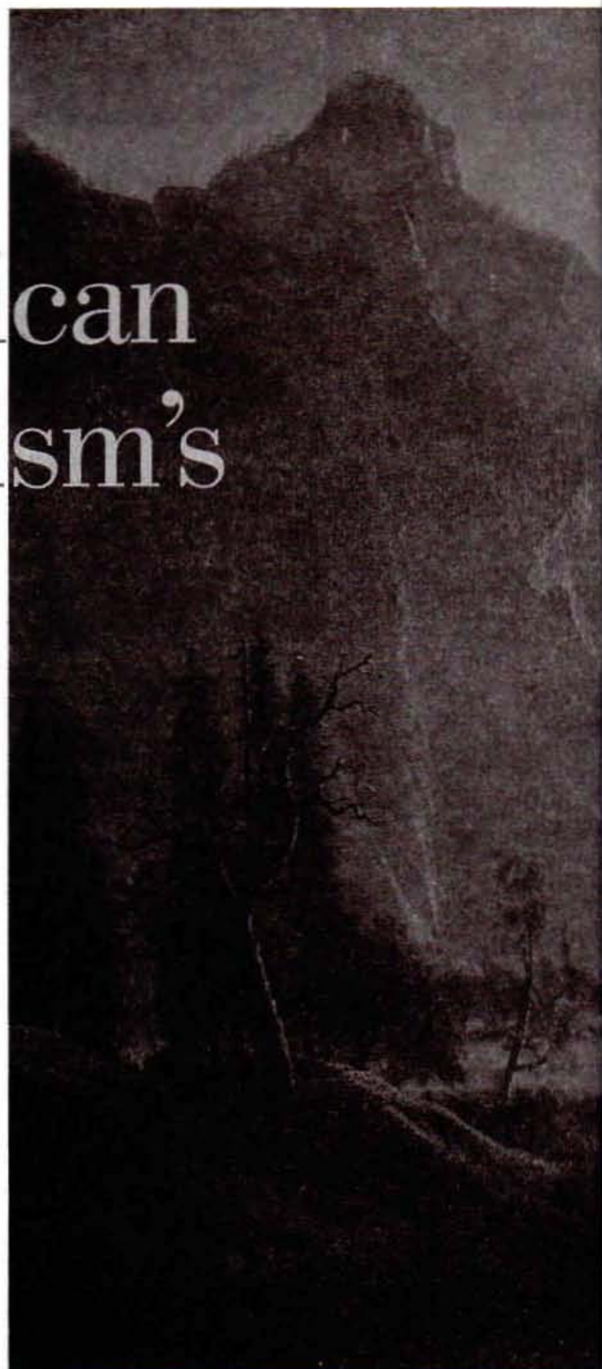
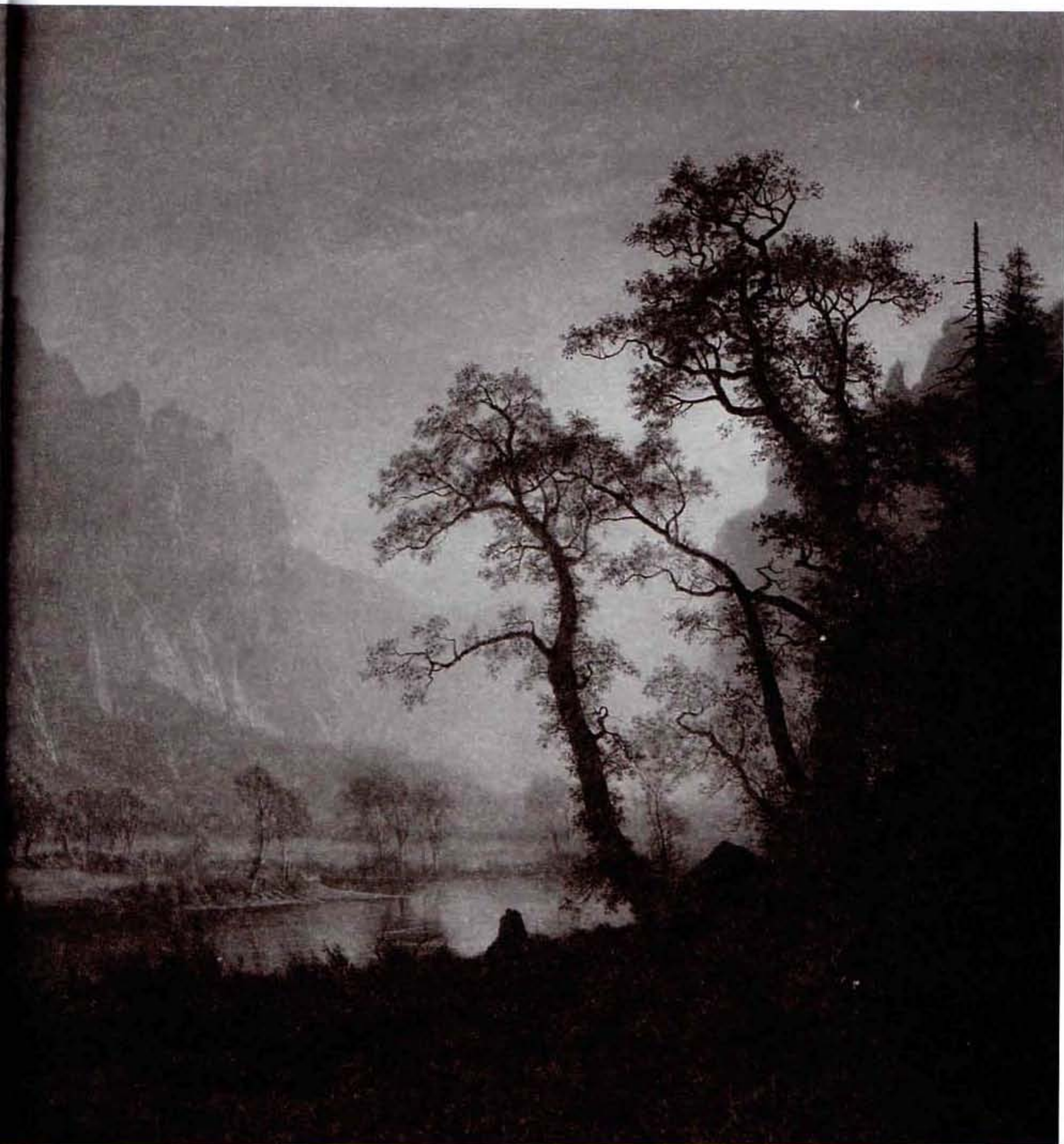


Charting American Environmentalism's Early (Intellectual) Geography, 1890–1920

by James Morton Turner

The oft-told tale of American environmentalism suggests that since the 1890s, environmentalism has been neatly divided into two opposing camps—the resource conservationists versus the Nature preservationists. No event seems to capture this bifurcation more starkly than the early-twentieth-century battle over the Sierra Nevada's Hetch Hetchy valley. In the aftermath of San Francisco's devastating 1906 earthquake and fire, the city's civic elite cast this valley, in the northwest corner of Yosemite National Park, as the only reservoir site that assured the growing metropolis's future water supply. When the city appealed to Theodore Roosevelt's administration for rights to the valley, Hetch Hetchy embroiled the nation in debate over the value of national parks, the management of the nation's resources, and the meaning of progress.[1]



From 1908 to 1913, conservationists and preservationists made national headlines arguing over Hetch Hetchy's future. Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Forest Service and close advisor to Roosevelt, emerged as the conservationists' most powerful voice. Although conservationists regretted marring Hetch Hetchy, they deemed it a reasonable cost for securing a reliable water supply for San Francisco. This reasoning followed directly from conservationists' scientific approach to managing the nation's rivers, forests, and grazing lands. Conservationists firmly believed only the disinterested calculus of the engineer could provide long-term management for the nation's resources.

Preservationists opposed the conservationists' hard-nosed reasoning, instead arguing that monumental scenery alone justified permanent protection of America's most scenic treasures. John Muir best captured these sentiments in his early-twentieth-century essays. He described Hetch Hetchy's scenery, evoked romantic conceptions of the American West, and questioned what, if not the national parks, would be held sacred by the growing nation.

"Sunrise, Yosemite Valley," ca. 1863, by Albert Bierstadt.

By the time water began backing up Hetch Hetchy's granite walls, as the story usually unfolds, the fundamental divisions in American environmentalism had been wrought. When Samuel P. Hays included Hetch Hetchy in his classic text, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (1959), no doubt he marshaled these terms well aware of the 1950s battle pitting David Brower, the Sierra Club, and the nation's environmentalists against the Army Corps of Engineers, who proposed damming Echo Park in Dinosaur National Monument. In the 1910s, 1950s, or during the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline controversy in the 1970s, it appeared as Aldo Leopold suggested early on: this "was the old conflict between preservation and use...."[2] Throughout the twentieth century, historians and environmentalists have relied upon this dualism, canonized during Hetch Hetchy, as if it provided the fundamental intellectual scaffolding of American environmentalism.

Survey American environmentalism now and the weaknesses of this scaffolding become apparent. In today's environmental politics, only careful explication can avoid muddling the meanings of conservation and preservation. Perhaps the reason for the confusion is that these terms were no more clearly defined during American environmentalism's founding years than they are today. In 1895, John Muir wrote that "forest management must be put on a rational, permanent scientific basis, as in every other civilized country."[3] A few months before, Theodore Roosevelt emphasized that "the question of forest preservation is one of utmost moment to the American people."[4] Preservationist or conservationist? These quotes seemingly reverse the traditional allegiances of these two prominent Americans. More important, these statements emphasize how contested these organizing principles of American environmentalism have always been.

Reconsidering the origins of American environmentalism casts new light on this long-standing dualism. In 1890, the nation's public domain remained largely uncharted: little more than the boundaries of states, territories, and Indian reservations marked the West's geography. By 1920, national forests, national parks, and national monuments lay like puzzle pieces across maps of the American West. In those thirty years, the geographic and intellectual contours of American environmentalism emerged together. Tracing the start of the parks, the first forest reserves, and the beginnings of the Antiquities Act illuminates many issues underpinning our nation's environmental politics. In reducing this period—or any period of American environmental history—to conservation versus preservation, we risk losing the plurality of ideas important to our environmental heritage.

If a debate over conservation and preservation did not define early American environmentalism, what did? A constellation of concerns, discussed throughout the nineteenth century, coalesced towards the century's end. Photographs and paintings of the West increasingly excited an appreciation for the extent and magnitude of the nation's scenery. Scientists warned that rapacious loggers seemed well on their way to denuding mountainsides from coast to coast, threatening the future of the nation's forests, rivers, and soils. Ecological disasters that humans inflicted on passenger pigeons, the bison, and Pacific fur seals further emphasized Nature's fragility. And as the nation's cities grew, so too did its industries. From railroads to steel companies, all seemed ready to harness the country's natural resources—economic and scenic—and exploit them for private gain. In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner, observing the many changes of the nineteenth century, made his now famous speech that lamented the closing of the American frontier. Despite Turner's prejudices, his assertions helped establish new intellectual boundaries for America's earliest environmentalists. After a century of imperial expansion, the nation's resources no longer appeared unlimited.[5]

The 1890s marked a watershed in the federal government's approach to the public domain. Immediately after the Civil War, Congress dealt with public land by giving it away: while homesteaders laid claim to 160-acre parcels of the West, railroads made off with tracts measured by the square mile. National parks marked the earliest steps towards permanent federal stewardship. In 1864, moved by the romantic paintings of Albert Bierstadt and photographs of Carleton Watkins, Congress protected Yosemite Valley. A decade later, the Washburn expedition returned from Yellowstone with a remarkable account of the region's scenic grandeur and thermal features. Unsure of the extent of the wonders, Congress set aside a vast stretch of northwest Wyoming. Park status, however, conferred only tenuous protection on Yellowstone and Yosemite. Not all park advocates saw conflict between limited resource development and park protection. Grazing, poaching, and logging soon encroached on the parks' borders. In 1890, confusion over the parks' purpose only deepened when Congress set aside additional land around Yosemite.[6]

Since 1875, the American Forestry Association had advocated federal responsibility for the nation's forests. But as the nineteenth-century timber industry boomed, Congress made few moves to interfere. Early forestry laws, such as the Timber Culture Act (1875) and Timber and Stone Act (1878), only made the nation's forests more accessible to homesteaders (and the timber companies who usurped their claims). In the 1880s, the

Forestry Association urged Congress to survey the nation's forests and set aside reserves for future needs. In 1890, Congress took hesitant steps in this direction. Responding to a chorus of Californians, which included both John Muir and water-hungry agriculturalists, Congress set aside an additional million acres of California's High Sierra. Confusion over whether the land was a national park or a protected watershed mounted: Congress mandated the "preservation from injury of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition." But instead of specifically declaring it a park, as it had Yosemite and Yellowstone, Congress designated these High Sierra lands a "forest reserve."[7]

Thus, by 1890, both federal parks and reserves existed—but as rather indistinct entities. The ensuing decade of political wrangling would clarify their purpose and the many issues important to the nascent American environmental movement. The following year, Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act, granting the President new power over the public domain: the President "may, from time to time, set apart and reserve...public land bearing forests."[8] Historians speculate that Congress hardly realized the implications of the Forest Reserve Act—it passed through Congress as a one-paragraph addendum to a general land law. President Harrison, however, quickly made its purpose clear: within a year he set aside 15 forest reserves encompassing 13 million acres of land.[9] The pithy act, however, made no provisions for managing the new reserves. According to the Department of the Interior, which oversaw the reserves, a strict interpretation suggested, "no one has a right to enter a forest reserve, to cut a single tree from its forests, or to examine its rocks in search of valuable minerals."[10] For a time, forest reserves appeared even more restrictive than the nation's parks: trespass, alone, was illegal. Historians Samuel Hays and Roderick Nash have suggested preservationists rallied around these reserves for precisely these ambiguous, yet restrictive, covenants.[11]

Provisions for administering the reserves, however, only needed to catch up with reserve designation. The Forestry Association, John Muir, and the newly founded Sierra Club all urged Congress to pass additional legislation. Without such provisions, forest reserves remained a hollow declaration, neither providing funds for protection nor for use. By 1895, this lack of

engraving, 1870, by Felix Darley

administration stalled the early forest reserve system. After setting aside five million acres in 1893 and 1894, President Cleveland ceased designating reserves, delaying further action until Congress passed new forestry legislation. Two immediate proposals, the McRae and Paddock forestry bills, failed to pass. Much of the blame went to western representatives, beholden to timber interests and resistant to federal government, who opposed all federal control.[12] Muir cast an accusatory finger: "the outcries we hear against forest reservations come mostly from thieves who are wealthy and steal timber by wholesale."[13]

In 1895, in lieu of legislation, Congress funded a National Forestry Commission with the one-time task of surveying the western forests and parks. *Century Magazine* praised the commission, "whose business it shall be to study the whole question of forest preservation and report fully upon it to Congress."[14] Composed of five well-known naturalists, including Gifford Pinchot, the commission ranged widely across the West for three months, encompassing Montana, Washington, California, and even Arizona in its survey. Upon returning, without regard for western protests, the commission called for additional reserves, a comprehensive forestry policy, and two new parks. Cleveland obliged the first request; in 1896, he declared 13 new reserves totaling 21 million acres.[15]

Cleveland's reserves, on top of the commission's report, sparked a year-long debate over forestry policy in Washington. Congress considered options ranging from eliminating the reserves entirely to placing them under the protective jurisdiction of the military. As Cleveland left office, and President McKinley's administration began, Congress compromised after a bitter debate. It suspended the reserves for one year, and then reestablished them with the provision they be managed under the recently passed 1897 Organic Act. The Organic Act, with the aim of "preserving" the forests, authorized managed logging, mining, and grazing in the forest reserves—the seeds of today's multiple-use management plans.[16] Initially, John Muir emerged as the reserves' most eloquent spokesman, explaining they "will yield plenty of timber, a perennial harvest for every right use." This use, he suggested, would not diminish the forests "any more than the sun is diminished by shining."[17]

The National Forestry Commission did not limit its recommendations to forest reserves alone. The two new parks it called for would protect the Grand Canyon and Washington's Mt. Rainier. Muir wrote of the latter, "if in the making of the West, Nature had what we call parks in mind,—places for rest, inspiration, and prayers,—this Rainier region must surely be one of them."[18] Although Congress did not set aside these parks immediately, earlier in the 1890s it dispatched the US Army to Yosemite and Yellowstone. There, army patrols kept herders and poachers at bay, making the parks the nation's best-protected lands. By the century's end, Congressional legislation and Muir's writings helped delineate the legislative import of the West's new geographic boundaries. Park status provided strict protection against resource use, while forest reserves protected watersheds and ensured future timber supplies. Within these broad guidelines, however, much room remained for future debate over administering these public lands.

"Giant's Gap," ca. 1870, by Thomas Moran

In reducing this period—or any period of American environmental history—to conservation versus preservation, we risk losing the plurality of ideas important to our environmental heritage.

DID THE 1897 ORGANIC ACT MARK THE PRESERVATIONISTS' first defeat? Historians Samuel Hays and Roderick Nash think so.[19] They sift through the confusion over the administration of parks and forests and the linguistic muddle of conservation and preservation, and draw strict lines between Muir, Pinchot, and their followers. A more open reading of the 1890s finds these categories more contested than these historians admit. Throughout the 1890s, forest reserve advocates called for the "preservation" of the forests. But few called for preserving the forests from use—not even John Muir went that far. Rather, in speeches, newspapers, and magazines, early environmentalists called for "preserving" the forests from fire, grazing, and most troubling, the unrestrained logging that had already felled forests across New England and the Midwest.

Early conservationist sentiments hardly stood apart from this broad-minded preservation rhetoric. If "conservation" entered the debate, it usually referred specifically to managing watersheds. Those dedicated to preservation for strictly spiritual or aesthetic reasons pursued a limited agenda in the nineteenth century: it included protection for California's redwoods, Mount Rainier, the Grand Canyon, migratory birds, and the American bison, among other issues.[20] Little evidence exists that in the 1890s these "preservationists" considered themselves the foes of any emerging group of "conservationists." Ambiguities in the 1890s language have made it easy for historians, and environmentalists alike, to overemphasize the early divisions underlying the nation's environmental movement.[21]

Theodore Roosevelt embodied precisely these ambiguities in early environmentalism. Between 1901 and 1909, his administration tripled the size of the forest reserves, established five new national parks, initiated early federal reclamation projects, and set aside the first national monuments. During his administration, legislating the public domain emerged as a high point in a broad reform agenda. Historians look to these events to mark the growing historical divide between conservationists and preservationists: Gifford Pinchot and John Muir dominated environmental politics, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Interior staked out their claims on the public domain, and this era culminated in the Hetch Hetchy controversy. Conservation and preservation cannot be ignored in these years—yet the debate cannot be narrowed to these poles alone.

During Roosevelt's tenure, conservation emerged from preservation's rhetorical shadow. Drawing on seemingly democratic and scientific principles, conservation became firmly entrenched in the expanding federal government.[22] The Bureau of Reclamation (1902) aimed to reengineer the hydrology of the West, and the Forest Service (1905) set its sights on bringing all the nation's forests under sustained-yield management. Pinchot, the Department of Agriculture's head of forestry, emerged as the champion of conservation within the Roosevelt administration. "The forest," Pinchot explained, "is a manufacturing plant for the production of wood."[23] And, as would become a refrain for the conservationists, it had to be managed for the "greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."[24] One approving citizen wrote to the *New York Times*, "Let us eliminate sentimentalism. Let us not permit the hard-headed businessman to call us Utopians, but meet the utilitarian and tax payer on his own ground."[25]

Conservationists believed the nation's public domain, including forests, grazing lands, and reservoirs, should be managed with the impartial judgment of professional government officials. Pinchot hoped a growing cadre of college-educated engineers and foresters would bring such scientific rigor to managing the nation's resources. With Roosevelt's support, Pinchot expanded the Forest Service and brought the forest reserves under its purview. In 1905, Congress transferred the reserves from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture, and rechristened them national forests. Pinchot, the first Chief of the Forest Service, believed it would be only a matter of time before the national parks, too, came under the rational strictures of Forest Service management.[26]

Roosevelt's land initiatives received broad support from the urban denizens who helped elect him to office. Despite Pinchot's disdain for "purely sentimental considerations" regarding Nature, the conservationists' utilitarian approach to the nation's public domain was eminently more acceptable to these urbanites than the wanton exploitation of the previous century.[27] Even the Sierra Club urged its youngest members to entertain a career in the Forest Service: "a man cannot serve his country better than by faithful work in this field."[28] During the same years, historians have noted that Nature, increasingly, represented the antithesis of the nation's early-twentieth-century metropolises—it promised an escape from pollution, immigrants, and disease. As Muir romantically crowed, "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity...."[29] For many middle-class Americans, the Boy Scouts, mountain resorts, or the writings of John Burroughs and Jack London redefined their perceptions of Nature, spurring what historian Peter Schmitt has labeled the first "Back to Nature" movement.[30]

Preservationists also made legislative and territorial advances during Roosevelt's administration. The same Congress that established the Forest Service armed preservationists with an important new legislative tool: "An Act for the Preservation

of American Antiquities (1905)." The Antiquities Act invested in the President the power to "permanently preserve objects of antiquity and historic interest for the instruction and enjoyment of the people."[31] Importantly, objects of scientific interest, such as archaeological sites or geologic wonders, also fell under the act's scope. Roosevelt first set aside small monuments, such as Devils Tower (1906) and Muir Woods (1908). Then, stretching the act's mandate, he set aside 900,000 acres as the Grand Canyon National Monument (1908).[32] Muir and other preservationists applauded these first national monuments and the newest national parks including Crater Lake, Wind Cave, and Mesa Verde.

Despite these gains, preservationists feared a growing conservation movement that measured success in terms of cords, cubic feet, and tons. In 1908, the nation's governors and conservation leaders gathered in Washington to discuss a national conservation agenda. John Muir, omitted from the guest list, sent a letter representing the Sierra Club. In it, he urged the conference not to forget scenic resources, "whose influence upon the life of the nation, physically, morally, mentally, is inestimable, and whose preservation is the greatest service that one generation can render to another."[33] Conference attendees, however, seemed more interested in the tangible resources of timber, water, and minerals. Dismayed, J. Horace McFarland—president of the American Civic Association and a strong advocate of preservation—published an article titled, "Shall we have ugly conservation?" McFarland's article reflected preservationists' growing concern for the future of the national parks. Speculation over logging, dams, and grazing swirled around the dozen existing parks. Even in the case of Yosemite, the *New York Times* editorialized in 1909, "the talk about leaving nature unspoiled…is nonsensical."[34] For preservationists, only a park agency, comparable to the Forest Service, could safeguard the future of the national parks.

If ever in American environmental history conservation and preservation appeared to dominate the discourse, it is in these years leading up to the decision to flood Hetch Hetchy. But as quickly as this dualism became apparent—as Hetch Hetchy captured the nation's attention—the dualism also began to fall apart, and with it the scaffolding upon which so much environmental thought rests. Revisionist historians have recast Hetch Hetchy from perspectives that unsettle the primacy of the preservation versus conservation dualism. Muir biographer Stephen Fox, in *The American Conservation Movement* (1981), described Hetch Hetchy as a battle contested by amateurs and federal employees with divergent ideas about how to manage the public domain. Fox explained that Hetch Hetchy was "in short, another collision of professionals and amateurs."[35] More recently, Gray Brechin's *Imperial San Francisco* (1999) takes up an underlying current in Hay's and Nash's earliest accounts of Hetch Hetchy—the importance of anti-monopoly sentiment and San Francisco's urban politics to the debate. For the city's urban elite, harnessing Hetch Hetchy emerged as a critical step in freeing the city from the Spring Valley Water Company, ensuring San Francisco's continued economic expansion, and facilitating its dominance over the Pacific Rim. Ultimately, neither the arguments of conservationists nor preservationists determined Hetch Hetchy's fate.[36]

To the extent that Fox and Brechin meant to imply that other factors best explain why Hetch Hetchy became a reservoir, they are surely right. And in moving beyond the historiographical duality Hays and Nash helped erect, Fox and Brechin not only shed new light on the Hetch Hetchy debate, they also facilitate our understanding of later American environmental history. In 1916, partly in reaction to Hetch Hetchy, Congress further protected the national parks under the newly established National Park Service. Even then, conservation rhetoric based on efficient administration and tourist revenues undermined any

Framing Hetch Hetchy or Echo Park in terms that pit the preservationists against the conservationists has long empowered the American environmental narrative…but it is important to recognize that the critical junctures in American environmentalism—for better or worse—have emerged from a middle ground that is neither "conservationist" nor "preservationist."

assertion of a preservationist victory.[37] In the 1920s, Arthur Carhart and Aldo Leopold helped give the American wilderness movement its first institutional home—in Gifford Pinchot's Forest Service. And a decade later, Benton MacKaye and Lewis Mumford joined with others in founding the Regional Planning Association of America that helped promote the Appalachian Trail and influenced the Tennessee Valley Authority. None of these events conforms to a rigid dualism marked by conservationist and preservationist ethics. And this list could go on.

Why then do many historians and environmentalists continue to depend upon this dualism? Today, as often as not, newspapers ignore history altogether and use conservation and preservation interchangeably. Or, worse yet, these terms are caricatured, as they were by Peter Huber, author of *Hard Green* (1999), who tried to warn conservationists that, "the preservationist vision is back on top. The quasi-pagan nature worship of the late 19th century has been reworked as the trans-scientific demonology of the late 20th."[38] As suggested by the debate revolving around these categories and disagreement among environmentalists today, this dualism obscures as much as it reveals about American environmentalism. The persistence of this dualism, however, rests in its romantic appeal. Framing Hetch Hetchy or Echo Park in terms that pit the preservationists against the conservationists has long empowered the American environmental narrative.[39] Entirely abandoning the romanticism is hardly necessary, but it is important to recognize that the critical junctures in American environmentalism—for better or worse—have emerged from a middle ground that is neither "conservationist" nor "preservationist." ☾

James Morton Turner *is a graduate student studying American history and environmental issues at Princeton University.*

NOTES

1. In this essay, I use the terms "environmental movement" and "environmentalists." Although this is admittedly ahistorical, in an essay investigating the meanings of conservation and preservation these broader terms are helpful since they encompass many thoughtful approaches to the land around us.
2. Aldo Leopold, "The wilderness and its place in forest recreational policy," *Journal of Forestry*, Nov (1921), 148.
3. John Muir, "Proceedings of the meeting of the Sierra Club," in *Sierra Club Notes* (San Francisco, 1895), 284.
4. Theodore Roosevelt, "A plan to save the forests: forest preservation by military control," *Century* 49, no. 4 (1895), 630.
5. On Turner's significance, see his original essays and the accompanying commentary in Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994).
6. For a comprehensive introduction to the history of the national parks, see Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1997), chapters 1–2.
7. "An act to set apart certain tracts of land in the State of California as forest reservations, approved October 1, 1890 (26 Stat. 650)" reprinted in Hillory A. Tolson, ed. *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, the National Parks, and Monuments* (Washington: GPO, 1933), 49.
8. 26 US Stat. 1095 (March 3, 1891), Section 24.
9. The best introduction to the Forest Service's early history is Harold K. Steen, *The US Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1976), chapter 2.
10. Originally quoted in "The Forest Commission's Great Public Service," *Century* 54, no. 4 (1897), 634.
11. Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Forge Village, MA: Murray Printing, 1959), 190–191. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 133–137.
12. Steen, *The US Forest Service: A History*, chapter 2.
13. John Muir, "The American forests," *Atlantic Monthly* 80, Aug (1897), 155.
14. "The need of a national forest commission," *Century* 49, no. 4 (1895), 634.
15. Steen, *The US Forest Service: A History*, 32–33.
16. Paul W. Hirt, *A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests since World War Two* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 30–31.
17. John Muir, "The American forests," 147, 156.
18. John Muir, "The wild parks and forest reservations of the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan (1898), 26.
19. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 190–191. Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 138.
20. For a compelling account of the plight of the American bison and its importance to early American environmentalism, see Andrew C. Isenberg, *Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
21. These ambiguities are considered in Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 41–44 and Runte, *National Parks*, 84. John P. Wiley, Jr. offers insights into these ambiguities today in "Coming to Terms," *Smithsonian* 29, no. 9 (1998), 28–30.
22. The classic account of the conservation movement is Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*.
23. Gifford Pinchot, "Forest destruction," in *Smithsonian Annual Report* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1901), 404.
24. Letter to Chief of the Forest Service from Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, Feb. 1, 1905 in *The Principal Laws Relating to Forest Service Activities*, Agriculture Handbook No. 453 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1974), 117.
25. James L. Hickok, "Letter to the editor: A plea for the forests," *New York Times*, Apr 6 1902, 14.
26. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 196.
27. Pinchot, "Forest destruction," 401.
28. William R. Dudley, "Forestry notes," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 6, no. 5 (1908): 334.
29. John Muir, "The American forests," 15.
30. Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969). On the cult of wilderness, also see Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, chapter 9.
31. *Laws, Decisions, and Opinions Applicable to the National Forests* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1916), 24.
32. Hal Rothman's study of the Los Alamos and the Pajarito Plateau provides important insight into the role of archaeological preservation in the passage of the Antiquities Act, *On Rims and Ridges: The Los Alamos Area Since 1880* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), chapters 4–6.
33. John Muir et al., "Letter to the President of the United States and the Governors of the States Assembled in Conference" reprinted in *Sierra Club Bulletin* 6, no. 5 (1908): 318–319.
34. "Desecration was not suggested," *New York Times*, Oct 15, 1909, 8.
35. Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 144.
36. Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 108–117.
37. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911).
38. Peter Huber, "Saving the environment from the environmentalists," *Commentary* 105, April (1998): 25–30.
39. On the importance of narrative and the power of romanticism in American environmental thought, see William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1995), 69–90 and William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* (1992): 1347–1376. For an excellent critique of Cronon's thoughts on wilderness, see David W. Orr, "The not-so-great wilderness debate..." *Wild Earth* 9, Summer (1999): 74–80.