Defining A Cultural Landscape: A Mixed-Modal Conversation on Whidbey Island

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Abstract

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The intent of this research is to define a cultural landscape on the southern end of Whidbey Island. Simply put, it is a strategy toward the development of a viable method to both preserve and conserve the south end of Whidbey Island from Seattle's rapidly growing metropolitan area. As the demographics on Whidbey Island dramatically evolve from a rural community to a bedroom community, and beyond, it is imperative that planners have the strategic foresight to cultivate and develop the existing culture while maintaining and preserving historic spaces and places, both natural and built, tangible and intangible. In this context, this thesis, therefore, will be a case study that amalgamates information and data from a myriad of sources via grounded theory and mixed-modal approaches with the objective of answering what contributing factors of cultural landscape exist on the southern end of Whidbey Island?

Figure 1. The Sensuous. Provided courtesy of Joshua Pitts.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, few urban debates have been as contentious as gentrification. First introduced in 1964 by sociologist Ruth Glass, the term 'gentrification' was coined to describe the transformation of some of London's relatively central neighborhoods from that of the working class to one of a wealthier gentry (Glass 1964). To generalize, as Central Business District rents increased, neighborhoods with a solid housing stock with relatively cheap rents just outside downtown became increasingly desirable. Since its inception, gentrification has been a prolific trend seen in most metropolitan areas. While gentrification has widely been confined to urban areas, the advent of the internet - telecommuting, e-commerce - has caused the gentrification pendulum to swing toward rural, small-town areas. This has led to the disruption of cultural landscapes across the United States.

Generally, rural gentrification is taking place in areas that are not functionally connected to a greater metropolitan area. However, a short ferry ride from the Seattle metropolitan area exists a rural community on the verge of gentrification. Thirty miles north of Seattle, Whidbey Island lies between the Olympic Peninsula and the I-5 corridor. Helping to shape the northern boundary of Puget Sound, the island is home to Naval Air Station Whidbey Island, Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve, the cities of Oak Harbor, Coupeville, and Langley, and the unincorporated communities of Greenbank, Freeland, and Clinton.

The concern of this thesis is that of the southern end of Whidbey Island; Langley, Freeland, and Clinton. Until recently, South Whidbey has primarily been comprised of a proletariat circular economy, which was supplemented by summer tourism and vacation homes. Since the Great Recession, and more recently the travel restrictions implemented due to COVID-19, Whidbey Island has become a destination for those wishing to escape city life, but

wishing to remain close to home. Or those who have been provided to work remotely, but desire to remain near the offerings and amenities of a metropolitan area.

This thesis will outline the history of south Whidbey Island by exploring the forces that are currently shaping it and serves as an illustrative case study of change in rural-metropolitan areas. Using the lens of historic preservation, the intent of this thesis is to provide the initial framework for preserving south Whidbey's ecology and conserving its cultural identity. The theories discussed in this thesis will revolve around the concept of cultural landscapes, which is an effective means of interpreting and strengthening our understanding of Whidbey's significant people, historic events, compelling patterns of life, natural landforms, buildings, and socio-economic processes.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review section of this thesis first begins by engaging with authors who address the rural areas and planning efforts. This is followed by topics discussing rural transformation and rural gentrification. How states and regions are attempting to maintain rural areas are then reviewed. Various national programs and tools to preserve cultural landscapes are then examined. The section concludes by assessing advances in planning, preservation, and sustainability.

Although rural planning has been discussed and written about since 1970 (Hahn 1970), it was not until the late 1980s that it began to be recognized as a distinct field of study (Lapping, Daniels, and Keller 1989). Yet, it has yet to generate extensive knowledge, appreciation, and application (Frank and Reiss 2014). According to Frank and Reiss, oftentimes, urban planning methods are improperly applied to rural planning practices, thereby exacerbating issues. This has caused advocates to criticize rural planning guidebooks, journals, and comprehensive plans. Moreover, despite advances in planning, researchers have found that rural planning is ad hoc, narrowly focused, incremental, and disproportionately dictated by private sectors, special interest groups, and higher-level government policies (Frank and Reiss 2014). However, given the paradigm shift stemming from advances in technology and COVID, rural planning has become much more relevant as societal landscapes reshuffle.

Rural landscapes are multifunctional both socially and ecologically. No longer viewed strictly as a place of agriculture or open spaces, rural landscapes have begun to transition into places of production, consumption, preservation, and conservation (Frank and Reiss 2014). According to Frank and Reiss, “rural planning is a fitting platform for the integration of environmental, social justice, economic, and cultural concerns” (p. 387). Recognizing that landscapes are dynamic, evolving entities, rural landscapes can be either a point of contention

between the private sector, government policies, and the local community, or it can be an opportunity for cooperation and collaboration.

First introduced in 1964 by sociologist Ruth Glass, the term 'gentrification' was coined to describe the transformation of some of London's relatively central neighborhoods from that of the working class to one of a wealthier gentry (Glass 1964). While the economic value of a neighborhood increases, gentrification often leads to social issues as the demographic composition shifts. A common and controversial topic in politics and planning, gentrification has predominantly remained in the urban context.

A number of rural studies have been indirectly discussing rural gentrification for decades, but until recently research has been framed within the concepts of rural demographic change, rural regeneration, rural restructuring, and counterurbanism (Phillips 2005). While parallels between urban and rural gentrification exist, Darling (2005) summarizes rural gentrification as shifts in rural housing composition, rural class structure, agents of rural change, and the post-productivist rural capital accumulation process. In two recent ethnographies, Pilgeram (2021) and Sherman (2021) dissertate the notion of gentrification in rural, small towns. Both are syntheses of in-depth interviews, geologic histories, and archival data that depict the complicated and ever-growing tensions of rural gentrification transpiring across the United States.

Although in reference to planning for urban heritage places, Nasser's (2003) discussion on conservation, tourism, and sustainable development, are applicable to rural areas being inundated by rural gentrification. One such contentious issue with rural gentrification is the concept that heritage places are built upon layers of long-established and time-honored traditions of architecture, city-building, community development, economy, and landscapes that have together created a local identity (Nasser 2003). Disruption of any one of the

aforementioned factors distorts the authenticity of the cultural landscape and may be considered a form of rural gentrification.

If these rural landscapes fail to maintain essential character-defining layers, they may become an endangered landscape form that belies their very authenticity. Just as in the urban context, “revitalization” has a downside in that it can precipitate the loss of heritage and culture. Revitalization may include, but is not limited to, the rehabilitation of the built environment, refreshing and upscaling of residential yards and gardens, and new development of a property. At first, revitalization may cause a slight disruption in the cultural landscape, but if it is allowed to persist, gentrification will likely ensue, forfeiting heritage and culture.

Forfeiture of a cultural landscape involves the loss of place and belonging. As new ideas and constructs are imported, transformation and gentrification can have a profound effect on the local community. Gans (1982) describes the term “community” as an aggregate of individuals who socially and spatially occupy a contiguous area within which is the establishment and participation of a common institution (p. 104). One adverse effect of gentrification is the potential for community displacement, which is not regarded as sustainable. The concept of sustainability is the management of current and future development via the synthesis of the three e’s: an equitable society, the environment, and the economy (Nasser 2003, p. 474)[1].

Loss of spatial identity is equivalent to the loss of a cultural landscape. “In fact, we might say that a sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning (Fried 1966, p. 365). While studying the impact of relocation on the lives of Italians who were displaced from the West End, Fried noted the loss of the experience of continuity, loss of a basic sense of identity, loss of a feeling of being at home, loss of a sense of belonging, and loss of comfort. Ghose, who

[1] Also referred to as the triple bottom line: profit, people, and planet. See *Cannibals with Forks: the Triple Bottom Line of the 21st Century Business* (1997) by John Elkington. The triple bottom line idea has recently been expanded to the quadruple bottom line by Joaquín Herranz Jr. and includes culture.

examined Missoula County, also highlights mourning the loss of community identity when gentrification occurs (2004).

Despite the research suggesting rural planning remains elusive, systems of cooperative endeavors have been established to allay the loss of rural identity. To date, eleven states have instituted comprehensive planning and growth management legislation. These include Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Washington. These plans are generally coordinated by a state-level plan that establishes certain local-level program goals such as public involvement, economic development, mitigation of sprawl, and protection of important natural and rural areas. Starkweather et al (2004) point out that a regional approach to planning and growth management is one topic most everybody can agree on.

A regional approach to the management of rural landscapes provides consistency between municipal and non-municipal growth in rural areas. The State of Washington, for example, requires that city and county comprehensive plans be consistent with the State Growth Management Plan. The nucleus of local planning efforts, comprehensive plans express the goals and objectives of local governments. Consistency between plans ensures conflicts do not exist. Additionally, comprehensive plans often include elements that emphasize the importance of protecting community identity, historic preservation, natural resource, and rural open land.

The Revised Code of Washington (RCW) is a compilation of all permanent laws currently in force. Primarily codified under 36.70A RCW are the laws that address Washington State's Growth Management Act. Under RCW 36.70A.020 (n.d), the GMA establishes a series of 14 goals that should act as the basis of all comprehensive plans.

- Concentrated urban growth
- Sprawl reduction

- Regional transportation
- Affordable housing
- Economic development
- Property
- Permit processing
- Natural resource industries
- Open space and recreation
- Environmental protection
- Public facilities and services
- Early and continuous public participation
- Historic preservation
- Shoreline management (RCW 36.70A.480)

Chapter 36.70A.070 (n.d) addresses the rural element and states that counties "shall develop a written record explaining how the rural element harmonizes the planning goals in RCW 36.70A.020" and that the "rural element shall include measures that apply to rural development and protect the rural character of the area".

Listokin points out that growth management and statewide comprehensive land-use planning acts in twelve states include historic preservation as a goal and/or a required planning element. According to Washington's thirteenth planning goal of the Growth Management Act, comprehensive plans are to "Identify and encourage the preservation of lands, sites, and structures, that have historical or archaeological significance" (RCW 36.70A.020 n.d.). The sentiment that preservation is essential to "establish values of time and place" (United States Conference of Mayors) was spurred by the influential study conducted in 1966, *With Heritage So Rich*.

Birch and Roby note that the passing of the 1966 Act “made preservation a public concern and provided a means for integrating preservation activities into the government bureaucracy” (p. 202). However, it was not until the 1980s that planners and historic preservationists allied to endorse a common interest (Birch and Roby 1984). Planning and historic preservation have developed a rapport that has enhanced both professions (Birch and Roby 1984), thus establishing parallelisms between historic preservation and growth management (Listokin 1997).

While the most generic preservation tool is listing, designating, or landmarking buildings, sites, and districts, a variety of preservation tools have emerged since the passing of The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This includes, but is not limited to, special use districts, contextual zoning, neighborhood conservation overlay districts, and cultural landscapes.

In 1981 the term “cultural landscape” was first defined and codified by the National Park Service (NPS) as a cultural resource type in Cultural Resource Management Guideline, NPS 28. Unique, a cultural landscape is a “combination of natural landforms and buildings that defines a particular place or region” (Alanen & Melnick 2000, p. ix). Cultural landscapes are an effective means of interpreting and strengthening our understanding of a particular area's significant people, historic events, compelling patterns of life, and socio-economic processes.

Beginning in the 1960s, but not being fully recognized until the 1980s, the study of cultural landscapes continues to be a burgeoning field that entails a broader approach to preservation practices than is more commonly thought of. Seeking to harmonize the intricate nature of places as cultural resources - rural, suburban, urban, built or natural, evolved or designed - the NPS has established terms and definitions for four general types of cultural landscapes: Historic Site, Historic Designed Landscape, Historic Vernacular Landscape, and Ethnographic Landscape.

All but a small portion of cultural landscapes are dependent on natural resources. The documentation, treatment, and management of these significant cultural resources demand comprehensive planning and a multi-disciplinary approach. Preservation Brief 36 (1994), lists "historical research; inventory and documentation of existing conditions; site analysis and evaluation of integrity and significance; development of a cultural landscape preservation approach and treatment plan; development of a cultural landscape management plan and management philosophy; the development of a strategy for ongoing maintenance; and preparation of a record of treatment and future research recommendations", as steps typically involved in the preservation planning process.

National Register Bulletins (NRB) have been published by the NPS to assist in the myriad of ways to inventory and document cultural landscapes. Additionally, NRBs have been created to address specific types of landscapes, such as NRB 30 - *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (1999). NRB 30 is an essential guide to properly defining rural historic landscapes, examining how significance and integrity are evaluated, how the National Register criteria can be applied, and the information needed to register them on the National Register.

The strength of NRB 30 is that it systematically classifies eleven characteristics for interpreting how natural and cultural forces have shaped a landscape. The eleven characteristics have been conceptually classified as either processes or components. Processes recognize themes that shape the land and influence development like patterns of spatial organization. Components are the tangible elements evident throughout the landscape such as circulation networks and buildings.

What NRB 30 and other guidelines fail to address is sustainability. Despite strides being made toward preservation and sustainability, a balance has yet to be reached between historic preservation policies and sustainability goals (Avrami 2016). Recognizing migration, population

growth, urbanization, and socio-economic inequalities as primary concerns of overconsumption and resources and land, Avrami asserts that sustainability is an imperative goal of planners. However, according to Avrami, there remains a deficiency in data, research methods, and policy tools that can be utilized to bridge the preservation-sustainability gap. In regard to rural landscapes, this gap is likely due to the fact that landscapes differ according to the region, people, and cultural practices that they are comprised of, making them imperceptible and incomprehensible at a macro level.

As rural landscapes continue to evolve so too must rural planning methods. Rural planning guidebooks, journals, and comprehensive plans must be rewritten to adequately address the needs of the rural communities that make them up. Although parallelisms between historic preservation and growth management do exist, the three e's of sustainability - equitable society, the environment, and the economy - must meet the demands of future development, while not forfeiting the extant culture and past heritage. Robert Z. Melnick concludes in the opening chapter of Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America, by asking: "How, then, do we reconcile the unrelenting need to protect natural systems with the impulse to transform them into human systems? How do we 'protect' cultural resources that, by nature, are dynamic and always changing?" (Melnick 2000, p. 42).

"Like all landscapes, heritage landscapes must be interpreted in the context of the culture that creates them" (Francaviglia 2000, p. 49). However, interpretation is often difficult as cultural landscapes, regardless of if they are urban or rural, are rarely static, but are in a perpetual state of evolution. Loukaitou-Sideris (2012) advocates for planning agencies to be proactive and visionary when developing settings that appeal to and accommodate everyday life. Listokin (1997) says that logic suggests preservation and conservation goals should be that of the community and that broader and more flexible preservation tools should be considered.

Chapter 3. METHODS

This thesis begins as a strategy to develop a viable method to both preserve and conserve the south end of Whidbey Island from Seattle's rapidly growing metropolis using a cultural landscape framework. Under the impression that the answer would be simple, it has become apparent that it is not as straightforward as assumed, and each question has provoked new sets of questions. In this context, this thesis, therefore, will be a case study that amalgamates information and data from a myriad of sources with the objective of answering the question, what contributing factors of cultural landscape exist on the southern end of Whidbey Island? Preservation Brief 36 is used to clarify and support which cultural landscape defining features hold for South Whidbey Island. If a cultural landscape does exist, how should it be maintained and interpreted? If the cultural landscape is not maintained, what will be lost?

Via the use of grounded theory and mixed-modal approaches, the methods deployed throughout this study are largely iterative, while simultaneously building on one another. The first stage of the project began with interviews with local stakeholders. This was followed by researching local histories and excavating archival documents. The next step of the process included conducting an in-depth analysis of Island County's comprehensive plan. Surveys were used to gain a sense of the local community's thoughts regarding South Whidbey. To conclude the methods section, maps were created and photos were made to depict particular locations and provide context.

Grounded theory is a powerful method for conducting qualitative analysis. Approaching this thesis with an open mind, discussions with regional stakeholders were utilized to initiate the process. Discussion participants included members of South Whidbey Historical Society, Historic Whidbey, and staff at the University of Washington. Various themes regarding culture and heritage were considered, including for example recognizing Natives, the homestead era,

recreation, the arts, and sensuous qualities. From these discussions, questions and patterns began to emerge that would guide archival research, such as the types of resources that would be used and where they could be found.

While researching available source materials on Whidbey Island's cultural and landscape history it was essential to uncover an overarching theme that properly connotes the area's significance. This helped identify what will be lost if the conservation of heritage and the cultural landscape is not a priority. This portion of the study relied heavily on the available source materials and visual records. It included significant archival work at the South Whidbey Historical Society, where access to historical documents and photos was made available. Additionally, a number of publications produced by the South Whidbey Historical Society were referred to. Archival data provided insights beginning with the creation of Whidbey Island to the end of the 1970s.

To move the thesis toward the contemporary, analysis of Island County's comprehensive plan was critical to understanding the regional goals to discern how effective policies have been implemented and carried out, particularly around preservation. Given that the geographical area under study consists of the County at large, the challenge was deciphering how effective current policies have been implemented and supported.

To properly understand, conceptualize, and gain fresh insights into the local culture, surveys were provided to a sample set of stakeholders (see Appendix 1). Prospective participants traversing the sidewalks of Langley were approached and asked to participate in a survey regarding defining a cultural landscape on South Whidbey Island. Though not required, the surveys followed the legal and ethical guidelines set by the University of Washington's Human Subjects Division. The participants were provided a summary of the survey. Once a voluntary informed decision about whether to participate in the research was made, participants were provided the survey. The survey was comprised of eight questions and a map. The goal of

the surveys was to gain an understanding of contemporary thoughts and opinions from individuals who currently reside on South Whidbey. The amalgamation of the surveys and map relates to and intersects with shared, collective memory.

To conclude the methods portion, this thesis created visual documents to aid in the representation of the cultural landscape on the southern end of Whidbey Island, both past and present. Maps were created via ArcGIS to graphically represent areas of cultural significance. Additionally, photo documentation assisted in depicting a current portrait of South Whidbey.

All methods and sources utilized were specific to this thesis. All of the source material and documents have been used to assimilate an appropriate theme for the preservation and conservation of a cultural landscape on the south end of Whidbey Island. By weaving together Whidbey's history with a theoretical paradigm that explores change, this thesis broadly extrapolates the need for a National Recreation Area.

Chapter 4. SOUTH WHIDBEY ISLAND: A HISTORY

4.2 Description of South Whidbey

Access via ferry, Whidbey Island is located approximately 25 miles north of Seattle, WA. Whidbey Island is a sixty-mile-long landmass, running north and south, that lies between the Olympic Peninsula and Admiralty Inlet to the west, and the Saratoga Passage and the I-5 corridor to the east. Helping to shape the northern boundary of Puget Sound, the island is home to Naval Air Station Whidbey Island, Ebey's Reserve, the cities of Oak Harbor, Coupeville, and Langley, and the unincorporated communities of Greenbank, Freeland, and Clinton. Whidbey Island is separated into three geographic planning areas - North Whidbey, Central Whidbey, and South Whidbey (Figure 2). The concern of this thesis is that of the southern end of Whidbey Island. This area is comprised of the City of Langley, the non-municipal urban growth area of Freeland, and the rural area of more intensive development (RAID) in Clinton. These three areas extend from Possession Point on the south to Holmes Harbor on the North (Figure 3).

Approximately 17,000-18,000 residents live on South Whidbey which is a majority of single-family residential houses (Population and Demographics, n.d.). Langley is the sole incorporated city on South Whidbey. Both Langley and Freeland are considered urban growth areas (UGAs). Additionally, adjacent to Langley is an area designated as a joint planning area, and a large portion outside of Freeland's UGA is designated as a future growth area. Consistent with the GMA [RCW 36.70A.070(5)(d)] and designed to mitigate rural growth, RAIDs are areas of rural development and lands that are not designated for urban growth, agriculture, forest, or mineral resources. Island County has a variety of differing types of RAIDs, with the Clinton RAID being the largest.

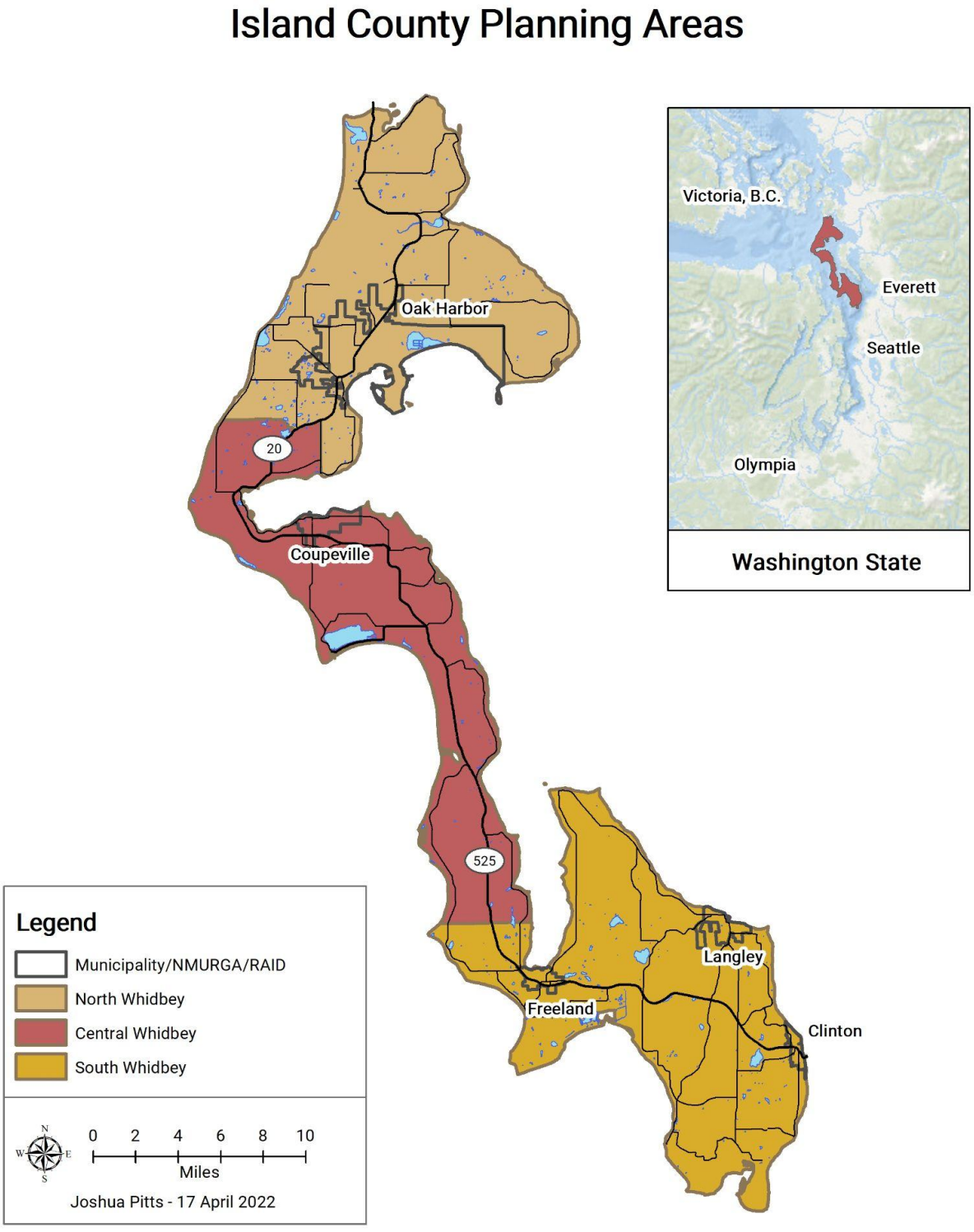

Figure 2: Island County planning areas on Whidbey Island.

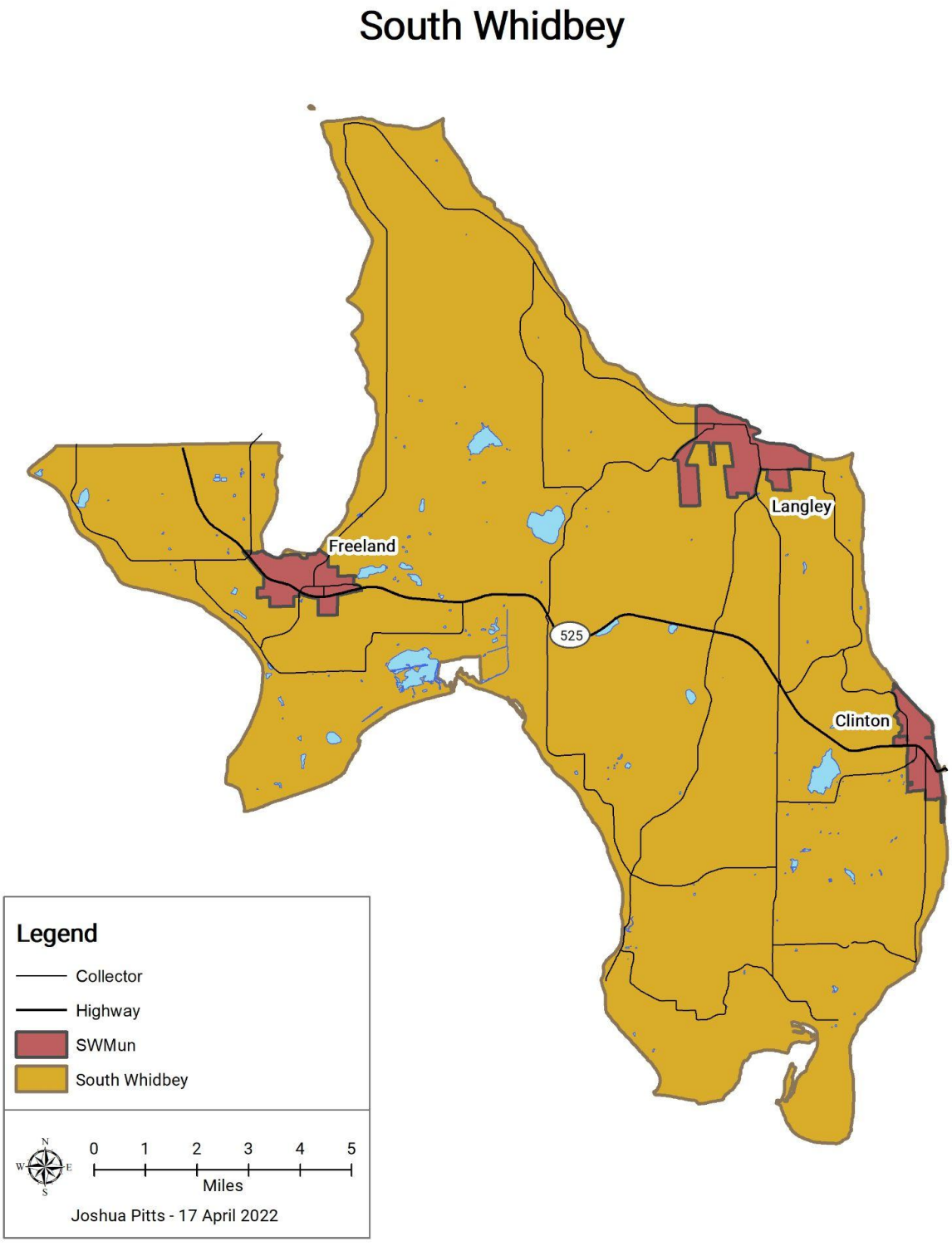

FIgure 3: Geographic area of South Whidbey.

4.3 History of South Whidbey

4.3.1 Whidbey Island

Further formed from a receding glacier, the Puget Sound began to emerge 25,000 years ago, when the Vashon Glacier began its slow retreat. Melting at a rate of one mile every twenty-five years, Whidbey's topography would not begin to take shape till 12,500 to 13,000 years ago (White 1999). Buried beneath the glacial moraine lay lignite and peat, the organic matter that would jumpstart life on Whidbey Island, and provide the nutrients necessary for the creation of prairies and evergreen forests. Though the Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*) would become the dominant species, it was western red cedar (*Thuga plicata*) that would emerge as the climax plant species.

It is unclear which direction they migrated from, but 10,000 to 12,000 years ago humans arrived in the Puget Sound region. Both Cattle Point on the San Juan Islands and Coronet Bay on Fidalgo Island provide early evidence through the excavation of middens, heaps of human debris usually consisting of shells (White 1999). These middens suggest a culture that had adapted to procuring sea life as a source of dietary needs. It is theorized that the first humans to inhabit the Island County area were of the Marpole (White 1999). By A.D. 1300 the lands in the area were occupied the Salish people.

4.3.2 Natives of South Whidbey

In times past, Whidbey Island was shared by three native tribes; the Skagit, Clallam, and Snohomish. However, it was the Snohomish who primarily utilized the lands of South Whidbey. It is uncertain how many camps may have existed along the shore, but historical records indicate that there were two villages on South Whidbey that fluctuated in population depending on the season (White 1999, TVG 2021-2022). On the southern tip of Whidbey Island in the area currently known as Possession Point was dəgʷasx̌. On the east side of the Island, near Langley

and what is now Sandy Point, was č̓əčɬqs. Another prominent place, that also had a longhouse was Bush Point, on the west side of Whidbey Island (Cherry et al 2006).

The way of life for the Snohomish, as-well-as other tribes throughout the U.S., would be disrupted as European settlers moved their way west. For the tribes in the Puget Sound area, life would be forever altered on January 22, 1885. Negotiated by Isaac Ingalls Stevens, Washington's first territorial governor, with 2,300 witnesses *The Treaty With The Suquamish, Staktalijamish, Samahmish, And Other Allied And Subordinate Tribes In Washington* was signed by 82 headsmen (TVG 2021-2022). This treaty would become more colloquially known as the Treaty of Point Elliott. In return for giving up their rights to hundreds of thousands of acres of land in the Pacific Northwest, including Whidbey Island, the Snohomish tribe received 22,000 acres of land near the mouth of the Snohomish River and the waters of Tulalip Bay (GOIA n.d.).

4.3.3 Homesteads of South Whidbey

Two decades before the signing of the Treaty of Point Elliot, and while the nation was at war with itself, Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862, would authorize the United States' first major entitlement program, and provided an opportunity to those seeking a new hope. By signing into law the Homestead Act of 1862, Abraham Lincoln and the federal government were encouraging westward expansion by offering those willing 160 acres from the public domain. In the seventy-two years after the act's passage, and via numerous additional Acts, in total, the U.S. government would grant 270 million acres to private individuals. This would comprise approximately ten percent of all land in the U.S. Though not all would see fruition, roughly four-million homesteads would be filed in what became the largest and most expansive land giveaway in history.

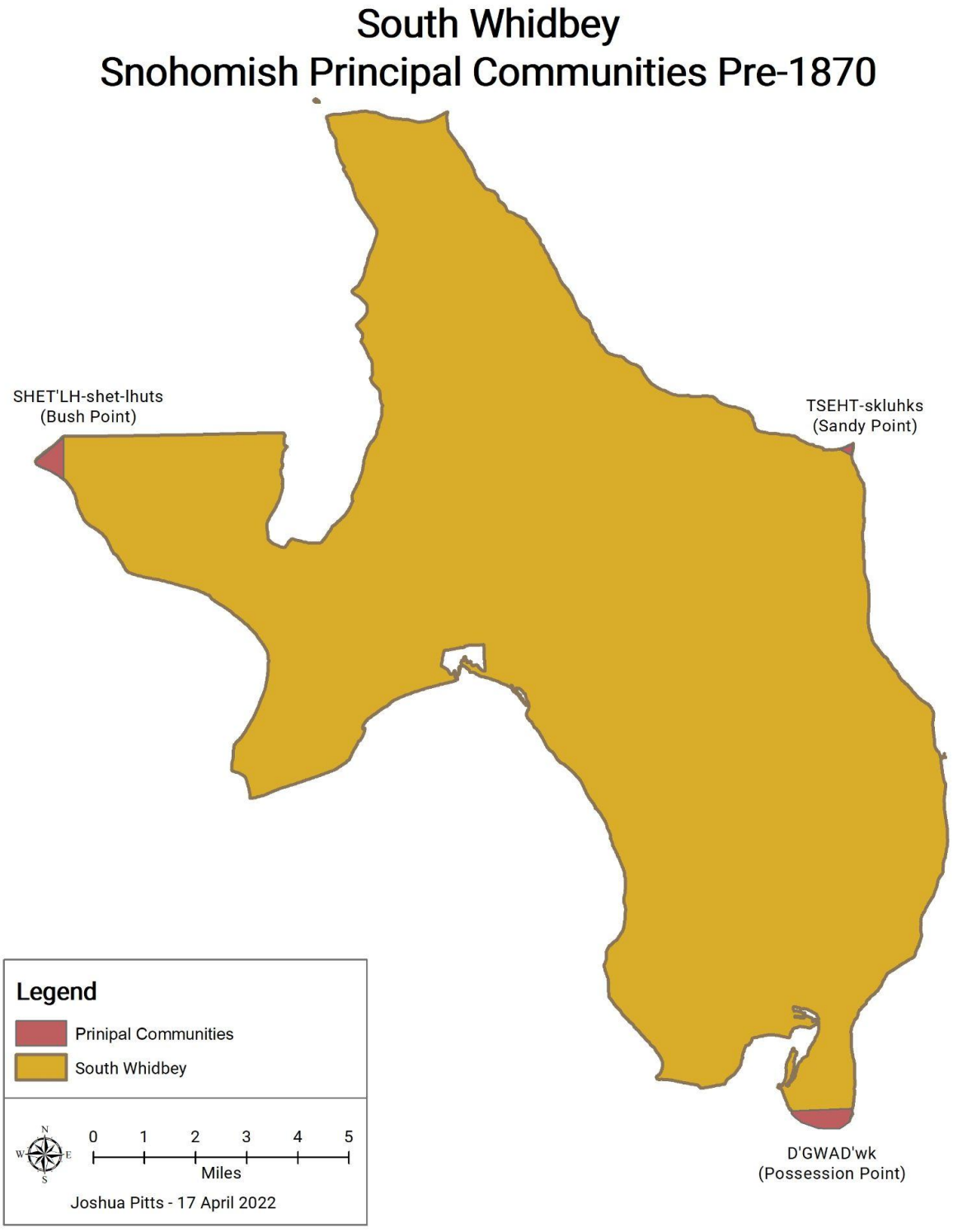

Figure 4: Principal communities of the Snohomish on South Whidbey.

While the Homestead Act of 1862 and westward expansion are inextricably linked, Blake Bell (2012) is quick to point out that "[t]he history of homesteading contains pride and patriotism as well as sadness and ignominy" (p. 73). According to Bell, the impact the Homestead Act had on the U.S. in regard to people, places, culture, and the economy to name a few are just now beginning to be realized and written. Industrial manufacturing increased exponentially, agricultural technologies transformed the landscape, and trade networks and transportation systems ran rampant (Bell. p. 78). Yet the most dramatic and severe factor of the Homestead Act was the attrition and loss of Native peoples and cultures. Good or bad, the U.S. would be forever altered by the Homestead Act of 1862.

Karsmizki (Campbell 2008) explains that historians have taken a dogmatic stand when defining homesteads and homesteaders. According to this more concentrated definition, a homesteader is one who has taken ownership of government land or from the public domain via one of several public land Acts which included the word "homestead". Additional Acts would include the Southern Homestead Act of 1866, the Timber Culture Act of 1873, the Kinkaid Amendment of 1904, the Forest Homestead Act of 1906, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, the Stock-Raising Homestead Act of 1916, and the Subsistence Homesteads provisions under the New Deal – 1930.

With each new public land act, the federal government via local land offices was able to generate substantial revenue by implementing and collecting application fees and patent fees (Gregg 2019). Resource booms and economic busts were defined by the further expansion of the public land acts. Although the American West progressed in fits and starts, the settling of the West "promoted national growth, the production of American goods, and made America a world power" (Langdon 2012, p. 56). Moreover, according to Langdon, it created a new middle class. Consequently, each land law was distinct, spurring differing economies and experiences for each wave of homesteaders (Gregg 2019).

Robert Bailey was the first recorded white individual to own land on South Whidbey (Cherry et al 2006). From Virginia, Bailey arrived on Whidbey Island in 1850, settling on the southern tip near dəgʷasx̌, presently known as Possession Point. In 1852 he filed for a land patent under the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, a land act intended to promote homestead settlements in the Oregon Territory[2]. Bailey initially was granted 82.5 acres before being granted an additional 135.5 acres in 1873 under the Homestead Act. In total, Bailey would acquire nearly 350 acres of land and establish a home and trading post on the property.

After Robert Bailey, nearly 400 additional land grant applications would be submitted and approved in the south Whidbey area. Most land claims initially were along the shores as they were easily accessible by boat. After prime shoreline real estate was settled, homesteaders began moving inland. Notable settlements on south Whidbey include Austin, Bayview, Clinton, Freeland, Glendale, Langley, Maxwelton, Midvale, Phinney, and Whidbey City. Of those, only the City of Langley, unincorporated Clinton and Freeland, and the Bayview area remain (Figure 5).

[2] The Donation Land Claim Act discriminated against nonwhite settlers, preemptively dispossessing land from Native Americans.

Figure 5: Early European settlements on South Whidbey..

4.3.4 Clinton

Figure 6: Clinton union building, c. 1905. Photo provided courtesy of Washington Rural Heritage.

Prior to 1880, south Whidbey's forests had been relatively undisturbed. The first semblance of a town on the southern shores of Whidbey was in 1884. John G. Phinney was successful in establishing a post office to better serve the logging community that was working its way across the island. One year later, in 1885, the post office would be relocated four miles northeast near the present-day Clinton Ferry Terminal. A store owned by Edward Hinman had already been in operation. Hinman, after mustering out of the Civil War, had been traversing the Puget Sound in search of a place to settle that would offer plenty of game, lush forest, and a healthy climate. He was fortunate in his discovery to have also located property that had a small creek running through it from above. At the time, steamers making their way throughout the sound were wood burners, and thus dependent on fresh water and cordwood. Hinman's property

became a layover for steamers in need of replenishment. With the addition of a dock, Hinman's property would further seal the establishment of a new community. Hinman would christen the area Clinton in honor of his boyhood home of Clinton, Michigan.

4.3.5 Langley

Founded in 1890, Langley is the only incorporated city (1918) on the southern end of Whidbey Island (Figure 7). Spearheaded by Jacob Anthes, the Langley Land and Improvement Company was formed by the incorporators Judge J.W. Langley of Seattle, C.W. Sheafe, James Satterlee, A.P. Kirk, and Jacob Anthes (Cherry 2006). The townsite, named after Judge Langley, was roughly 700 acres with one mile of shoreline that looked out across the Saratoga Passage. At its founding, the City of Langley understood the preciousness of open space, and therefore set aside a large reserve for the future development of a park on the north side of town. The corners of 1st Street and Anthes Avenue were the first to be developed and included a general store, post office, hotel, and dock. Anthes Avenue would become the main entry to Langley from the hinterlands. It was lined with oak trees, further enhancing the pride of a new town as visitors either entered from the interior or approached from the dock below (Figure 8).

The original dock that Langley built extended in the Puget Sound 999 feet. Similar to Clinton, it supplied steamers with the necessary cordwood needed to operate. According to Anthes, "wood sales averaged fully 35 cords a day" (Cherry 2006). Unfortunately, in 1894 a storm destroyed the original dock, forcing the city to build a new one, further exacerbating financial hardships caused by the emigration of homesteaders who too were suffering from lack of sales. In 1898 the Alaska gold rush promoted new hope as steamers and people began to return to Langley. This same year, a local school district was organized. Not wanting to acknowledge South Whidbey as having any sufficient value, Island County authorities were reluctant to invest public money into the area. Thus, trails remained trails, slowly being widened

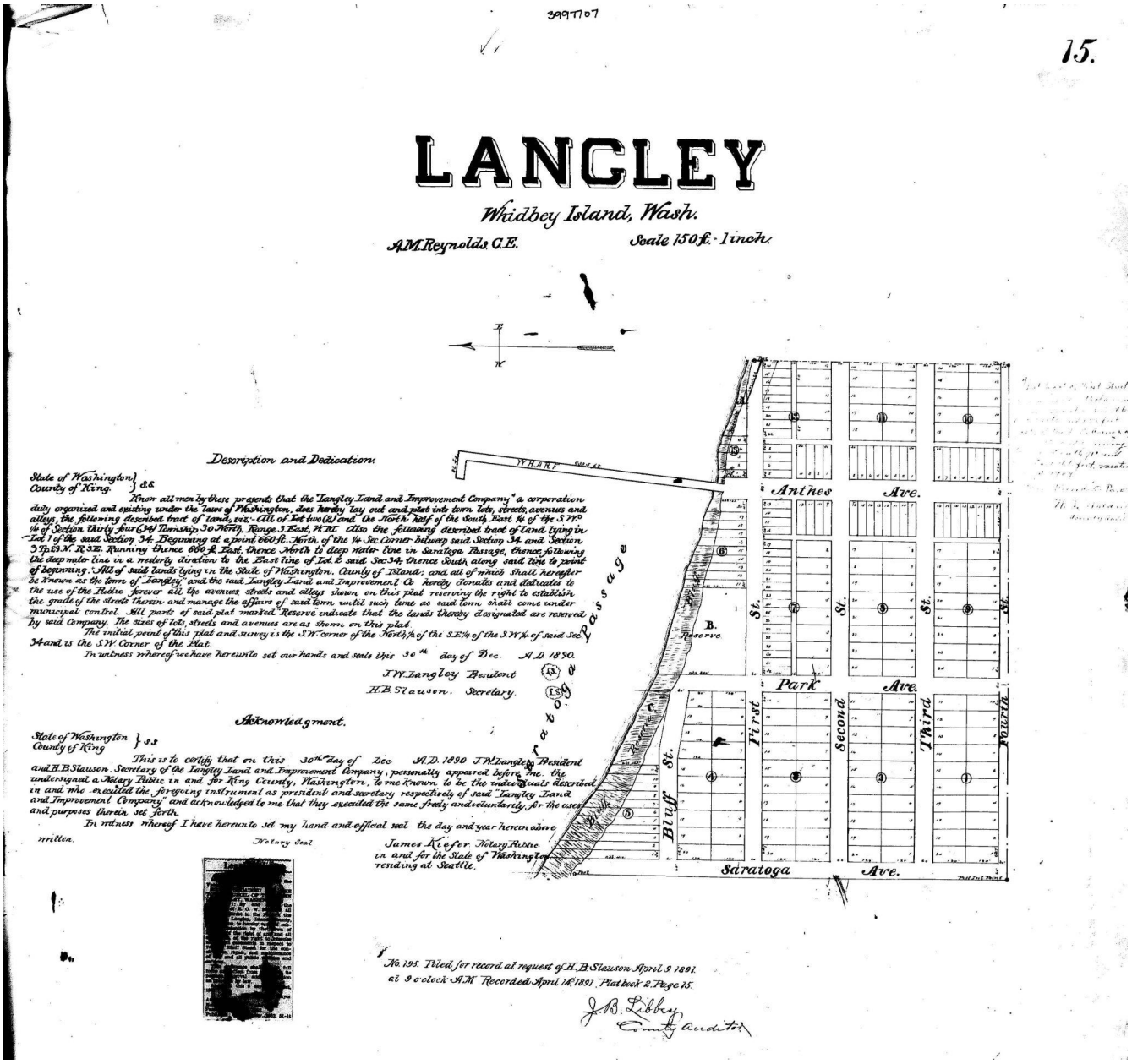

Figure 7: Langley plat 1891. Provided courtesy of U.S. Bureau of Land Management.

over time to allow wagons passage. It would not be until 1902 that the first county road would be built, leading from Langley to Coupeville, the county seat. The year 1902 also prompted the building of a new dock farther east of the original town where it would be better protected from storms, Langley's first bank, and a church. Shortly after, would come the construction of a Masonic Lodge, a library, and a Methodist church.

Figure 8: Anthes Avenue and Methodist Church c. 1909. Photo provided courtesy of South Whidbey Historical Society.

In the ensuing years, Langley would continue to grow at a slow pace with spurts and stops. First Street would not be fully developed until around 1940, and it would not be until the 1990s that the south side of Second Street was. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Langley would be rejuvenated due to an influx of residents initiated by the hippie generation and back to the land movement. Inspired by its newfound success, Langley would begin marketing itself as a tourist destination in 1975 and become recognized as “Langley by the Sea”. Over time, Langley would no longer play host to a hardware store, service station, funeral home, pharmacy, and other essential attributes commonly associated with a typical American town. This continues to stir debates among the residents as they continue to navigate life’s daily needs, especially for those less mobile.

For the resident or tourist, Langley offers many attractions. The city hosts numerous arts and crafts festivals, the most well-known being Choochokam (Figure 9). Whidbey Island Center

for the Arts and the Clyde theater provide entertainment in the form of theater, dance, music, and visual and literary arts, including the legendary Django Fest NW (Figure 10). Below First Street is Seawall Park, a prized location for glimpses of majestic sea life and picturesque sunrises.

Figure 9: Whidbey Island Choochokam. Photo provided courtesy of Choochokam Arts Foundation.

Figure 10: Djangofest NW advertisement. Photo provided courtesy of Djanofest NW.

4.3.6 Freeland

Breaking from a more traditionally organized socialist utopia, George Washington Daniels, Henry L. Stevens, and Henry A. White facilitated a less formal social experiment on Whidbey Island in late 1899 (LeWarne 1995). On January 12, 1900, the Free Land Association would be incorporated in Island County. Simply put, the association would buy, sell, own, and trade lands, while engaging in the business of merchandise, sawmills, and other timber manufacturing, publications, farming, and additional land development LeWarne 1995). Members of the association paid $10 as a down payment on a five-acre plot of land. Additional payments were made from the profits earned through cooperative enterprises. Although Freeland was a profit-sharing community, it was adamant that it was not a communistic organization (LeWarne 1995). Shares in the store (Figure 11) were sold primarily to local members, but to those outside the community as well. According to LeWarne, “Ideally, the store would expand its activities to selling real estate, starting industries, providing employment, and building new communities” (p. 117).

Unlike Clinton and Langley, Freeland was located at the head of a long bay known as Holmes Harbor. According to Cherry (2004), the waters overflowed with salmon, herring, crabs, and the like. Additionally, the dense forests were abundant with game such as waterfowl, deer, and bears. And riparian zones offered a myriad of berries throughout the summer months. To the west are enchanting peaks of the Olympics, while to the east is the spectacle of Mount Baker. It would be hard to argue against Freeland being in a place of utopia.

Similar to Langley, Freeland lacked adequate roads posing additional concerns, which the county made no effort to mitigate. Moreover, Holmes Harbor is often inaccessible by boat due to extremely low tides. Steamboats would bypass Freeland on their routes between Coupeville, Langley, and Everett. At the time, many communities around the sound were still dependent on water services for freight and passenger transportation. Left to their own, and

after a succession of undependable boats, it would not be until 1904 that Freeland would be provided with a dependable freight and passenger service thanks to John H. Prather, son-in-law of Daniels (LeWarne 1995).

Figure 11: Freeland colony store, c. 1920. Photo provided courtesy of HistoryLing.org.

With the first plat on the tidelands, two more additions were platted to the West. In March of 1901, the Freeland colonists boasted of having “one of the most beautiful locations in the world” (Island County Auditor 1901, p. 21). Yet, the colony’s vision of a sawmill never came to fruition, along with other interests, and they soon recognized their dreams would remain limited. An unofficial spokesman is quoted in the *Whidby Islander* admitting that though Freeland was founded under socialist principles, it was “simply a settlement of socialists co-operating on semi-capitalistic principles” (August 15, 1902). Cooperative ventures deteriorated by 1903, and it would be nearly a decade before a sawmill, machine shop, or dance

would truly be established (Cherry 2004). Cherry does note that one of the most important community contributions made by the Free Land Association was five acres of land for a public park and community hall. Enjoying its first dance in 1915, the property was put in a trust and dedicated to the people.

From its original settlement, Freeland has over the years migrated west, away from the waterfront. Movement west was initiated by the eventual development of county roads and relocation of the post office during the 1950s. The development of Highway 525 again moved some businesses west such as service stations and eateries, leaving others behind as motorists drove by. Today, Freeland is the center of new commercial enterprises such as a hardware store, a pharmacy, and grocery store, and numerous banks.

Chapter 5. DEFINING A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ON SOUTH WHIDBEY ISLAND

5.1 Defining A Cultural Landscape

According to Preservation Brief 36 (PB 1994), a cultural landscape is defined as "a geographic area, 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" (p. 1). Cultural landscapes typically fall into one of the following four categories: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.

If a cultural landscape on South Whidbey were to be established it would either reside within the framework of a historic vernacular landscape and/or an ethnographic landscape. Preservation Brief 36 defines a historic vernacular landscape as one that has evolved via those who occupy and shape it. Vernacular landscapes should reflect a unique function in relation to physical, biological, and cultural characteristics. An example is a single homestead such as

Homestead National Historic Park in Nebraska or a collection of homesteads on an island in the Puget Sound. An ethnographic landscape is one that contains a myriad of cultural and natural resources that are defined as heritage. Ethnographic landscapes may be comprised of contemporary settlements, religious sites, or geologic structures and include components such as ecosystems or ceremonial grounds. Regardless of classification, cultural landscapes often rely upon natural resources associated with landscape.

It was determined early on that the focus of this thesis should provide the groundwork for establishing a cultural landscape on South Whidbey. This is opposed to producing a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) based on the guidelines provided by National Park Service (NPS). While a CLR is essential to the fruition of a cultural landscape on South Whidbey, a CLR requires a team of professionals such as landscape architects, historians, biologists, ethnographers, and geographers to name a few. However, an early investigation is essential to initiating the process and helping to establish whether a cultural landscape does exist and which features contribute to the historic character of the area.

5.2 Determining South Whidbey Cultural Landscape

To define a cultural landscape, it is imperative that two essential questions are analyzed. First, what cultural landscapes, if any, have existed? Second, how has the historical integrity of the cultural landscape's characteristics been retained? The goal of this section of the thesis is to seek answers to the first question. To gain a deeper understanding of South Whidbey's cultural landscape various historical texts, documents, photos, and maps were read and analyzed.

Analysis began with literature written by secondary sources based around the late nineteenth century and continued into the early twentieth century. This is a crucial time period, as the westward expansion and the homestead acts were the driving force behind the economic and social evolution seen in the U.S. at the time. Additionally, the removal of Native Americans

to reservations played a critical role in these events. Once traces of the history on South Whidbey began to emerge and distinguish themselves from one another further analysis of primary sources would be used to confirm details. As details solidified research and analysis were extended to further define the eras of the early 1950s and the late 1960s into the 1970s. To test the continual existence of the extant cultural landscape surveys were conducted among both residents and tourists on the southern end of Whidbey Island.

Based on an analysis of documents and photographs pertaining to culture, landscape, and events on South Whidbey between the 1850s through the present day, five cultural landscape themes have emerged. These include Native Americans, homestead and early communities, the timber industry, recreation, and intangibles. Rottle (2008) writes, “Guidelines for evaluating and documenting rural historic cultural landscapes have been modified by the National Park Service to accommodate factors such as multiple and long periods of significance. For these cultural landscapes, the period of significance ‘extends many years, covering a series of events, continuum of activities, or evolution of physical characteristics’” (p. 137). While the aforementioned cultural landscapes extend many years and cover a series of events, the key to determining cultural significance is the continuum of activities or evolution of physical characteristics. Thus, each of these was evaluated based on the criteria of continuum and evolution.

5.3.1 Native Americans

It should be noted that little is known about the Natives who utilized the lands of Whidbey Island and the surrounding waters. However, those who inhabited the area should be recognized as their culture did shape the landscape, particularly on the north end of Whidbey Island. Given the limited resources currently available for research purposes, this thesis believes

that it is still imperative that the Natives of South Whidbey Island be acknowledged and their contributions are celebrated.

In times past, Whidbey Island was shared by three native tribes; the Skagit, Clallam, and Snohomish. South Whidbey Island was primarily used by those of the Snohomish. On the southern tip of Whidbey Island in the area currently known as Possession Point was dəgʷasx̌. On the east side of the Island, near Langley and what is now Sandy Point, was čəčɬqs. Another prominent place, that also had a longhouse was Bush Point, on the west side of Whidbey Island (Cherry et al 2006). It is uncertain how many camps may have existed along the shore, but historical records indicate that Possession Point and Sandy Point were the two main villages on South Whidbey. Depending on the season, all villages fluctuated in population (White 1999, TVG 2021-2022).

The waterways of the Puget Sound and rivers allowed the Snohomish to move between locations in large cedar canoes, particularly during periods of warm weather (White 1999, TVG 2021-2022). This facilitated hunting, fishing, gathering, and trading. Additionally, after the beginning of the salmon run or after a successful hunt, the summer months were times for celebration. Known as potlatch, great feasts were given to confirm the power of leaders and celebrate important events. During the cold wet winters, several families of the same bloodline would share longhouses that were constructed of cedar beams and planks.

The Story of the Salmon Ceremony (Hibulb n.d.) is a story told by the Snohomish people that describes our relationship with salmon. According to the story, salmon would enter the rivers each year, offering themselves as food for the people. In return, the people would maintain the pristineness of the river and its bank. The salmon that arrived as an offering was in return greeted by a ceremony that returned the bones of the salmon consumed. Over time, the banks and waters became polluted, and the bones failed to be returned. Thus, the salmon were sickened and diminished. One young man agonizing over both the people and the salmons'

well-being was greeted and led by a salmon to the salmon village. There he learned of pain being inflicted upon the salmon. Saving an elder salmons life, he then was taught songs about the salmon ceremony and a new agreement was made. If the bones of the first salmon were returned and the waters remained clean, then the salmon would return each year. Each year a scout salmon arrives to see whether the agreement was upheld. “Each year so far. That is the end” (Hibulb n.d.).

5.3.2 Homesteads & Early European Communities

As stated earlier, Robert Bailey was the first recorded individual to own land on South Whidbey. Throughout the years, Bailey would acquire nearly 350 acres of land, establishing a home and trading post on the property. Following Bailey, nearly 400 additional land grant applications would be submitted and approved in the South Whidbey area. These land claims were initially along the shores of South Whidbey and provided easy access via boat. Although homesteaders began moving inland, notable settlements were established along the shores of South Whidbey. These include Austin, Clinton, Freeland, Glendale, Langley, Maxwelton, Midvale, and Phinney. Bayview/Whidbey City and Midvale were notables exceptions, however. Of those settlements, only the City of Langley, unincorporated Clinton and Freeland, and the Bayview area remain today. It should also be noted that Langley did not grow out of an original homestead, but was founded and platted as a city in 1890.

In the books, *South Whidbey and Its People Volume 1* and *Volume 2*, Cherry (2006) recounts numerous stories regarding the settlement of South Whidbey. Of the nearly 400 homestead claims, only a small handful remain with distinguishing characteristics that would qualify them for preservation purposes according to NPS standards. Of those, Parsons’ Farm and Hawthorne Farm are likely the most recognizable and contain numerous contributing structures, such as barns and outbuildings (Figure 12).

Homesteads are an essential part of the nation's and Washington State's early demographics and economy, but homestead heritage continues to remain underappreciated, disregarded, and often bulldozed over. Of all National Historic Landmarks, less than 1% are associated with homesteads (NRDR 2022). In relation to Washington state, the Department of Archeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) historic property inventory reveals that there are 504 historic properties connected to manufacturing/industry, 698 associated with transportation, and 2,277 linked to agriculture. Regarding homesteads, there are only thirteen. These numbers alone illustrate the lack of underrepresented heritage and places of cultural significance in Washington, as well as, the U.S.

Figure 12: Kinskie Barn located near Parsons' Farm. Photo provided courtesy of Joshua Pitts.

As Table 1 shows, there are no historic register listings designated for association with homesteads within Island County. There are forty-two known entries in the Washington Heritage Register (WHR). Additionally, of the forty-two listed in the WHR, thirteen are also listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Sites that are listed on the NRHP are automatically added to the WHR (DAHP n.d.)

Registers & Inventories of Homesteads		
Registers	**Number of Homesteads Registered in Washington State**	**Number of Homesteads Registered in Island County**
National Register of Historic Places	13	0
Washington Heritage Register	42	0

Table 1: Registers and Inventories of Homesteads in Washington State

Table 2 recognizes eighteen historic register listings designated for association with the barns within Island County in the WHR. There are 528 known barn entries in the WHR. Furthermore, sixteen of these barns are also listed on the NRHP. Unfortunately, as with the homestead listings, none associated with the NRHP are within Island County. While not technically a homestead, these sites could be reviewed to determine whether or not they are associated with a prior homestead. Their listing could then be updated to represent a heritage that is undervalued and underappreciated.

Registers & Inventories of Barns		
Registers	**Number of Barns Registered in Washington State**	**Number of Barns Registered in Island County**
National Register of Historic Places	16	0
Washington Heritage Register	528	18

Table 2: Registers and Inventories of Barns in Washington State

The efforts listed in Table 3 refer to working more diligently to increase awareness of history and preservation of Historic Barns in Washington state but do not solely focus on homesteads. These include Heritage Barn Grants, Barn Styles of the Pacific Northwest, and various context studies conducted throughout Washington state.

Washington State DAHP		
Funding Programs	**Outreach / Engagement**	**Projects**
Heritage Barn Grants	Anatomy of a Barn: Your Guide to PNW Styles, Types and Character-Defining Features	● Historic Barns of Washington State MPD ● Dairy Farm Properties of the Snoqualmie River Valley:1890-1960 MPD ● Inventory of Agricultural Resources of King County - 2011 ● Inventory of Agricultural Resources on the Enumclaw Plateau - 2008

Table 3: Stakeholders

5.3.3 Timber Industry

Although a number of individuals were successful in their homesteading ventures, a significant amount of homestead claims were filed purely for the natural resources they offered. This was true not just on Whidbey Island, but across the country. Homesteads in western Washington and Oregon were claimed for their timber resources. Richard White (1999) discusses the timber industry and ecology of Island County in great detail, remarking that by the 1860s timber was a major contributor to the county's economy. According to White (1999), loggers on South Whidbey initially cut the public domain townships first. This was followed by the clearing of Township 29 North - Range 2 East and Township 29 North - Range 3 East. Apparently, after 1870 logging was confined primarily to private holdings on the northern end of the island. "After twenty-five years of logging, a traveler described Whidbey in 1884 as 'a nearly unbroken wilderness of forest'" (White 1999, p. 91).

During the nineteenth century, logging operations were comprised of bull teams (Figure 13). During this time period, most of the timber cut was Douglas Fir, leaving a patchwork of second growth, burned lands, and virgin timber (White 1999). However, as the timber industry developed new technologies, loggers in the twentieth century sought cedar and other varieties of evergreens (White 1999). Previously, timber was cut from resources that would supply long straight booms that could be used in the manufacturing of boats or cabins. New technology utilized all shapes and sizes as new industries were being developed. The shingle industry for instance created a market for stumps (Figure 14).

White (1999) writes, “the landscape could in effect be read as an historical document” (p.75). Even as a significant portion of land was cleared by logging companies and settlers, much of it was not due to the forest being a tangle of debris and impassable. Settlers such as Edward Oliver found logging to be a challenge and would seek the help of other individuals (Cherry 2006), as it took teams of individuals to be successful. The founder of Langley, Jacob Anthes, wrote of having “seven teams of horses and twenty-five wood choppers” (Cherry 2006, p. 103) in order to supply steamers with thirty-five cords of wood a day between 1891 and 1893.

By the early 1900s, the majority of the timber industry had shifted production from Whidbey to other regions. Thus within fifty years, the bulk of logging operations on Whidbey Island had come and gone. While the timber industry was once prominent in Island County, it failed to materialize as a staple to the community culture and did not continue to evolve locally. Even more telling is the natural landscape of South Whidbey which is dense with immense Douglas firs (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), western red cedars (*Thuja plicata*), big leaf Maples (*Acer macrophyllum*), and red alder (*Acer macrophyllum*).

Figure 13: Calligan oxen team, c. 1887. Photo provided courtesy of Washington Rural Heritage.

Figure 14: Fallers on South Whidbey, c. 1887. Photo provided courtesy of Washington Rural Heritage.

5.3.4 Recreation

William Haroldson (2013) advocates that three contributing factors facilitated the development and influx of resorts on South Whidbey. The first factor was the expansion and improvement of roads beginning in 1919 as car ferries began servicing South Whidbey in August of the same year. The second involved the federal government's banning of fish traps in 1934. And third, crucial to the burgeoning economy were residents of the Seattle region's discovery of Whidbey's natural beauty. By 1950, South Whidbey, including parts of Greenbank, would have over twenty resorts scattered along its shores (Figure 15).

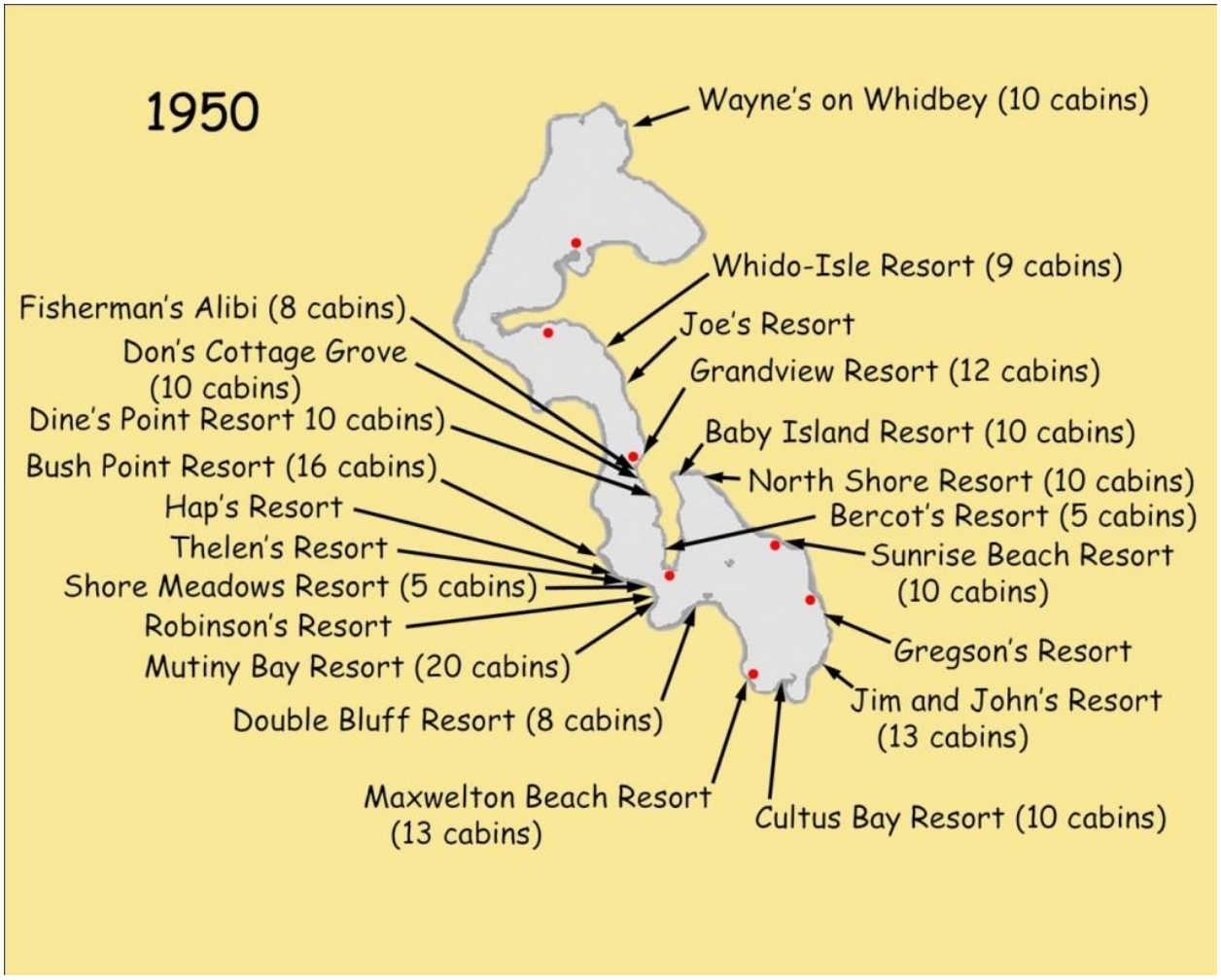

Figure 15: Location of resorts on Whidbey Island in the 1950s. Figure provided courtesy of South Whidbey Historical Society.

On August 10, 1919, those on the mainland began being able to access South Whidbey in their vehicle via a car ferry. The terminal is located on Columbia Beach in Clinton (Figure 16). From Clinton, tourists were able to navigate to the resort of their choosing. A number of lodgings were isolated from one another either on points or in bays. Between Bush Point to the north and Mutiny Bay to the south, was the location of six resorts; Bush Point Resort, Hap's Resort, Thelen's Resort, Shore Meadows Resort, Robinson's Resort, and Mutiny Bay Resort. This area was the most densely populated stretch along the western shores.

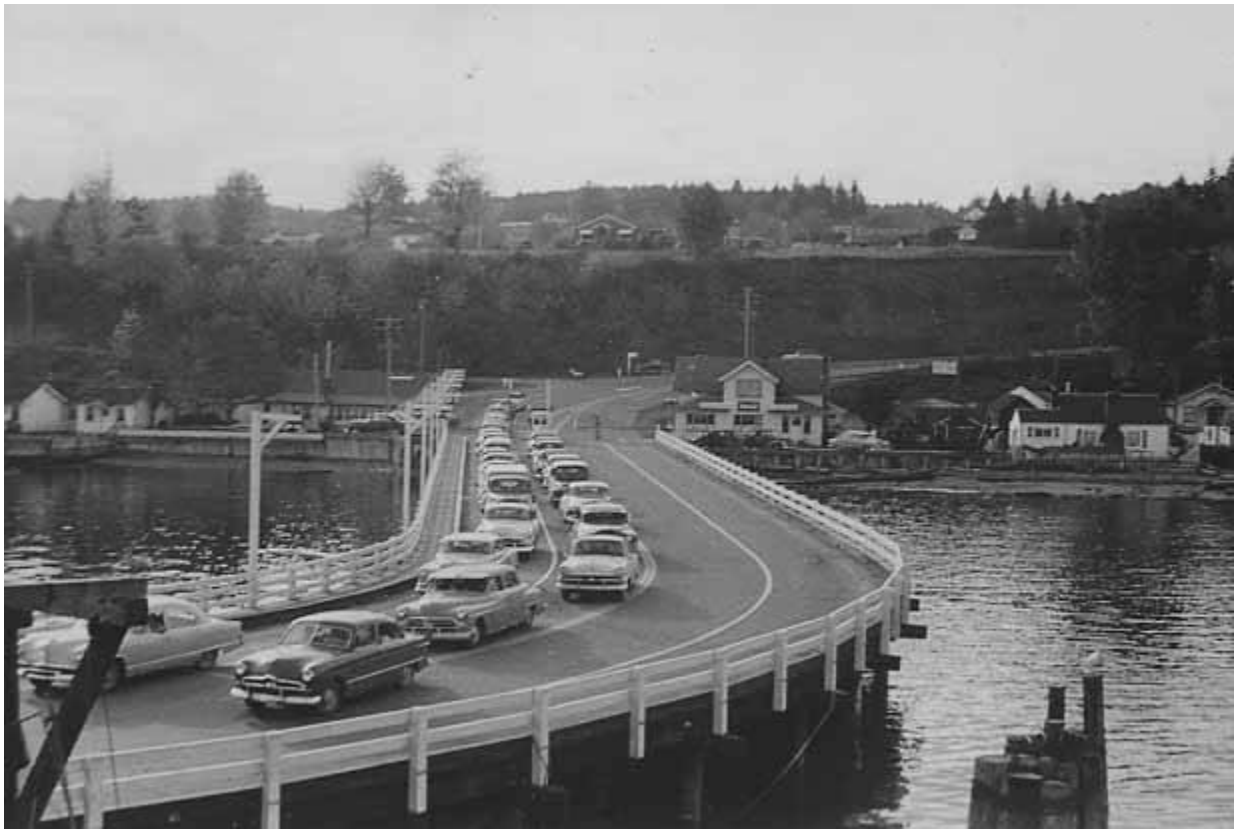

Figure 16: Clinton Ferry Terminal, c. 1952. Figure provided courtesy of South Whidbey Historical Society.

Charles Farmer established the first resort on the western shores at Bush Point in 1932 (Haroldson 2013). When originally constructed it consisted of three fishing boats and a bunkhouse. By 1950 Bush Point would add a cafe, store, and sixteen cabins. Averaging ten cabins, the primary attraction for the resorts on South Whidbey was fishing opportunities.

Rockfish, halibut, chinook, coho, sockeye, chum, and pinks were abundant along the shores of the island (Figure 17). Additional desired sealife included various shellfish such as muscles, clams, and crabs.

Figure 17: Two women at Bush Point displaying their salmon, c. 1940. Figure provided courtesy of Washington Rural Heritage.

In 1940 the first South Whidbey Fishing Derby was held. Comprised of resorts on the western side of the island, the idea originated with Charles Farmer (Haroldson 2013). In time the derbies were held all around the island, attracting both residents and tourists. Farmer's idea led

to fishing derbies throughout the Puget Sound. Derbies in Seattle were exceptionally popular, offering huge purses that include not only money but vehicles. By the 1960s, private boat ownership and public boat ramps became more prevalent and would lead to the beginning of the end for the resort industry on South Whidbey.

Whidbey Island does not have any major rivers but does have a number of little streams and creeks. While many are not suitable for fish, the Maxwelton estuary and creek is one location on South Whidbey where three species of anadromous fish - a biological lifecycle that includes transitions to and from fresh water and saltwater - have historically used a spawning ground. The three anadromous fish are the coho, chum, and steelhead. During the 1940s, one family tried their hand at taming a creek that ran into the Maxwelton watershed on their property. The Auvil's, a family on South Whidbey, were desperate to remove stumps from their property in order to farm (Cherry 2004). Unsuccessful, Virgil conceived the idea of damming and building a series of small ponds that would be used as fish hatcheries (Figure 18). Acting as a private fishing hole, customers weigh and purchase their catch. Over time, the earthen dams washed out, but not before becoming part of the fishing heritage on South Whidbey.

While the resort industry has vanished, fishing along the shores of South Whidbey remains an attraction for residents and tourists alike. During the summer months, boats are abundant on the water, the banks near Bush Point and Possession Point are filled with individuals and their rods, and public docks are overflowing with those in pursuit of Dungeness crab. Inland, lakes are stocked with trout by the Washington State Fish and Wildlife Department. The state holds a new type of fishing derby by tagging a few of the stocked trout with a code that can be redeemed for new fishing gear and supplies locally.

Figure 18: Auvil Dams, c. 1920s. Figure provided courtesy of South Whidbey Historical Society.

Figure 19:Cascade Loop. Figure provided courtesy of Cascade Loop Association.

The Cascade Loop is considered Washington's ultimate road trip (Figure 19). Although South Whidbey no longer has any resorts, those traversing the Cascade Loop have the choice of lodging at either a handful of hotels, bed and breakfasts, or over one hundred Airbnbs (observation, January 10, 2022). According to the Cascade Loop Association (CLA), "Locals dub [Whidbey] Island 'The Shortest Distance to Far Away®' because of its mellow pace, natural beauty and easy proximity to Seattle" (CLA n.d.). Whether an individual is traversing the Cascade Loop in search of wildlife, gardens, hiking, beachcombing, or more, the CLA describes Whidbey Island as a place of fresh air and sunshine where one can find quiet time and place to reflect. Moreover, it is the "best bet" (CLA n.d.) for experiencing a myriad of flora and fauna.

Island County Municipal Code (ICMC 17.03.180.W) also acknowledges scenic corridors within the Langley urban growth and joint planning areas. The purpose of the code is to establish general design guidelines to preserve significant landscapes and maintain a visual buffer between development. The guidelines emphasize the preservation of native growth and existing topography. Currently, the designated scenic corridors include Saratago Road, Brooks Hill Road, Maxwelton Road, Langley Road, Sandy Point Road, Coles Road, and Wilkinson Road (Figure 20).

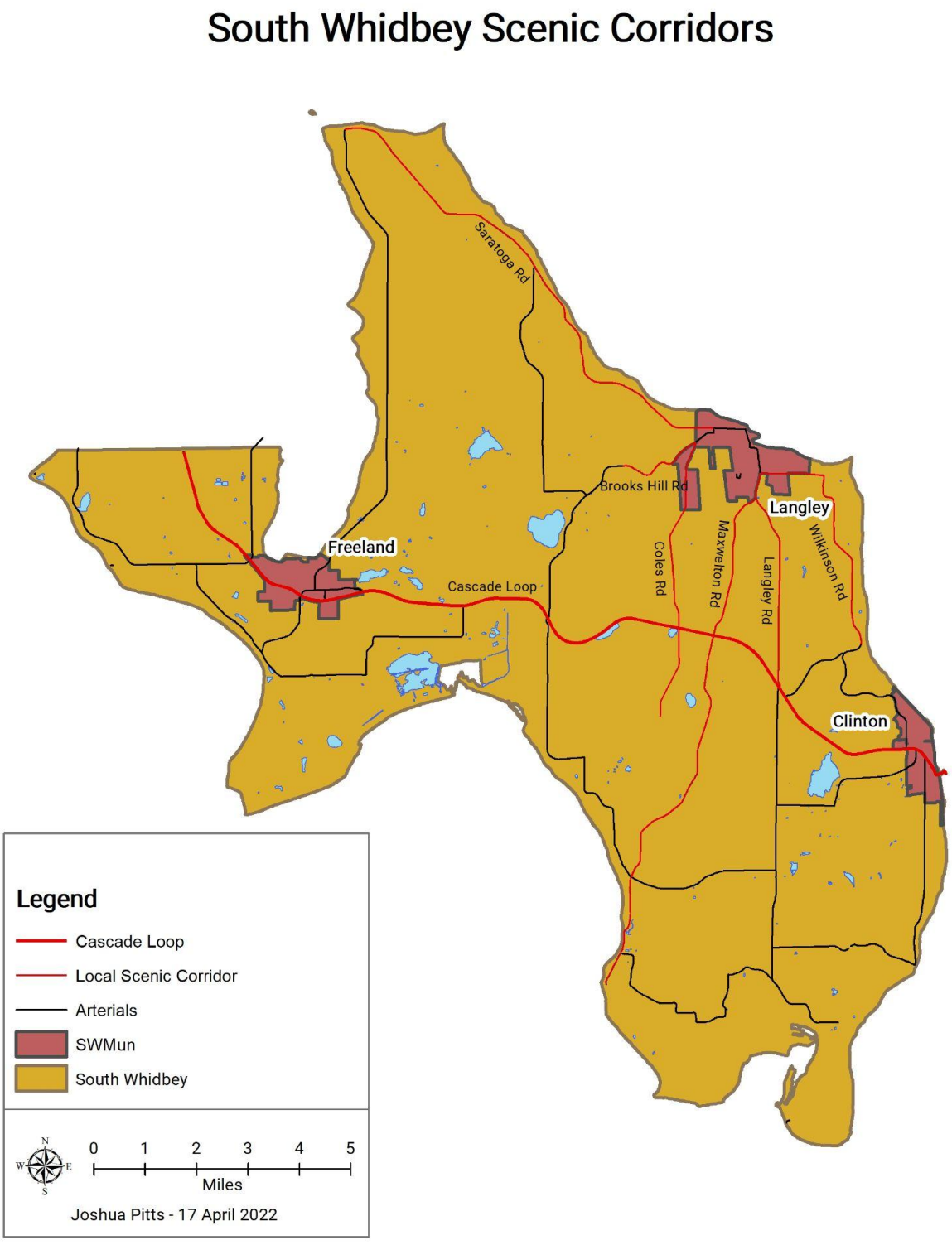

Figure 20: Scenic corridors on South Whidbey.

5.3.5 Intangible Heritage

The Arts on South Whidbey have long been a part of the cultural landscape, beginning with the ancestors of the Snohomish Tribe. Making use of the natural environment, the Snohomish created a myriad of tribal art that included items such as jewelry, paddles, baskets, headbands, and prints. Beadwork is one of many mediums and utilized things like seashells, and porcupine quills. Eel-grass and red cedar were essential components for baskets.

European settlers also likely participated in some form of art. This would have included poetry, playwright, painting, crafts, and more. In the 1920s South Whidbey became an art destination, beginning with Brackenwood, an artist colony started by Margaret and Peter Camfferman in Langley (Waterman & Wood 2012). Helen Coe, a young woman who purchased property just west of Langley in the late 1890s is one of the first recorded residents on South Whidbey to be involved with the art scene. Heavily involved in theatre arts, she attracted her niece Margaret Gove. In 1915 Margaret married Peter Camfferman. Both Margaret and Peter had attended the Minneapolis School of Fine arts and studied in Paris. They were highly regarded within the regional art community and were among the first modernist painters in the Pacific Northwest. In 1918 the two purchased the property from Helen and began constructing several small cottages for visiting artists.

The property was christened Brackenwood. Located in an idyllic setting overlooking the Saratoga Passage, with a large garden, artists from around the Pacific Northwest West found themselves “spend[ing] hours painting flowers” (Waterman and Wood 2012, p. 70). One of several such classes conducted on the property was for the Women Painters of Washington (Figure 21). According to Langley Creates (ArtsWA n.d.), members of the Brackenwood Artists Colony helped found the “Northwest School” of art. The Northwest School was an art movement established in the Seattle region that flourished between the 1930s and 1940s (Cowles et al. 1978). Brackenwood flourished until 1957, upon Peter’s death.

Figure 21: Peter Camfferman (center) and Margaret (standing in a white dress to Peter's left), c. 1930s. Figure provided courtesy of South Whidbey Historical Society.

> "This Great Vision attracted all of us in one way or another. We were young, creative, and energetic. We had skills, we were hard workers and we loved to have fun. South Whidbey seems to attract this kind of people from its beginning - and it still does today." - Mully Demuth Mullally (Kimbell 2020, p. 223).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, South Whidbey had an influx of "counterculture folks" (Kimbell 2020, back cover). In a book of collected letters by Peggy Kimbell are stories that celebrate time spent on the island during that era. More often than not, the letters reminisce

about the formation of bands, such as the local favorite Foolproof, and the genre of music played (Figure 22). Gigs were frequently held at one of three local bars, The Doghouse, Cozy's, and Gay 90s. Music was not just for the adults though. In 1972, Leonard and Linda Good started the Little Summer Music School for students aged 5-10 years old. Classes folk dancing, tumbling, guitar, singing, and more.

Another art venture that spawned from those migrating to the island, was the Whidbey Children's Theatre. Beginning in her farmhouse in 1981, Martha Murphy offered education through performing arts. Today, Whidbey Children's Theater is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization located in the historic Langley Middle School and continues to "bring arts opportunities to the schools through art, music, screenwriting, set design, theater tech, and more" (WCT n.d.).

Figure 22: Foolproof, c. 1980. Figure provided courtesy of Pacific Northwest Bands.

Music was not the only form of art being created on South Whidbey during this time. Other aspiring artists included photographers, painters, writers, ceramists, and carvers. “There were so many artists in the area, drawn by the wildness and beauty of the island” (Kimbell 2020, p. 225), that a platform was needed so their work could be shared and sold. In 1975, John Braun spearheaded the founding of Choochokam, a music and arts festival that is still held on the streets of Langley during the summer months.

Beyond Choochokam, presently, Langley is home to more than a dozen art galleries. Whidbey Island Center for the Arts (W.I.C.A.), founded in 1996, is Island County’s largest arts organization and employer, and operates just outside the city center. Additionally, W.I.C.A. hosts Django Fest NW and the Whidbey Island Film Festival. Django Fest NW is billed as the premier showcase of gypsy jazz music in North America. In 2010, the Island Shakespeare Festival was founded with the goal of “bringing the language of the great classics… to the South Whidbey community” (ISF n.d.).

On March 24, 2020, Langley became one of eight certified Creative Districts in the state of Washington (ArtsWA n.d.). Overseen by ArtsWA, a Washington State Creative District is a state program designed to support and stimulate creative economies by honoring what is unique about them. ArtsWA is a state agency formed by the Washington State Legislature in 1961 with the mission of nurturing and supporting the role of the arts in the lives of Washington residents. ArtsWA provides Creative District communities with specialized resources, grant opportunities, technical assistance, training, and networking. While Langley may be the art hub, creatives are found throughout all of South Whidbey. The artists’ spirit is embedded in the cultural landscape and its presence is felt across the region.

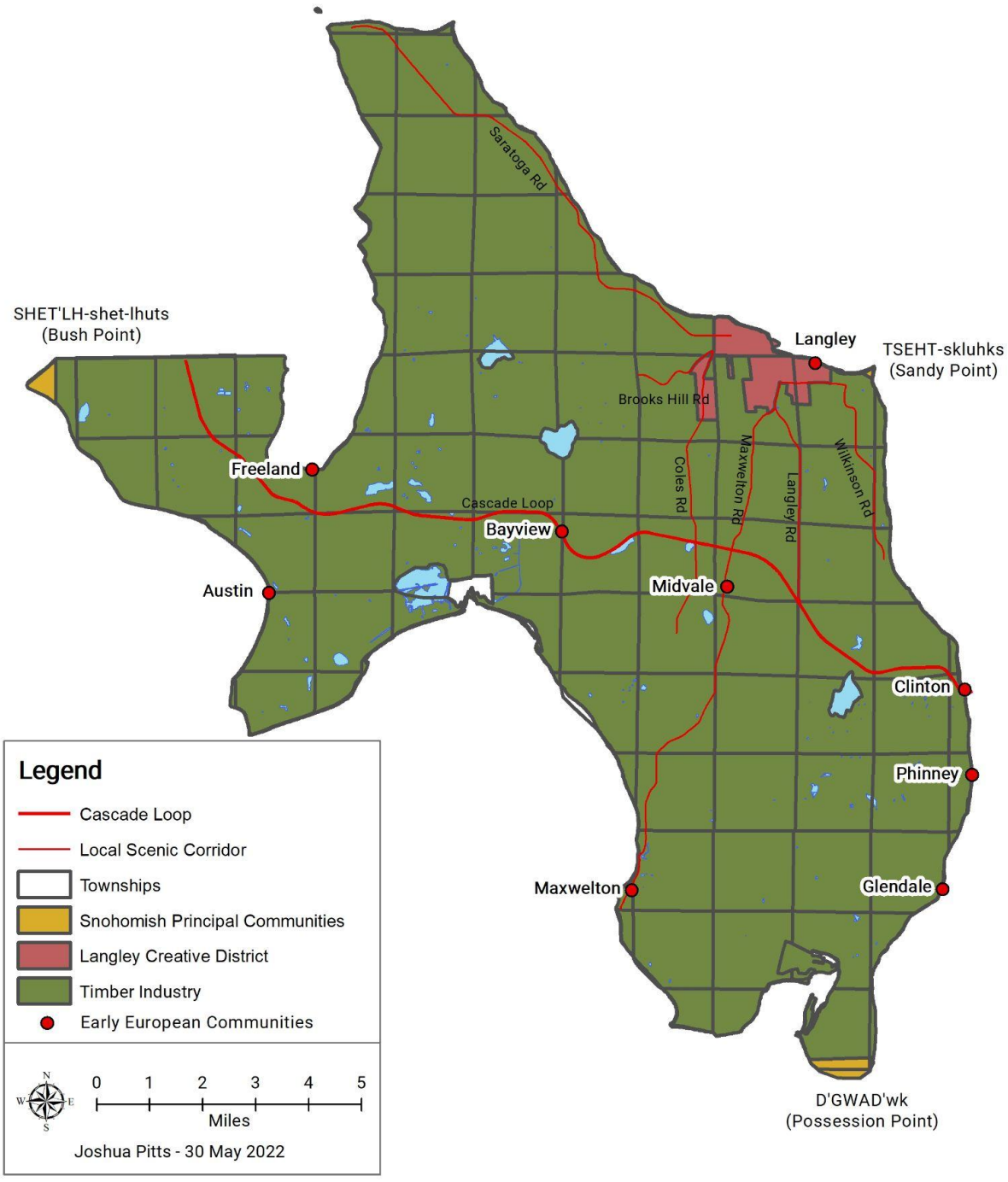

Figure 23: The five cultural landscape themes on South Whidbey.

Chapter 6. ANCILLARY ELEMENTS

6.1 ISLAND COUNTY COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

> Through comprehensive planning, the county will balance the goals of the GMA to ensure that Island County's rural character and natural beauty is protected, while meeting the housing and service needs of both existing and county residents.
>
> (Island County Comprehensive Plan 2016, p. ii)

In accordance with Washington State's Growth Management Act (GMA), Island County's Comprehensive Plan (ICCP) is a document that acts as a framework to guide and provide broad policies regarding land-use decisions within the county. In addition, the ICCP "reflects community values and aspirations about the County's future" (Island County Comprehensive Plan 2016, p. 5). Key considerations within the ICCP are urban growth areas (UGAs), resource lands and critical areas (RLCAs), and public facilities. UGAs are designated areas of encouraged and supported growth that are incompatible with agriculture, forestry, and extraction of minerals in accordance with RCW 36.70A.110 (n.d.) of the GMA. Resource lands are defined by the commercial agriculture land use designation and the Mineral Lands Overlay, where critical areas include wetlands, aquifers, habitat conservation areas, flood zones, and geologically hazardous areas. Public facilities are capital facilities that are owned and operated by government entities and may include roads, parks, schools, and fire protection to name a few.

RCW 36.70A.020 (n.d.) of the GMA sets forth statutory planning goals to guide counties' and cities' development and adoption of comprehensive plans. They revolve around the following thirteen themes: urban growth, reduction of spawl, transportation, housing, economic development, property rights, permits, natural resource industries, open space and recreation, the environment and quality of life, citizen participation, public facilities, and historic

preservation. While the goals are not listed in order of priority, they do encourage comprehensive plans to conserve forestlands and agricultural lands; retain open space; enhance recreational opportunities; protect the environment; and identify and preserve lands and sites of historical and archeological significance.

ICCP (2016) states in regard to open space, “When traveling through Island County one will see forests, farmlands with crops and livestock, and open space that provides for varied wildlife and flora as well as hiking and biking trails, beach access, and other open spaces for recreation” (ch. 1, p. 7). Moreover, the ICCP (2016) acknowledges that the rural character of Island County provides a cultural connection to the island’s past that remains essential to its extant economy, culture, and quality of life (p. 8), making it one of the county’s most valued assets (ch. 1, p. 15). The sentiment of Island County’s sensuous cultural landscape continues and is again endorsed by stating that its “natural beauty and unique character are powerful magnets” (ch. 1, p. 9) that “provides diverse and significant cultural/natural amenities” (p. 15).

The Natural Resources chapter of the ICCP details important issues, such as the protection of forestlands, wetlands, open spaces, and wildlife habitats. The ICCP (n.d.) recognizes that natural resources are essential to not only the ecology of the island but are also a fundamental component of the island’s aesthetics, recreation opportunities, and ability to improve the local quality of life (ch. 6, p. 5). More to the point, Island County’s vision for natural resources stipulates that based on their importance, natural resources should be conserved, preserved, and enhanced (ch. 6, p. 6). “Island County has chosen to include information on the protection of natural lands in its Comprehensive Plan as a result of strong interest in this issue expressed by County residents” (Island County Comprehensive Plan 2016, Ch. 6, p. 5). In fact, in 1997, the Trust for Public Lands surveyed Island County residents on the issue of natural land preservation. They found that residents of the county not only supported the preservation of

open space but were willing to increase local taxes to pay for its protection (Island County Comprehensive Plan 2016, ch. 6, p. 21).

Similar to Island County's Natural Resource chapter of the ICCP, the Parks and Recreation chapter integrates County efforts to provide recreation opportunities and conserve habitat and natural areas within the park land system (ch. 7, p. 2). According to the ICCP, South Whidbey, as of 2016, has forty-six parks that are managed by six jurisdictions; county, city/town, state, port/park or other district, school district, and private or non-profit. Additionally, using the United States Geological Survey Northwest Regional Gap Analysis, the ICCP has identified twenty-five habitat types that have been grouped into seven categories (Table 4). The ICCP Parks and Recreation chapter "envisions an interconnected system of park lands that provide the best recreation, conservation, and sustainability in the state (ch. 7, p. 29).

6.2 Natural Habitats

One of the most widely known and recognized organizations in regard to their appreciation and protection of land and the natural environment is Whidbey Camano Land Trust (WCLT). WCLT is an independent, nationally accredited, 501(c)3 nonprofit organization, which has been protecting Whidbey and Camano island since 1984. WCLT "partners with landowners and island communities to help expand county and state parks, protect natural areas and local family farms, increase trail and beach access, and protect and restore fish and wildlife habitat" (WCLT n.d.). Today WCLT manages and protects over one-hundred properties, totaling nearly 10,000 acres, including twenty-nine properties on South Whidbey. Moreover, this does not include all the individual landowners who have chosen to put their land into a trust, further preserving the natural beauty that South Whidbey. Whether one is traversing the scenic backroads or the Cascade Loop, the sensuousness of South Whidbey is apparent.

Category	Habit Type
Water	• Open Water
Developed Parkland	• Developed, Open Space • Developed, Low Intensity • Developed, High Intensity
Farmland	• Pasture/Hay • Cultivated Cropland
Shoreline/Tidal Habitat	• Unconsolidated Shore • Temperate Pacific Intertidal Mudflat • North Pacific Montane Massive Bedrock, Cliff and Talus • North Pacific Maritime Coastal Sand Dune and Strand • North Pacific Hypermaritime Shrub/Herbaceous Headland • North Pacific Maritime Eelgrass Bed • Temperate Pacific Tidal Salt and Brackish Marsh
Forest	• North Pacific Maritime/Douglas-fir/Western Hemlock Forest • North Pacific Broadleaf Landslide Forest and Shrubland • North Pacific Lowland Riparian Forest and Shrubland • Harvested forest-regeneration
Freshwater Habitat	• North Pacific Shrub Swamp • North Pacific Intertidal Freshwater Wetland • Temperate Pacific Freshwater Emergent Marsh • North Pacific Bog and Fen • North Pacific Hardwood-Conifer Swamp
Prairie & Oak Woodlands	• North Pacific Herbaceous Bald and Bluff • Willamette Valley Upland Prairie and Savannah • North Pacific Oak Woodland

Table 4: Summarizes Island Counties habitat types and categories. Courtesy of Island County Comprehensive Plan 2016, Ch. 7, p. 26.

6.3 THE SENSUOUS

There may be another land where I may roam,
But when I touch South Whidbey's shores, my heart is home.
I may climb many mountain peaks,
cross stormy oceans and clams seas;
still, the majesty of the Olympics speaks.
And the sun, shining on the Cascades, weaves
a spell upon my soul which I have not found
anywhere else than in Puget Sound;
so when I touch South Whidbey's shores, my heart is home.

- Elsie S. Olkonen

Places whose appearance is unique are more easily memorialized and identified than those that look alike. Kevin Lynch (1976) writes that "[a]ny inhabited landscape is a medium of communication. Its messages may be explicit or implicit, simple or subtle" (p. 30). Given its proximity to the greater Seattle region, the natural landscape and its pristineness-like quality is a tell-tale sign of South Whidbey's past and present culture. Numerous historical accounts make reference to the look, sound, smell, and feel of the Whidbey; its sensuous quality (Lynch 1976). "Any analysis of this quality therefore begins with an understanding of the given landscape, its settlement, its history, its inhabitants, their culture, and their political economy" (Lynch 1976, p. 39).

Thus far, the analysis section has surveyed South Whidbey's history, settlement, inhabitants, and economy of the homestead era, timber industry, fishing and resorts, and the arts. A cursory glance reveals subtle sensuous characteristics. However, further review indicates that a sensuous cultural landscape has been being developed since the arrival of humans on the island. The sensuous emanates from historical texts, are revealed landscape, made evident via the plethora of land trusts, and are elegantly described in government documents. This next section will proceed to distill the sensuous qualities that originated and have been institutionalized on South Whidbey.

Throughout the historical texts is a myriad of quotes and stories relating to the sensuous qualities of South Whidbey. In Cherry's book, originally scribed in 1983, *South Whidbey and Its People Volume 1*, the opening lines of the prologue begin by stating, "South Whidbey Island is not just a place to live; it's a way of life. Whidbey Island is beautiful" (p. v). The prologue then concludes with, "South Whidbey Island's gentle hills are forest covered and its green valleys are dotted with lakes and flowers. Once you have read its story, you will forevermore be tantalized

by that paradise of Puget Sound which is South Whidbey. Passages like these adorn the various texts.

The sentences referencing the sensuousness of South Whidbey are found in numerous texts and historical documents. They make reference to a land abundant with flora and fauna; “a veritable paradise” (Cherry 2006, p. 31). Descriptions of the land and forest, in both of Cherry’s collections (2006 & 2004) include synonyms such as paradise, park, serene, pastoral, beautiful, virgin, majestic, and utopia. In an article by the Seattle Times (1930), the author describes South Whidbey as having “scenery that challenges comparison anywhere” and it being “Paradise Island” (p. 39). Contributors in Kimbell’s (2020) compilation of letters from residents of the island during the 1960s and 1970s refer to the area as having a “quiet, inviting beauty” (p. 12) and “a lost in time quality” (p. 199). Some referred to it as “coming home” (p. 29) and “garden of Eden” (p. 234). Others stated that the island is “an escape from life” (p. 61), “romantic” (p. 107), “welcoming” (p. 148), “unforgettable” (p. 164),), and “bucolic and quiet” (p. 284).

These weren’t just fleeting words and statements. A significant portion of South Whidbey has been either turned into parks or put into a land trust. The most telling of these is the preservation of Classic-U, which is now a part of South Whidbey State Park. During the 1970s Whidbey Island residents learned that the Washington Department of Natural Resources intended to grant logging contracts on an adjacent 267-acre parcel of land. The land known as “Classic U” contained one of the few remaining stands of old-growth conifers, including one that was presumed to be a 500-year-old giant western red cedar. Save the Trees, a nonprofit foundation was formed, and in 1977 a lawsuit was filed against the Washington Department of Natural Resources. A number of letters in Kimbell’s collection (2020) give an account of some of the details surrounding the case, civil disobedience, and activism. August 10, 1977, is a day that will forever be remembered, as it marked the first time that protestors would enter a forest to stop a logging operation for environmental reasons. The resulting case, Noel v. Cole (98 Wn.2d

375, 1982), created a legal precedent that would impact future forest practices in Washington State. Jack Noel (Kimbell 2020) describes the fifteen-year endeavor as an "event that changed all of our lives and prompted the community to come together to save the forest" (p. 241).

6.4 SURVEYS

The overall goal of the surveys was to gain insight into contemporary impressions of South Whidbey Island's cultural landscape (see Appendix 1). To properly understand, conceptualize, and gain fresh insights, surveys were provided to a sample set of stakeholders. Prospective participants traversing the sidewalks of Langley were approached and asked to participate in a survey regarding defining a cultural landscape on South Whidbey Island. The survey was divided into two sections with the first section being a series of questions relating to demographics and the participants' perception of South Whidbey. The second section asked participants to locate two places on a map of South Whidbey that was significant and why. Although a broad spectrum existed regarding demographics, generally speaking, a sensuous theme dominated the feedback.

Responses to the first section of the survey varied little. The most significant difference was the reasoning given for choosing to live on South Whidbey. Most respondents answered that they chose to live on South Whidbey for work, access to the beaches, or the viewscapes. When responding to what their favorite aspect of South Whidbey was, a significant portion of the answers were in regard to the natural beauty, peacefulness, and small community feeling. Many of the respondents didn't feel like much had changed over the course of their time on the Island, but many suggested that change was on the horizon.

A number of the participants were concerned that a greater socio-economic split was occurring and that the area was being inundated by the wealthy. This concern was further detailed when imagining what South Whidbey would look and feel like twenty-five years from

now. However, this response was also coupled with distress that the area may become overdeveloped and that the serenity of the area would be lost. Despite the terminology not being specified, these types of responses point to the idea of rural gentrification.

The mapping portion of the second section of the survey varied the most amongst respondents. Though there was some overlap, many of the locations participants identified with seem quite personal. A number of the location choices included places where the individuals lived, worked, or escaped to. However, when providing reasoning behind their choices, answers were again similar. The ruralness and sensuous quality of the landscape lept to the forefront. Having a connection to nature also stood out among the respondents.

While these surveys are not conclusive they are representative of a diverse population. Participants' ages ranged from eighteen to sixty, and years lived on South Whidbey consisted of less than a year to twenty plus. If this study were to move forward it would be imperative that a larger sample size is analyzed. It would also be beneficial to survey residents who have been on the island for their entire life. Additionally, surveying those who are older than sixty could offer some critical insights.

Chapter 7. MOVING FORWARD

7.1 Defining A Recreation Area

In a homogeneous society, what sets a cultural landscape apart are the fringe elements; the elements of culture that are found in landscape A but not landscape B. As noted above, South Whidbey's cultural landscape is comprised of unique themes, spanning multiple decades, and that contain a myriad of elements. For example, the homestead era included factors such as westward expansion, distribution of land, the cadastral system, economic stimulation, the displacement of Native Americans, and more to be sure. Yet, this was the vernacular of the times and evident across the nation.

Of the four hundred-plus homesteads claimed on South Whidbey, only a handful remain today, and none have been officially preserved and registered by local, state, or federal agencies. Moreover, Washington State has only identified and registered forty-two homesteads. Thus, the homesteads on Whidbey are not defined by unique elements. The only outlier to come from the homestead era, and potentially considered fringe would be the founding of Freeland, as it was originally organized as a socialist utopia. Unfortunately, Freeland's dreams of being a socialist utopia lasted three short years, and historians have taken a dogmatic stand when defining homesteads and homesteaders. According to a more concentrated definition, a homesteader is one who has taken ownership of government land or from the public domain via one of several public land Acts which included the word homestead" (Campbell 2008), which was not the case in Freeland. The homestead elements that were established and remain on South Whidbey are synonymous with the majority of those found across the United States.

"Space, rather than land, was what the settlers bought, and it was so easy to buy, so easy to sell, that commitment to a specific plan for the future must have been difficult for many"

(Jackson 1994, p. 154). The ability to commit to specific plans for early settlers on South Whidbey was likely amplified as they were generally isolated from the county at large due to the dense vegetation, but also from the rest of the region as they were situated on an island. Overall development progressed slowly, allowing for much of the natural pristineness to remain, a fundamental aspect that attracted a number of early settlers.

South Whidbey Island's genius loci is the sensuousness of place. Latin, genius loci, refers to the guardian deity of a place. According to Oxford (n.d.), unique qualities - physical and/or manifested - reside in every place. Contemporarily, genius loci is referred to as a sense of place and is often used as an umbrella term for studies of social perception, collective memory, and/or historical authenticity (Newman 2016). Norberg-Schulz (1980) refers to it as an existential foothold, a space where life occurs and has a distinct character. In relation to historic preservation and cultural landscape, place is a distinguishing facet that "weaves together social constructions, psychological processes and the physical environment" (Newman 2016, p. 389). Although the social fabric is influential, the natural environment facilitates defining the spatial patterns in which the social and built fabrics develop. South Whidbey's sensuousness is a significant aspect of the landscape that has garnered the attention of many for decades and continues to be represented in the natural environment today.

As South Whidbey sits in an urban shadow, the conservation of its sensuous stimuli is the fringe element that separates it from landscape B. A sensuous landscape is not made up solely of rural scenes but is comprised of overlapping visual, auditory, and olfactory stimuli. The collective homogeneity of these stimuli conveys a sense of place that helps to identify the historical evolution of the cultural landscape. Analysis of South Whidbey's local history, culture, and economy further frames its sensuous characteristics, offering a unique experience of place.

7.1.1 Multi-Sensory

According to Rogowski (2016), “the most developed trend in research on landscape perception covers the analysis of the perception and assessment of visual stimuli” (p. 26). However, visual stimuli are not the sole sensory experience. The experiences of a particular place are often an aggregate of all senses - sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch - and interpreted through the individual's own knowledge, past experience, needs, and motivations. The more distinct and diverse a landscape is, the more influential it is in its ability to engage one’s innate desire for the sensuous.

As pointed out by Newman (2016), the experience of space is subjective to the observer. As such, emotional and mental responses vary from individual to individual. Additionally, the full sensuous experience can either be amplified or diminished depending on the context of the surrounding area. For example, a viewshed immediately off of a highway may ruin the general ambiance commonly associated with such an area. The sensuous experience - view, natural sounds, and smell - is being disrupted by the movement, noise, and exhaust of high-speed vehicles. On the other hand, a viewshed slightly off the highway creates an entirely different experience as the human element is softened and slowed. Places and spaces are enhanced by the stability of the environment over time, thus increasing a shared meaning, a shared experience, and the creation of a cultural landscape. Rogowski (2016) reminds readers that a landscape is a perpetual experience of nature and culture supported by all one's senses.

7.1.2 Basic Characteristics

The basic characteristics of a cultural landscape are 1) continuity within a defined space (Newman 2016), 2) the experience within the defined space, and 3) movement within the defined space (Gehl 2010). Continuity of a cultural landscape witnessed through time is an essential component of the space. Newman (2016) juxtaposes the change in a person’s identity

with the change in urban form. Although an individual will grow, mature, and come into their own, a distinct identity remains. While Newman likens this to urban form, the same analogy can be applied to the identification of a cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes are a symbiotic relationship between people and the landscape that develops over time, and while layers of evolution exist, what matters is an enduring distinction.

“Like all landscapes, heritage landscapes must be interpreted in the context of the culture that creates them” (Francaviglia 2000, p. 49). South Whidbey is comprised of five distinct layers. The foundation by which all other layers were supported was that of the Native Americans. This was followed by the homestead era of the 1860s thru the 1900s. Emerging within the homestead era was the timber era that lasted until the early 1910s. Small, niche themes crept in following the timber era such as the establishment of orchards and berries, and the continual integration of maritime to name a few. In the 1950s the recreation era played a significant role in the shaping of South Whidbey’s cultural and economic landscape. The cultural landscape would be further refined by civil rights movements and the environmental conservation movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Again, South Whidbey is experiencing change. Its history has yet to be forgotten, and its sensuousness has persisted, linking the past with the present.

J. B. Jackson (1976) proposed that "the ideal landscape [be] defined not as a static utopia...but as an environment where permanence and change have struck a balance" (p. 194). Interaction of the past with the present is crucial to defining a cultural landscape. Two such contemporary examples are Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) and the Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area (BHINRA). National Recreation Areas (NRAs) are established by an Act of Congress to preserve areas in the U.S. that offer enhanced recreational opportunities in places with significant scenic and natural resources. What makes NRAs unique is their diversity of locations, activities, and, most importantly, ecological and historical

significance. GGNRA and BHINRA are intriguing because, unlike most NRAs, these two lie within an urban context.

Golden Gate National Recreation Area was signed into law as "An Act to Establish the Golden Gate National Recreation Area" in 1972 by President Richard Nixon. It is located in the San Francisco Bay Area and is primarily comprised of land formerly used by the United States Army. Although not contiguous, it is one of the largest urban parks in the world. GGNRA is a collection of historic sites and beaches that stretch from southern San Mateo County to northern Marin County, including several areas in San Francisco. In an article published by the NPS, Miles (n.d.) points out that the U.S. government in the 1960s sought to recognize the recreational needs of urban communities. In an effort to reach a more diverse segment of the public the idea of an urban park was born. The various geographic areas and sites of the GGNRA were and continue to be, shaped by numerous actors including Native Americans, immigrants, women, military personnel, and scientific innovators. GGNRA is an amalgamation of past and present, natural and built, and recreation and knowledge that serves to protect a diverse and unique cultural landscape.

7.1.3 Experience

The functional fabric - natural, built, social, and economic elements working synchronously - of a rural cultural landscape is fundamental to the experience of the place and is a clear expression of its values. The functional fabric must be defined in such a way that it has the greatest impact and is the most beneficial to all who interact with it. It is imperative that as historic resources are defined, early development stages are spent identifying and articulating its narrative to facilitate conversation. “If the articulation of values is incomplete or incorrect, problems can arise from a mismatch of expectations among regulators, interest groups, owners, and developers” (GCI 2013, p. 11).

As global culture continues to influence regional cultures, local identities are being lost. Coupled with destinations vying for a unique tourist experience, a number of cultural resources and values are being compromised (Nasser 2003). While Lynch (1972) argues that fixed periods are an important element of placemaking, others have argued that placemaking is no longer fixated on the historical elements of the built environment (Jorgenson and Stedman 2001, Newman 2016). Rogowski (2016) contends that "the more diverse the landscape is, the more senses it engages" (p. 23). As such, if new rural cultural landscapes are going to be defined and integrated into the National Parks or States ecosystem they must focus less on the historic built, and adapt intangible stimuli and perceptions of the sensuous. Experiences of place around the globe are now beginning to focus exclusively on sensuous stimuli that offer unique qualities (Rogowski 2016). In the case of the South Whidbey as a Recreational Area, this could include the following:

- Sense of hearing - the crash of waves on the beach or the foghorn of passing ships,
- Sense of touch - sand between the toes or
- Sense of sight - scenic viewsheds or process of glass blowing,
- Sense of smell - the freshness of air or seafood being cooked
- Sense of taste - a sampling of local wines or of a local dish

While history represents a conversation with the past, experiences are a conversation with the past and present culture. Experiences interpret culture. A functional fabric furnishes the necessary materials for a unified meaning (Lynch 1960).

7.1.4 Interpretation & Education

Lynch (1976) reminds his readers that sensuousness is interwoven with the history of the place. Cultural landscapes rely on comprehensive interpretive plans to convey a sense of place. Well-designed functional fabrics convey historic meaning, usher experience, and direct

movement. “Interpretation is about choices. We choose what stories to tell, whom to tell them to, and how to tell them” (CIP 200). Interpretive plans promote positive visitor experiences via appropriate services.

An essential component of interpretive plans is the implementation of wayfinding. The National Park Service states that “The elements of wayfinding are a series of visual, editorial, and environmental cues to help visitors navigate and experience a National Park without confusion and conflict; the cues must enhance their enjoyment and understanding of the park without damaging the park’s rich natural and cultural resources” (UniGuide 2002). In general, signs guide, inform and educate visitors about the place they are visiting.

The Island County Comprehensive Plan has designated Brooks Hill Road, Coles Road, Langley Road, Maxwelton Road, Sandy Point Road, Saratoga Road, and Wilkinson Road as scenic routes. As a part of South Whidbey’s Recreation Area, it would be beneficial to implement wayfinding elements along these roads to identify them as scenic routes. The aforementioned scenic routes can compliment Washington State’s Cascade Loop. There are areas of the Cascade Loop on South Whidbey that overlook the Olympic Mountain Range, Mount Rainer, and Mount Baker. Given that many tourists may be unfamiliar with the region, signs can aid in identifying these viewsheds.

Additionally, wayfinding is an integral component of heritage trails. While heritage trails on South Whidbey currently do not exist, they could include locations of original townsites that the general public is not aware of, such as Austin, Glendale, Maxwelton, and Midvale; preserved natural habitats like Classic U, public land trusts, and a myriad of bogs; original homestead sites; or of locations Native villages.

Oftentimes, sensuous features may be subjective to the individual, however certain elements of the built environment can be used to draw attention to the unique characteristics of the landscape. Other components of the built environment can also be useful for providing

interpretation and enhancing the experience. Education panels can communicate factors that may be detrimental to the sensuous environment. This may include suggestions to stay on the trail so as not to disturb the natural environment, or to reduce loud sounds so a particular ambiance is not disrupted.

7.2 Preferred Implementation

The analysis and explorations performed in this thesis have led to a preferred approach for the implementation of a South Whidbey Recreational Landscape. The following sections describe the goals, structure, reviewing body, boundaries, potential incentives, and objectives and policies suggested for the adoption of a recreation area.

7.2.1 Goals

The goals are based on the contextual analysis of South Whidbey Island. The foremost goal is to manage and retain the rural cultural landscape in a way that is complementary to the Island, yet still provides opportunities for change and growth. A secondary goal is to provide education and increase awareness and pride in the historic layers that define the cultural landscape among residents and tourists. The goals developed for a recreation area that is comprised of unique themes are not easily defined and therefore require a methodology that is agile yet secure.

1. To retain the character-defining features of South Whidbey's cultural landscape.
2. To retain the scale and contextual relationships between the built environment and the natural environment.
3. To ensure the goals and objectives contained within Island County Comprehensive Plan are met.
4. To provide a structure for incentives to retain the cultural landscape.

5. To educate property owners and residents on proper and effective practices in order to maintain the cultural landscape.
6. To increase awareness and pride of South Whidbey's Recreation Area and its heritage among property owners, residents, and tourists.

The primary goal of a cultural landscape is to actively manage and retain the cultural resources and landscape in order to facilitate and promote the local identity, fringe elements, continuity, and experience. "Classifying and treating all landscapes as 'traditional' cultural resources in the currently conventional manner have meant that a major segment of our nation's cultural landscapes has been ignored" (Boyle 2008, p. 150). Thus it is imperative to develop realistic management strategies that protect these unique environments, particularly one comprised of natural elements and that sits in an urban shadow.

Boyle (2008) reminds us that sensuous elements such as the feel of the wind, sound of nature, and absence of urban noise are essential qualities of a unique landscape that should be integrated into planning principles and strategies. Harmonizing preservation, a cultural landscape, recreation, and growth management in the comprehensive plan establish a strong foundation while simultaneously creating a vision for the community. The integration of visionary planning principles facilitates a functional fabric that is impactful and beneficial. Additionally, these subtle elements are a form of sustainable tourism (Rogowski 2016).

7.2.2 Reviewing Body

Ebey's Landing, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, and a number of other preserved landscapes utilize zoning overlays in combination with a hybrid model of government stakeholders. As consistency is important, the primary purpose of a review body is to monitor the National Recreation Area to advise local, state, and federal partners on preservation policies. This includes advice on permit applications for projects, providing feedback on advisory

guidelines, and representing South Whidbey's Recreation Area at the regional level. The secondary purpose of the board is to foster its continual development. This would include but is not limited to, the creation and establishment of heritage trails, the preservation of sites, the development of resource material, and empowering residents.

People live locally, not regionally. Therefore, the reviewing body should too be primarily comprised of local actors. The reviewing body is proposed to be organized similarly to the existing review board for Ebey's Landing. The South Whidbey Recreation Area Review Board would consist of nine representatives appointed by five government partners based on an interlocal agreement: Island County (4 representatives), City of Langley (2 representatives), Washington State Parks (1 representative), National Park Service (1 representative), and the Snohomish Tribe (1 representative). If Freeland and/or Clinton were to become incorporated, the reviewing body would be subject to change. Review members would serve finite terms of four years. Additionally, the review board should have at least one architectural/landscape historian and one historic preservation consultant. And finally, the review body would hold monthly public meetings and conduct business according to the Open Public Meetings Act.

7.2.3 Type & Boundaries

Fried (1966) writes that familiarity and delineation of a place contribute to a sense of belonging. Although the boundaries of South Whidbey have long been institutionalized, it is important to properly delineate them. The proposed boundaries for the South Whidbey Cultural Landscape are based on a detailed land use inventory conducted by Island County in 1998 in which a future land use map was developed (I.C.C.P. 2016, Ch. 1, p. 7). The boundaries of South Whidbey's Recreation Area are largely based on the geographic areas of Clinton, Freeland, and Langley. The area encompasses the southern tip of the island beginning with Possession Point and extending north to Bush Point.

Boundaries accentuate the significance of geographic locations. Wolfe (2016) demonstrates the importance of "recounting the experience of place, through relevant and enriching stories" (p. 33). As such, South Whidbey's Recreation Area cannot be interpreted from one specific point in time or location. These boundaries would preserve and protect the historic record of the Snohomish Tribe's land use, 19th-century exploration, and settlement in the Puget Sound to the present day, and emphasize five significant layers of history.

- Snohomish (and other tribes) land use, water use, and circulation patterns
- Homesteads & Early European Communities
- Timber Industry
- Recreation
- Intangible Heritage

7.2.4 Incentives

Incentives vary in cultural landscapes programs based on the type from monetary relief to regulatory. "The success of preservation strategies is dependent on an intricate blend of restrictions, incentives and land use planning measures, complemented by economic interests" (Sklenicka, P., et al 2017, p. 2). Examples include the Federal Historic Preservation Tax, the reduction of property taxes, easement deeds, and State, Federal, or private grants.

Washington state law permits counties to offer reductions in property taxes as an incentive in exchange for agreements to prevent negative environmental impacts on open spaces, farmlands, and/or forest lands. This is an effective tool that can mitigate the loss of the cultural landscape. Regarding the re-use and rehabilitation of historic sites and structures, the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives program is a source that encourages private sector investment. Certified historic structures that are income-producing can receive a 20% income

tax credit through this program. Preservation easements, typically in the form of a deed, are another tool with potential tax benefits that property owners may be eligible for.

Island County has implemented a tax shift, rather than a tax reduction. A tax shift reduces one tax and increases another while keeping the overall revenue the same. In Island County neighboring landowners usually bear the burden of tax shifts. The amount of the reduction is dependent on the type of land being conserved and its overall benefit to the natural environment and the public.

Traditionally, State or Federal grants have been sought and utilized for the purpose of protecting and conserving natural lands and historic sites. As competition increases, these resources have become scarce, and reliance on this form of funding may prove unsuccessful. However, many foundations are dedicated to environmental stewardship. Land trusts can be a source for the funding of specific projects, especially if they will benefit the community they are involved in.

Disincentives often include a system of regulations and restrictions aimed at protecting both the natural environment and the cultural quality of the landscape. In conjunction with Island County Comprehensive Plan, Island County's municipal code has established a foundation for ensuring that the county's rural character and natural beauty are protected.

Overall, cultural landscapes benefit from a diverse array of funding from government agencies, organizations, and private citizens. It is often the case that no single entity has the resources to protect the entire landscape or site. Thus it is becoming increasingly important that multiple parties of similar interest work together to pool resources in order to protect aspects of the cultural landscape they deem integral. Although this thesis does not delve deeply into all associated benefits and drawbacks, it is believed that a South Whidbey Recreation Area would benefit from the myriad of incentives and programs available.

7.2.5 Objectives & Policies

The following objectives and policies were developed based on the study of existing cultural landscapes across the United States. In order to address the needs of South Whidbey's Recreation Area, compatible objectives and policies were selected and then adapted. While objectives and policies are typically more stringent, it's pertinent to keep in mind that cultural landscapes are not static. South Whidbey's Recreation Area objectives and policies must remain agile in their ability to continue to evolve, accommodate growth, and implement sustainable practices. Simultaneously it is vital that heritage is preserved and the environment and ecology are conserved.

Thus it is imperative that a cultural landscape focuses on the big picture rather than the minute details commonly associated with the preservation of buildings. These factors are critical to the success of a cultural landscape, especially one that sits in an urban shadow. The goal of the objectives and policies is to sustain the vibrant, unique, and sensuous historical setting so that new development is consistent with and complements the historic setting. These objectives and policies are intended to strengthen qualities in siting, design, adaptation to topography, and the conservation of sensuous features.

I. LAND DIVISION AND SITE DEVELOPMENT

A. Long-term Impacts of Lot Arrangements

1. Divide property so that sites protect historic land uses and preserve prime sensuous landscapes.
2. Roads and driveways should preserve existing native vegetation, coincide with natural contours, maintain rural character, and respect historical patterns of development.

3. Site planning must entail a holistic approach that considers the entire building envelope. Encourage new construction to one portion of a lot, leaving as much of the remaining land undisturbed by development.
4. Maintain historical landscape patterns.
5. Maintain scenic views from public right-of-ways.
6. Maintain vegetative buffers to preserve wildlife corridors.
7. Install utility lines when feasible underground.

B. Town Settings

1. Maintain the character of the area and retain distinctive features, including natural features.
2. Views of historic structures and the landscape shall be preserved.
3. Respect historic patterns.
4. New developments should be designed to a similar scale and proportion to existing sites, including setbacks and building orientation.
5. Avoid extensive cutting, filling, and regrading of contours for new roads.
6. New roads should be consistent in width with existing roads.

C. Residential Neighborhoods

1. Maintain lot size and density.
2. Consider the setting of the lot and its surrounding environment.
3. Protect and maintain public views to and along the shoreline and scenic vistas.
4. Maintain vegetative buffers, especially along scenic roadways.
5. New roads should be consistent in width with existing roads.

D. Rural Settings and Landscapes

1. Site development should be designed to reflect the natural conditions of the site, including topography and existing vegetation.
2. Protect and maintain public views to and along the shoreline and scenic vistas.
3. Retain open space, trees, native vegetation, or other natural features.
4. Maintain vegetative buffers, especially along scenic roadways.
5. Prevent haphazard removal and destruction of trees and vegetation.
6. Do not clear or grade vacant parcels without an approved site development plan or building permit.
7. Preserve the sensuous landscape.

II. CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

A. Ensure Well-Maintained and Highly Utilized Cultural Spaces

1. Identify, prioritize, and preserve historic and culturally significant Native sites.
2. Identify, prioritize, and preserve historic and culturally significant homesteads.
3. Continue to support and develop intangible cultures.
4. Encourage the dynamic and flexible use of existing spaces and promote passive recreation and open space uses, where appropriate.
5. Preserve existing sensuous space by restricting its conversion to other uses and limiting encroachment from other uses.
6. Maintain and repair recreational facilities and sensuous spaces.
7. Prioritize the better utilization of Maxwelton Beach, Possession Beach, Bells Beach, South Whidbey Parks and Trails, and other underutilized significant sensuous spaces.

8. Support the continued improvement of South Whidbey's Recreation Area while preserving its sensuous landscape.
9. Support public art as an essential component of sensuous space design.
10. Ensure that sensuous spaces are safe and secure for South Whidbey's residents and tourists.
11. Preserve historic and culturally significant landscapes, sites, structures, and objects.
12. Preserve and protect character-defining sensuous features.

B. Increase Recreational Spaces to Meet the Long-Term Needs of the Area

1. Prioritize acquisition of public space.
2. Provide and promote a balanced recreation system that offers a variety of high-quality recreational opportunities.
3. Consider repurposing underutilized government-owned properties as cultural spaces and recreational facilities.
4. Assure cultural spaces are usable, vibrant, and environmentally sustainable.
5. Encourage non-auto modes of transportation to and from sensuous spaces.

C. Protect and Enhance the Ecological Integrity of Sensuous Spaces

1. Preserve, protect and restore local biodiversity.
2. Integrate the protection and restoration of local biodiversity into sensuous space construction, renovation, management, and maintenance.
3. Include environmentally sustainable practices in construction, renovation, management, and maintenance of open space and recreation facilities.

D. Engage Communities in the Stewardship of the Cultural Landscape

1. Increase awareness of South Whidbey's cultural landscape.
2. Facilitate the development of community-initiated or supported cultural spaces.
3. Encourage and foster stewardship of cultural spaces through well-run, active volunteer programs.

E. Secure Long-Term Resources and Management of the Cultural Landscape

1. Pursue and develop innovative long-term funding mechanisms for maintenance, operation, renovation, and acquisition of cultural landscape elements.

Chapter 8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Post-Analysis Commentary & Further Research

Based on the research and findings of this thesis, several comments can be made regarding defining recreation areas on South Whidbey. First, this thesis acknowledges that a National Recreation Area will require a significant amount of more details before a project of this scale would be able to move forward. Second, the objective of this thesis is to assess South Whidbey regarding its past heritage, culture, and landscape to ascertain whether it would be a suitable fit within the National Parks as a living landscape. And third, South Whidbey is both an artifact and a system, and therefore deserves recognition.

Given the scale of this project, this thesis is unable to address all the concerns that will likely surface. The first is that of rural gentrification. Rural landscapes have become multifunctional and are no longer viewed strictly as a place of agriculture or forest. As such, rural landscapes have begun to transition into places of production and consumption. This is especially true of all of Whidbey Island as it sits in the urban shadow of Seattle Metropolitan. As Darling (2005) described, shifts in rural housing composition and rural class structure are beginning to shift. The form of gentrification taking place on Whidbey Island is much more complex than in the traditional sense as it also must account for the infill of new development, both in urban and rural areas.

Places of heritage and local identity continue to be built upon generative layers of long-established and time-honored traditions (Nasser 2003). Recognizing that places like South Whidbey are dynamic, evolving entities, both the public and private sectors should regard this as an opportunity for cooperation and collaboration. South Whidbey is currently struggling to increase residential density and housing prices continue to soar. This is causing displacement of the “community” (Gans 1982) and “spatial identity” (Fried 1966). A National Recreation Area

could further complicate the issue. This is especially true considering land value will likely rise as rural infill continues and it becomes more of a scarce resource. This is but one concern that will need to be addressed before a project of this scope can move forward.

As such, the intent of this thesis was to research whether a cultural landscape and heritage exist on South Whidbey. While a full history can not be accounted for in this thesis, five themes did emerge: Snohomish and other Native Americans, Homesteads and Early European Communities, Timber Industry, Recreation, and Intangible Heritage. However, a substantial amount of history remains to be studied and further research could either highlight the themes discussed in this thesis or other themes could emerge and become quintessential to the development of an NRA.

One such project currently being sponsored by the South Whidbey Historical Society is on the Natives who inhabited and engaged the lands and waters of South Whidbey Island. Another topic worthy of exploration includes the Scandinavian culture which dominated much of the Clinton area, yet appears to have dwindled considerably since the early 1900s. Also, a detailed analysis of the early farms on South Whidbey could prove indispensable, especially since a few may be worthy of listing on the National Register. There were a significant number of farms that raised chickens, grew berries, and planted orchards. Today, the island is thriving with wineries, berry farms, herb farms, small vegetable farms, and various livestock, which could emerge as a theme that has been present since humans first started cultivating the lands on Whidbey Island. Additionally, maritime has been crucial to the occupation of the area since the time of the Natives. For South Whidbey, the gateway to the island is via Washington State Ferry, and numerous maritime industries have been integral to the local economy.

8.2 On National Recreation Areas

“Place-based meanings reveal who we are, how we have changed, and into what we are changing” (Newman 2016, p. 399). Keeping in mind that this thesis is based on the methodology of grounded theory, a myriad of National Park designations were considered, such as a National Park, a National Reserve, and a Heritage Area but on a state or county level. However, a National Recreation Area (NRA) seems the most appropriate for South Whidbey. NRAs provide outdoor recreation and emphasize water-based recreation, but can be found near major population centers. Like the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NRAs combine the preservation of significant historic resources and natural areas while valuing scarce open spaces.

South Whidbey consists of a number of historic resources, from the City of Langley to the sites of Native potlatches. The area is currently abundant with natural areas, including land trusts, various parks, and water-based recreation. Moreover, given the open space and number of activities on South Whidbey, the cultural landscape can be explored to the heart's desire. A National Recreation Area would not only serve to protect the area but would emphasize its importance and value to the region. Moreover, it can be honed to include all cultures and give voice to all people.

The creation of a South Whidbey National Recreation Area would highlight the importance of cooperative endeavors between Washington State’s GMA and Island County’s comprehensive plan to support rural preservation. Moreover, it could be argued that the establishment of an NRA aids in meeting at least six of Washington’s fourteen GMA goals: sprawl reduction, economic development, open space and recreation, environmental protection, shoreline management, and historic preservation. Historic preservation is that of “identify[ing] and encourag[ing] the preservation of lands, sites, and structures that have historical and archaeological significance” (RCW 36.70A.020).

8.3 Concluding Remarks

Every cultural landscape is indicative of those who live in it. The spatial configuration of vernacular landscapes oftentimes expresses and reflects the values and patterns of distinct cultures. Until a thorough analysis is conducted, these authentic landscapes and cultures may fade into the background and go unnoticed. “Often the most dramatic landscape transformations are incremental” (Rottle 2008, p. 133), and “rather than attempting to reform the world, the planner should be concerned with incremental practicable improvements” (Cullingworth p. 64). The creation of a National Recreation Area is an incremental means of interpreting and strengthening the understanding of South Whidbey’s significant people, historic events, compelling patterns of life, and socio-economic processes.

While land-use planning is largely a local matter, South Whidbey NRA is built on the idea of regionalism. A National Recreation Area is a tool that can be of great use to South Whidbey, as well as, the greater Seattle area. An NRA is multifaceted in that it can preserve all types of resources including, but not limited to, the landscape, culture, heritage, and the sensuous. It can be utilized to prevent out-of-scale development and speculative demolition while encouraging dense, contextual growth. But more importantly, it is a distinct place for those in the Seattle Metropolitan area that they can escape to for a day, week, or year and enjoy qualities of the sensuous that they may not find anywhere else. A National Recreation Area is key to preserving South Whidbey and protecting it from the urban sprawl found just across the water.

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APPENDIX 1 - Survey

Defining a cultural landscape on South Whidbey

You are being invited to participate in a research study about your impressions and familiarity with the southern end of Whidbey Island. This study is being conducted by Joshua Pitts, from the College of Built Environment at the University of Washington.

There are no known risks if you decide to participate in this research study. There are no costs to you for participating in the study. The information you provide will further the research of defining a cultural landscape on South Whidbey. The questionnaire will take about 5 minutes to complete. The information collected may not benefit you directly, but the information learned in this study should provide more general benefits.

This survey is anonymous. Do not write your name on the survey. No one will be able to identify you or your answers, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study. Individuals from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Washington may inspect these records. Should the data be published, no individual information will be disclosed.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. By completing the questionnaire, you are voluntarily agreeing to participate. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact Josh Pitts at pittsjr@uw.edu.

1. Is South Whidbey your permanent residence?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

   If not, where is your permanent residence located?_____

2. What is your age?
   - ☐ 18 - 29
   - ☐ 30 - 39
   - ☐ 40 - 49
   - ☐ 50 - 59
   - ☐ 60 - 69
   - ☐ 70 - 79
   - ☐ 80 - 89
   - ☐ 90+

3. What area of South Whidbey do you live in?
   - ☐ Clinton
   - ☐ Freeland
   - ☐ Langley

4. How long have you lived on South Whidbey?
   - ☐ 0 - 2
   - ☐ 3 - 5
   - ☐ 6 - 10
   - ☐ 11 - 20
   - ☐ 20+

5. What brought you to Whidbey and/or why do you choose to continue to live here? (Check your top 3)
   - ☐ Friends/Family
   - ☐ Beaches
   - ☐ Scenic Views
   - ☐ Curiosity
   - ☐ Culture
   - ☐ Soundscape
   - ☐ Education
   - ☐ Relax
   - ☐ Exploration
   - ☐ Food & Drink
   - ☐ Think/Reflect
   - ☐ Health
   - ☐ Vacation
   - ☐ Work
   - ☐ Other

6. What is your favorite thing about Whidbey?

7. How has South Whidbey changed since you first moved there?

8. How do you imagine South Whidbey to look and feel in 25 years?

Please indicate on the map the two places that are the most memorable to you?

Example considerations:

- Where do you get together with friends or family?
- Where do/did you shop for groceries or obtain food from?
- Where was your first job located?
- As a teenager, where did you frequent?

Please provide one or two sentences about one of the above choices.