of old homes	Not well publicized as a national park
People who want to see it completed	Allowed activities such as hunting
Preservation of culture	Occasional side effects (i.e. issue about cell tower at the high school)
Preservation of cultural landscape	Public sees Reserve as a done deal but there's still work to do
Support of the Reserve	Difficulty maintaining property values at a level low enough to be affordable for the working class
Dedicated people	
Being known for how beautiful it is	Private property rights
Prairie is still there, uncluttered with development	Difficult to earn a living here unless you fit a niche
Indefinite list of them	Difficult to make changes to a building because of rigorous and long design review process
Interpretation of the cultural landscape	
Unique alliance of four groups that usually don't integrate	
Ability to live in such a beautiful area that is protected and to share it with visitors	

Design Review

With the final question, I was interested in respondents' experiences with the design review process, either with Coupeville's Design Review Board or with the County's Historic Advisory Committee. Seven of the respondents have undertaken construction projects, either new construction or rehabilitation work, within the Reserve. Of those seven, two projects were reviewed by Coupeville's Design Review Board and one project was reviewed by the County's Historic Advisory Committee. The other four projects either occurred before the implementation of the design review processes or a review was not required. One respondent indicated the process with Coupeville's board was extremely valuable to the overall project due to the board's input, while another respondent would have liked more input. The respondent whose project was reviewed by the County's Historic Advisory Committee did not have any specific comments about the experience.

Summary

Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve was established to preserve and protect the cultural landscape. In this chapter, I traced that historical record to set the context for an evaluation of the Trust Board's management of the Reserve. Interviews and site visits add another dimension to inform the evaluation and recommendations in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION

This study examined the Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Trust Board's role in preserving and protecting a "rural community, which provides an unbroken historical record from nineteenth century exploration and settlement in Puget Sound to the present time" (U.S. Congress 1978). The Reserve was created in response to local citizens' concerns about future growth on central Whidbey Island and losing the essence of what makes this place so special. Historic preservation, specifically cultural landscape preservation in the case of the Reserve, is a tool for managing growth (Beaumont 1996; Griffith 1994). The following evaluation highlights this tool and how a collaborative organization utilizes it for the preservation and protection of a nationally significant cultural landscape while accommodating an evolving community.

The Administrative History presented in the previous chapter details several broad categories of activities the Trust Board has undertaken, providing the answer to the first research question: How is the Trust Board preserving the cultural landscape while accommodating the evolving community? The first category is the land acquisition program. The Trust Board has used Land and Water Conservation Funding to purchase conservation or scenic easements on approximately 2200 acres in the Reserve. Additionally, approximately 400 acres have been acquired in fee simple, in one case to protect two dairy farms, or in others for use as interpretive waysides.

Interpretation strategies comprise the second category of activities undertaken by the Trust Board. Utilizing design standards developed to ensure uniformity of signage in the Reserve, the Trust Board worked with its partner governmental agencies to locate signs at entrances into the Reserve. Wayside interpretive exhibits located throughout the Reserve give a complete understanding of the area through a progression of ideas, focusing on patterns and relationships rather than particular structures or natural features (McKinley 1994, 94-95). Additionally, several brochures have been produced to provide visitors to the Reserve with information on a variety of topics ranging from the Chinese tenant farmers to hedgerows. A driving and bicycle tour brochure provides an overview of the Reserve.

The third category is collaborative projects. The 2002 Pacific Northwest Preservation Field School is one example. The Trust Board and Reserve staff hosted the five-week field school, giving participants the opportunity to learn preservation theory and techniques while performing much needed work on two of the Reserve's historic buildings. Another example of collaborative projects is resource management. In 1995 the resource management specialist at North Cascades National Park developed the Reserve's Resource Management Plan. This allowed for the leveraging of resources while providing new challenges and training opportunities for employees (Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve 1995). A last example of collaborative projects was the interpreter hired in 1997 in a joint effort between the Trust Board and Washington State Parks to provide interpretive services to the whole Reserve.

The fourth category is community-relation activities. For example, the Trust Board has been a sponsor of the annual Penn Cove Water Festival. Trust Board members and the Reserve Manager make presentations on a variety of subjects to community groups, and the Trust Board hosts weekend walking tours in the Reserve.

The last category is the Trust Board members' involvement in various capacities in other organizations such as the Town of Coupeville's Design Review Committee, Town Council, and Island County's Historic Advisory Committee. This allows for the Reserve's interests to be represented in the local planning activities, and helps to establish the Trust Board's role in the community.

Synthesizing the Administrative History into five general categories illustrates the processes the Trust Board has developed to preserve the cultural landscape. However, this synthesis merely presents an accounting of the Trust Board's processes and activities. Answering the second and third research questions in the following pages provides the evaluation of the Trust Board's role in the preservation of the cultural landscape.

The second research question asks how well the Reserve is meeting the original intent for its establishment twenty-five years later. As one of the earliest examples of collaboratively managed cultural landscapes, the Reserve had a tumultuous beginning. Without the experience of other organizations to rely on, those tasked with establishing the management for the Reserve faced many challenges, as discussed in the previous chapter. Ten years elapsed between the date of the Reserve's creation and the final transfer of management from NPS to the Trust Board. The difference of the eight years between the creation of the Reserve in 1978 and the creation of the Columbia River

Gorge National Scenic Area and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor in 1986 allowed for the reflection of experience in the establishment of the Commissions tasked with managing the Scenic Area and Heritage Corridor as both Commissions were specified in the respective legislation. Therefore, the Commissions were involved from the beginning in formulating the policies and procedures for the management of these areas.

In the fifteen years since the Trust Board became the managing entity for the Reserve, it has had to invent itself as time goes along. While the Reserve's Comprehensive Plan, adopted in 1980, has provided some guidance through the years, the Trust Board has relied on creative methods and leveraging limited resources whenever possible to meet the Reserve's goals. Land and Water Conservation Funds, the primary source of funding for the land acquisition program, have only intermittently been available throughout the Reserve's twenty-five years. The Trust Board did not receive any of that funding in the decade between 1988 and 1998.

Growth and development within the Reserve have not been arrested. In fact, there has been quite a bit of change in the recent past (See page 58). Evolution is inherent in cultural landscapes, though, and preservation of these landscapes is not about arresting but about facilitating or managing growth in ways that maintain their essence, sense of place, and uniqueness. Nearly every interviewee gave a resounding "yes" when asked if the Reserve has been successful in preserving the cultural landscape. I would also assert that the Trust Board has developed successful processes to preserve the cultural

landscape, despite limited funding and resources. However, as one interviewee pointed out, the job isn't done yet and, as with anything, there is room for improvement.

Not wanting to portray the image of a strong federal government presence in the community, the Trust Board has taken a more of a behind-the-scenes type of role with its work through the years. Interview results indicate there are people living within the Reserve who are either unaware of or don't understand the purpose of the Reserve. This fosters misinformation, which in turn sometimes fosters unnecessary mistrust or apathy. The Trust Board's work to increase the Reserve's public image through various activities such as speaking engagements and public education opportunities is counteracting the spread of misinformation and must continue into the future.

Processes such as negotiations for transfer of development rights are often long and arduous. With the uncertainty of the Land and Water Conservation funds' availability from year to year, negotiations can be drawn out over several years. Additionally, finding the balance between the landowners' needs for economic viability of the land and the easement requirements to protect the scenic views of the Reserve or integrity of the resource can be laborious. Managing and monitoring easements require a tremendous amount of time, and while this is an important component of the work to preserve the cultural landscape, it is not the only one. Streamlining the negotiation process and equalizing the time spent on easement management with other aspects of the Trust Board and staff's work would help ensure a holistic approach to preservation of the cultural landscape.

There are multiple advocacy groups, such as the Friends of Krueger Farm, working for individual causes. Recently, the Friends of Krueger Farm have proven to be a strong force in the community through their work to save from development the last of the Krueger Farm, located between Coupeville and Ebey's Prairie. If the Trust Board brought together each of these groups to work as one, the possibilities are endless and significant strides toward cultural landscape preservation and retention of the rural character could be made.

Although the Reserve does not have direct planning responsibility under the Washington Growth Management Act, the Trust Board has taken an active role in the Town of Coupeville's and Island County's efforts to update their comprehensive plans. However, the county continues to maintain a zoning regulation that allows for five-acre lot sizes in the rural zones, nor has the county yet implemented an historic overlay for the Reserve to provide greater protection for the cultural landscape.

During the last several years, the Trust Board has been working to develop the Reserve's General Management Plan. The draft plan has been presented to the partners for review and should be completed for adoption in the near future. I have not had the opportunity to review the plan to know whether or not the Trust Board specifically addresses the issues regarding land use regulations. It is my hope that, as the guiding document for the future of the Reserve, the plan does provide for a mechanism to work with the county to effect regulatory reform. Another effort currently underway that would directly affect the Reserve and its relationship to the Washington Growth Management Act is Substitute Senate Bill 6367 sponsored by Senator Mary Margaret Haugen and

others during the current legislature of the State of Washington. This bill, if passed, would exempt any urban growth areas contained totally within a national historical reserve from complying with the Washington Growth Management Act. Only time will tell, however, how the Reserve's General Management Plan and this Senate bill will affect the Reserve, thus underscoring the fact that the job isn't done yet.

Positive outcomes and negative consequences of the collaborative management approach are examined to answer the final research question. Each case study points to the benefit of having all the stakeholders as partners in the management. This allows for the retention of local control over something of national significance, thus striking a balance between the needs of the local community while preserving a cultural landscape. Additionally, partnerships allow the organization to leverage resources to accomplish what one entity alone could not. Lastly, a positive outcome of this type of management approach is the ability to respond to issues on a case-by-case basis in a flexible and creative way. Organizational structures of a single culture often have prescriptive methodologies for handling issues; whereas, the collaborative organization can call upon the collective perspective for a tailored response to an issue.

A negative consequence, however, is the effect different legal or political systems can have on collaborative organizations (Bennett 2003). As is the case with the Columbia River Gorge Commission, the Trust Board has had to contend with differing political views of partner agencies. To clarify, the Town of Coupeville is very preservation oriented where Island County tends to be more development oriented, thus resulting in uncontrolled growth in some areas of the Reserve. Perhaps the most obvious negative

consequences illustrated by both the study of the Reserve and that of the Columbia River Gorge Commission are the fact that no one entity "owns" the managing organization and that there is, seemingly, no accountability for the partners' actions.

Recommendations

Based on this evaluation, I offer the following recommendations to the Trust Board:

First, always ensure the retention of flexibility as an organization to adapt to changing circumstances and of creativity to accomplish your mission. Created at a time when collaborative management approaches were novel ideas, the Trust Board didn't have an example to follow. Flexibility and creativity are just two of the characteristics that have been required for the Trust Board to accomplish as much as it has. The upcoming implementation of the General Management Plan, I believe, will move the Trust Board to the next level of sophistication as a collaborative organization, and these characteristics will continue to serve the organization well.

Second, continue to foster and develop new partnerships. Leveraging resources and partnerships allow for creative problem solving and allow the Trust Board to accomplish what it can't do alone. For example, the partnership with Coupeville High School's Honor Society allowed a historic structure to be protected through rehabilitation work and be adaptively re-used as boat storage for the students. Another example was the partnership with Washington State Parks for the interpretive ranger to provide interpretation services to the entire Reserve. Lessons could also be drawn from Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor's experiences.

Third, encourage the Island County Board of Commissioners to review its land use planning ordinances and implement changes more in keeping with the purpose of the Reserve. Pursuing the establishment of a historic overlay with increased lot sizes for the Reserve should be a priority. Forging a partnership with one or more of the preservation advocacy groups may provide the support needed to effect this change in the County's standards. As was found in the case of the Columbia River Gorge Scenic Area, strong preservation-oriented ordinances are very effective but don't arrest the inevitable growth.

Fourth, further develop public awareness and education programs to help foster good stewards in all the area's residents, and increase Reserve identity. Several interviewees mentioned the rumor that local realtors don't tell prospective buyers about the Reserve for fear of scaring them away. The Reserve should invoke a sense of pride and stewardship in all its residents. Continuing with the awareness and education programs while attempting to reach new groups will increase the Reserve's identity in the community and counteract that type of sentiment. I also feel it will increase the accountability of the Trust Board's partners to the citizens.

Fifth, explore opportunities to create a technical assistance program for farmers to ensure the continuation of economically viable farming practices, as well as develop market opportunities. Explore the feasibility of using the farms owned by the federal government (Farms One and Two) for research and experimentation with new practices. As found in the interviews, farming is economically challenging for Reserve farmers but is necessary to perpetuate the cultural landscape. The farming programs in King and

Skagit Counties, Washington could serve as models for technical assistance and marketing opportunities (Schwartz 2004).

Sixth, establish a grant fund to support projects consistent with the Reserve's purpose. The Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor provides a good example of this type of program. The grant monies are used for projects such as historic building restoration or rehabilitation, promotion of educational opportunities, and economic development. The grants are often the seed money to spur on larger projects.

Last, encourage adaptive re-use of historic buildings if the original function can't be maintained. This is likely to become more and more of an issue as accessory buildings on farms are no longer used for the original purposes, for example. Strategies for adaptive re-use would likely have to be considered on a case-by-case basis, but these cases would be opportunities to use creativity, partnerships and incentives.

In the future, the preservation of the Reserve's cultural landscape is dependent on the economic viability of agriculture. Promotion of best practices in agriculture and land use planning should be the Trust Board's priority for future work. The Trust Board is positioned, as a regional, collaborative entity, to bring together the resources necessary to accomplish this work of preserving the rural character while accommodating the evolution of a vibrant community and managing its growth.

Conclusion

This study illustrates the parallels that can be drawn between the growth management movement and the paradigm shift to collaborative management of cultural landscapes. Both seek to maintain an ongoing equilibrium between development and conservation. Unplanned, uncontrolled and uncoordinated development has a myriad of consequences including increased capital facility costs, loss of agricultural lands and other open space, intensification of residential segregation, and endangered natural and cultural assets of a community (Nelson and Duncan 1995). While the trend to utilize collaborative approaches for cultural landscape preservation and growth management is not without its challenges, this research presents three successful cases, each utilizing different methods.

Based on this study, several key lessons can be made about cultural landscape preservation as a tool for growth management. First, the management of these landscapes is best served by a collaborative organization that involves all the stakeholders in some capacity. Economic constraints and limited resources do not allow for one agency to have the necessary staff and expertise to accomplish the goals of preserving a cultural landscape. In a collaborative organization, the members, by nature of their titles, can bring together a variety of expertise and interests. All points of view, whether they are the private land owner, the natural resource manager or the historic preservation specialist, are represented and voiced thus establishing a creative, flexible and holistic approach to solutions for managing a region's growth. Therefore, the collaborative organization becomes a facilitator and advisor on best practices.

Second, some form of control, such as conservation easements or land use regulations, is necessary to manage growth while preserving the cultural landscape. Controls help guarantee the sustainability of the cultural landscape preservation program over the long term. This becomes the one constant in the ever-changing environment inherent of a collaborative organization.

Lastly, this study begs the question of why this trend of utilizing partnership, or collaborative, management organizations isn't sweeping the nation. In order to make a complete paradigm shift to collaborative organizations, the historical inertia of organizational culture must be overcome. Strictly hierarchical organizations of the past are giving way to the collaborative organizations but the transformation is not complete.

Collaborative organizations often have a high degree of responsibility but a low degree of authority. For example, in the cases of the Reserve and the Heritage Corridor, the managing entities have the responsibility to preserve the cultural landscapes but do not have the authority to implement land use regulations in order to meet that responsibility. Collaborative organizations have not yet become the predominant trend because this type of organization is time consuming and difficult to sustain. Often, the partner agencies' responsibilities to the organization are secondary to the individual agencies' missions. Keeping all of the partners on track with the organization's mission requires constant nurturing on the part of the organization's manager or director. For a collaborative organization to function properly, all of the partners must be working toward the same goals. When one partner strays from the organization's objectives, the organization can not function to its fullest extent possible.

Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve, the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor provide three studies of how to strike the balance between cultural landscape preservation and varied interests, often on limited budgets, using creativity to meet the challenges. Successful programs of preserving cultural landscapes such as these manage and facilitate the inevitable growth of the future in a way that ensures quality of life, sense of place, and retention of community character the residents covet.

Figure 1. Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area Map.
Source: Columbia River Gorge Commission. Columbia River Gorge. Available from http://www.gorgecommission.org. Accessed on January 20, 2003.

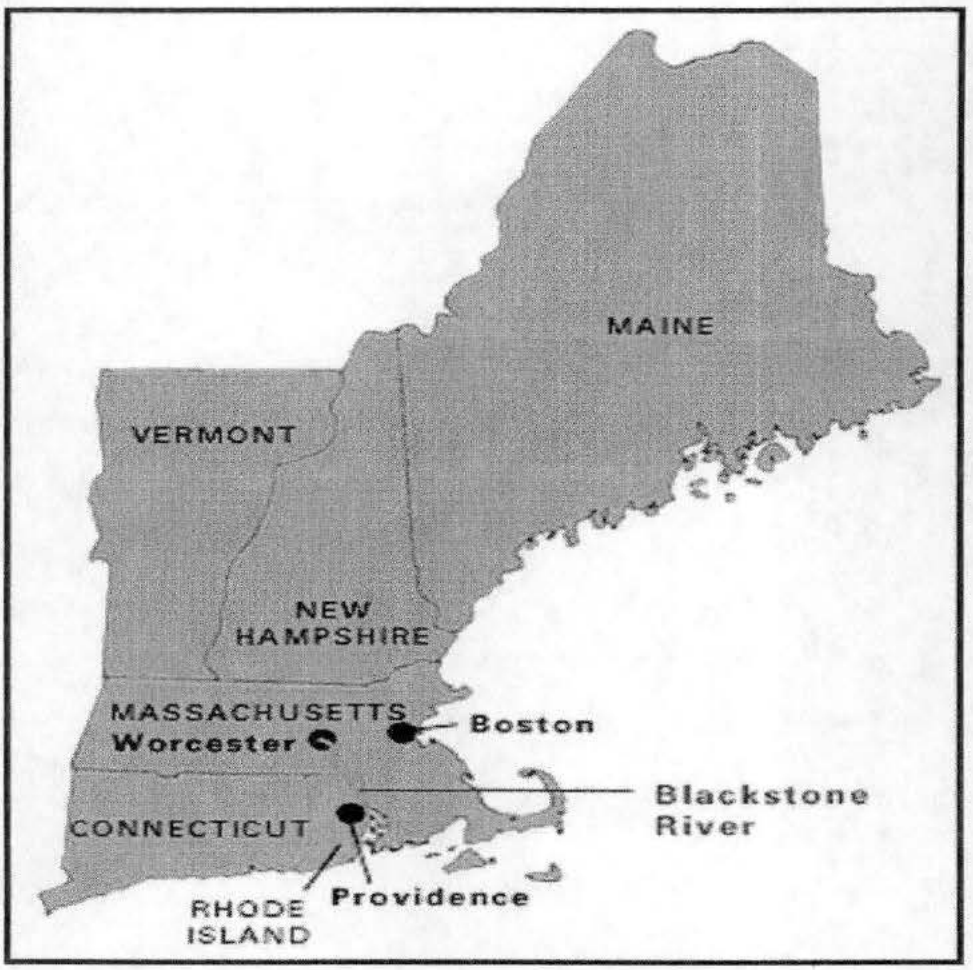

Figure 2. Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Map. *Source*: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor website. Available from http://www.nps.gov/blac/. Accessed on January 20, 2003.

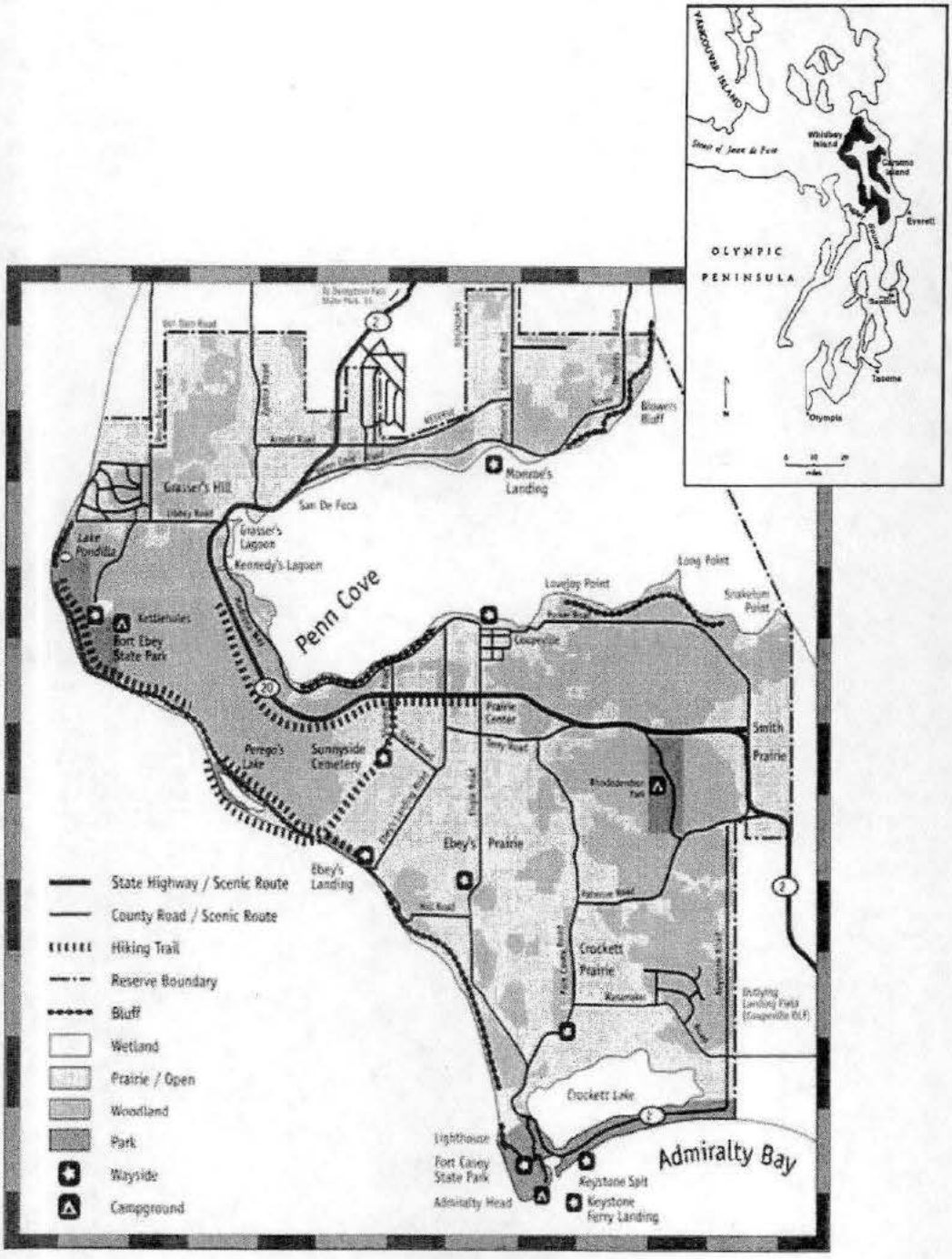

Figure 3. Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve Maps.
Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve website. Available from http://www.nps.gov/ebla/. Accessed on January 20, 2003.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Living within the Reserve

1. Do you live within in the Reserve?
2. If so, where is your home located?
3. How long have you lived within the Reserve?
4. In the same house?
5. Are you the first generation of your family to live within the Reserve?

Working within the Reserve

6. Do you own a business within the Reserve?
7. If so, what type of business do you own?
8. [If answer is agriculture] Is agriculture economically viable?

Knowledge of the Reserve

9. Do you know that the Reserve is part of the National Park Service?
10. How is the Reserve managed? Have you ever worked with the Trust Board? If so, in what capacity?
11. What are the boundaries of the Reserve?
12. What is the purpose of the Reserve?
13. What is the role of Island County in the Reserve?
14. What is the role of the Town of Coupeville in the Reserve?

Vision of the Reserve

15. How is the Reserve protecting its historical inheritance?
16. How is the Reserve protecting its natural resources?
17. How is the Reserve promoting educational opportunities to the area's residents?
18. How is the Reserve promoting educational opportunities to visitors?
19. What recreational opportunities within the Reserve do you use?
20. How often do you use them?

Consequences of the Reserve

21. From your personal experiences, what are the positive aspects of the Reserve? How about the negative aspects?
22. For the community as a whole, what are the positive aspects of the Reserve? How about the negative aspects?
23. Have you ever undertaken a construction project – either new construction or a renovation project – within the Reserve? If so, describe the design review process.
24. Are there any other comments you would like to make about the Reserve?

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Kingston –

Enclosed, please find the Historic Preservation program's copy of my thesis. As we previously discussed, I am forwarding it to you for review and ask that you add it to the library in the HP Suite upon your review.

Should you wish to discuss my research, please feel free to contact me by email at hgoodson@uoregon.edu or by phone at 907-230-0971.

Sincerely,

Heather Goodson

Kingsta Heath