

*The idea of wilderness has long been at the core of American environmental thought, and it has recently become the centerpiece of an important and furious debate among scholars and activists about whether it remains a viable preservationist ideal. In this article, adapted from his new book *Driven Wild*, Paul Sutter takes us back to the founding moment of organized wilderness advocacy in the United States, where he introduces us to the founders of the Wilderness Society and to the surprising forces that gave birth to the modern wilderness movement. In the process, he encourages us to think in new ways about wilderness and its place in America's environmental future.*

# DRIVEN WILD

## THE PROBLEM OF THE WILDERNESS

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**I**n October 1934, the American Forestry Association (AFA) held its annual meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee. Among those on the program was a young forester, then working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), named Bob Marshall. Marshall had distinguished himself as a strident critic of the timber industry and

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federal forestry policy. His 1933 book, *The People's Forests*, made a forceful case for socializing the nation's industrial timberlands. Yet among certain attendees of the AFA conference, Marshall was better known for a 1930 article, "The Problem of the Wilderness," in which he called for the "organization of spirited people who will fight for the freedom of the wilderness."<sup>1</sup>

Benton MacKaye, a forester and regional planner who was living in Knoxville and working for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) at the time of the AFA meeting, had read and been moved by Marshall's plea. Indeed, MacKaye was confronting his own problem of the wilderness. In 1921, he had proposed a visionary plan for "an Appalachian Trail." Although his trail was nearing completion by 1934, it was threatened by a series of federally funded skyline drives being planned for and built along the Appalachian ridgeline.<sup>2</sup> MacKaye and a number of his supporters were busy organizing a protest against these incursions, and they were eager to talk with Marshall about their efforts.

They had their opportunity when, on October 19, Marshall joined MacKaye, Harvey Broome, and Bernard and Miriam Frank for an all-day field trip to a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp outside of Knoxville. The AFA had arranged the trip to

give conference-goers a sense of the profound changes then occurring in the upper Tennessee Valley. Broome knew the region well. He was a Knoxville lawyer and a leading member of the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club, one of the most important groups to the construction of Appalachian Trail (AT) in the South. Bernard Frank, newer to the region, was a watershed management expert on the TVA's forestry staff and, as Broome would later recall, "a genius at reading the landscape."<sup>3</sup> As the group drove north towards Norris Dam in the Franks' car, they discussed forming the sort of organization that Marshall had proposed in 1930. In fact, they had broached the idea during a brief visit Marshall had made to Knoxville two months earlier, and in the interim someone—probably MacKaye—had drafted a constitution that became the focus of discussion during the drive. As the conversation became more animated, the group decided to pull over and get out of the car. They clambered up an embankment by the side of the road—"between Knoxville and Lufollette somewhere near Coal Creek," Broome would later remember—and there they agreed upon the principles of what became the Wilderness Society, the first national organization dedicated solely to the preservation of wilderness. It was in just such a setting that the

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**BY PAUL S. SUTTER**

founders felt most keenly what Marshall had called “the problem of the wilderness.”<sup>4</sup>

The Wilderness Society’s roadside creation was rich with the symbols of the founders’ motivating concerns. Foremost among those concerns were the road and the car. The group had come together to define a new preservationist ideal because of a common feeling that the automobile and road building threatened what was left of wild America. Wilderness, as they defined it, would keep large portions of the landscape free of these forces. And yet, despite their flight from the Franks’ car, a gesture evocative of their agenda, they could not escape the fact that, literally as well as figuratively, the automobile and improved roads had brought them together that day. The very conditions that had caused their collective concern for protecting wilderness had also enabled that concern. This paradox gave wilderness its modern meaning.

The larger setting was also of symbolic import: the roadside caucus occurred in a region being transformed by New Deal capital and labor. The unprecedented federal mobilization of resources in the name of conservation was a promising development in the minds of these advocates, most of whom had long argued for a greater (and often more radical) federal commitment to environmental protection. Yet New Deal conservation work projects, particularly in their emphases on road building and recreational development, also threatened wilderness as these activists defined it. Indeed, the New Deal represented the climax of a two-decade-long effort to modernize the public lands for

motorized recreation. These New Deal developments thus precipitated the founding of the Wilderness Society.

As the rest of the AFA caravan whirred by, the roadside conspirators proceeded from a discussion of principles to the drafting of a letter of invitation to join the Wilderness Society. They



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*Blue Ridge Parkway at Ice Rock, 1938. The construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway, which began in 1935, was one of the major concerns of the Wilderness Society’s founders. Among other things, the road forced the relocation of approximately 120 miles of the Appalachian Trail in Virginia.*



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*Bernard Frank, Harvey Broome, Bob Marshall, and Benton MacKaye, four of the eight founding members of the Wilderness Society, n.d.*



*Ernst Oberholtzer, c. 1935. While serving as the Department of Interior's representative on the Quetico-Superior Committee, Marshall got to know Oberholtzer, one of the most important advocates for preserving the Quetico-Superior canoe country (later the Boundary Waters Canoe Area) of Northern Minnesota. Oberholtzer was a founding member of the Wilderness Society.*

agreed to send it out to six other potential founders: Harold Anderson, Robert Sterling Yard, Aldo Leopold, Ernest Oberholtzer, John Collier, and John Campbell Merriam. Their aim was to keep the group small and focused on defending an ideal that they feared might be compromised or misconstrued. "We want no straddlers," Marshall succinctly insisted in a note attached to each invitation, and they got none.<sup>5</sup> What they did get was a group of advocates whose varied backgrounds revealed the modern wilderness idea's complex pedigree.

Both Harold Anderson and Robert Sterling Yard had been privy to organizational conversations prior to the AFA meeting, and their inclusion among the founders was thus assumed. Anderson was a Washington, D.C. accountant, a prominent member of the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, and a friend and supporter of MacKaye's. Some months earlier, he had urged the formation of an organization to fight skyline drives along the AT, and to counter the failure of the Appalachian Trail Conference (ATC), the confederation of hiking clubs responsible for the trail's completion, to take action to oppose such schemes. Anderson wanted an organization composed of ATC malcontents who would fight for the integrity of the AT, but Marshall convinced him of the need for a group with an expanded scope.<sup>6</sup> Yard was a national parks watchdog who, as the motive force behind the National Parks Association (NPA) since its inception in 1919, had fought for the maintenance of park standards. He had entered park politics in the mid-teens as the publicity man for his friend Stephen Mather, the first director of the National Park Service, but he soon soured on the Service and its developmentalist tendencies. He was being squeezed out of the NPA for his public criticisms of the Park Service and was more than happy to devote his energies to a new organization.

To give the organization a stronger national standing, the group also invited Aldo Leopold and Ernest Oberholtzer to join as founding members. Leopold was, in 1934, a newly-appointed professor of game management at the University of Wisconsin, a discipline that he had pioneered. In the early 1920s, while working for the Forest Service in the Southwest, he had been the first to push for wilderness protection within the national forests, and during the mid-1920s he wrote extensively about the wilderness idea. While Leopold had not been as active a voice in wilderness debates in the years leading up to the 1934 AFA meeting, Marshall

still thought of him as "the Commanding General of the Wilderness Battle."<sup>7</sup> Although not entirely comfortable with this rank, Leopold was eager to serve the new organization as a foot soldier. Oberholtzer was an advocate for the preservation of the vast Quetico-Superior lake country of northern Minnesota and southwestern Ontario. During the previous decade, he had done battle against various schemes to develop the region for both its natural resources and its tourist amenities. He headed the Quetico-Superior Council, which worked to protect the unique wilderness of water that became the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, and Franklin Roosevelt had just appointed him to chair the Quetico-Superior Committee, a body charged with creating a transnational preserve in the region.<sup>8</sup> After some initial hesitation, Oberholtzer signed on with the Wilderness Society as well.

Only two of the proposed founders declined their invitations. One was John Collier, a long-time advocate for Native American rights who Franklin Roosevelt had recently named to head the BIA. Collier, who was in the midst of orchestrating what became known as the Indian New Deal, was Marshall's boss at the time. Although he expressed enthusiasm, Collier decided not to join the Wilderness Society as a founder. It is not clear why he declined, though he was burdened with other responsibilities and may have worried about mixing such advocacy with high-level



*Robert Sterling Yard in Yosemite National Park, 1920. In the mid-1910s, Yard was summoned to Washington, D.C., by his friend Stephen Mather to publicize the national parks and to create a national park agency. By the early 1930s, Yard had drifted away from the national parks lobby and toward wilderness preservation, in part because he grew uncomfortable with the results of his publicity work.*



efforts over the previous quarter century to make sense of what preserving nature meant in an automotive era.

## WILDERNESS IN AMERICAN THOUGHT

From its importation as a filter for viewing the colonial landscape to its role as a rallying cry for the postwar environmental movement, wilderness has been a central part of America's intellectual and environmental history. And those who have studied this particularly American strain of thought have traditionally been preoccupied with one central question: how was it that a nation founded upon an antipathy for the wilderness had come to cherish and protect it, and what had produced this intellectual and cultural sea change?

Over the years, historians have offered some convincing solutions to this particular problem of the wilderness. Some suggested that the change was simply a matter of abundance and scarcity. Early American settlers had been too close to the wilderness to appreciate it. Overwhelmed by the omnipresence of wild nature and its great power over their lives, they naturally sought its transformation. But by the time Americans had successfully subdued a large part of the continent, they began to feel the absence of wilderness as a physical and cultural loss. As wilderness became scarce, in other words, its value shot up.<sup>12</sup> Other scholars, less keen on this model of supply and demand, thought that the attitudinal transformation had more to do with an increasingly sophisticated ethical approach to the natural world. Where we once had treated nature as a mere instrument, we came in time to appreciate that the non-human world was worthy of moral consideration. The appearance of wilderness advocacy, in this interpretation, signaled an appreciation of the rights of nature, the rise of a biocentric ethic, and a foreshadowing of deep ecology.<sup>13</sup> Still other scholars suggested that the change was the political product of major demographic shifts. As Americans became affluent, educated consumers whose urban and suburban lives



*The Hetch Hetchy Valley before the dam was built. The battle over Hetch Hetchy, which has long symbolized the peak of the progressive Era conflict between utilitarian conservation and preservationists, also signaled a turning point in American environmental politics. During the interwar era, questions about recreational development often overshadowed tensions between preservation and use.*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY



*Bob Marshall on North Doonerak in the Brooks Range, Alaska, 1939. Bob Marshall first visited Alaska during the summer of 1929, and he spent fourteen months in the town of Wiseman in 1930–31, studying soil conditions there and exploring the surrounding wilderness. This photo was taken during Marshall's final trip to Alaska. A few months later, in November 1939, he died of an apparent heart attack.*

government service.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, the decision to invite Collier, and Collier's serious interest in the group, hint at the complex relationship between the modern wilderness idea and interwar Native American policy. The other refusal came from John C. Merriam, a paleontologist, head of the Carnegie Institution, and an expert on the aesthetics of "primitive" nature. Merriam was an active member of the NPA whose advocacy, like Yard's, was informed by an older tradition of scenic preservation most at home in the national parks lobby. Indeed, it was likely Yard who, much impressed by the way that Merriam had brought science to bear on explanations of scenic magnificence, urged that Merriam be included. Merriam was enthusiastic about the group's aims, but he begged off because of too many claims on his time.<sup>10</sup>

Five of the eight founding members—Anderson, Broome, MacKaye, Marshall, and Yard—met again on January 20 and 21, 1935, at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C., to formally organize the Wilderness Society and to give definition to the modern wilderness idea: the notion that the federal government ought to preserve large expanses of roadless and otherwise undeveloped nature in a system of designated wilderness areas.<sup>11</sup> The founding of the Wilderness Society heralded the beginning of a long political fight for federal wilderness legislation, a fight that climaxed with the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964. But as importantly, the meeting was also the culmination of individual

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*Camping near Camp Curry, Yosemite National Park, 1927. With private landowners increasingly hostile to them, autocampers spread themselves freely throughout the national parks, camping in areas such as Yosemite's meadows. By the late 1920s, however, plant pathologist E. P. Meinecke began noticing the extensive damage to vegetation done by automobiles—through soil compaction in particular. In response, he pioneered the field of campground planning.*

were disconnected from a direct economic relationship with the land, they pined for the sorts of recreational and aesthetic amenities that wild nature provided.<sup>14</sup>

All of these interpretations have their strengths, but they are also limited in crucial ways. The abundance and scarcity argument is true enough but not particularly sensitive to shifting meanings. The ethical argument, though edifying, is too beholden to a neat idealism that conforms more to the logic of philosophy than the messiness of history. And while the demographic argument does a satisfying job explaining the growth of political support for wilderness preservation, it is too faceless and deterministic to explain the intellectual development of the modern wilderness idea. Something more was at work here.

The founding of the Wilderness Society seemed like a good place to look for a more nuanced understanding of our historical reevaluation of wilderness. Although preservationist groups such as the Sierra Club predated the Wilderness Society, their efforts focused on national parks and scenic preservation. While making a case for the value of parks and natural scenery was crucial to later arguments for wilderness, and while park advocates



*Automobile on a CCC-built road in Olympic National Forest, Washington, 1933. Roads built by the CCC and other New Deal agencies were crucial to further opening the nation's remaining wildlands to motorized recreation. Portions of the Olympic National Forest were made into the Olympic National Park in 1938, thereafter managed on a wilderness model with only minimum road development.*

often spoke of wilderness in appreciative terms, national parks and wilderness areas were not one and the same thing. Park preservation, at least initially, was about protecting monumental scenery and, to a lesser extent, charismatic wildlife. Wilderness preservation, on the other hand, did not necessitate the scenic magnificence park advocates sought; instead, it was an ideal defined by large expanses of nature absent modern development of all sorts—including the roads and other tourist amenities increasingly found in parks. Modern wilderness politics began with the founding of the Wilderness Society, and it seemed only logical to expect that the key developments that allowed preservationists to move beyond the park ideal and its scenic aesthetic would be located there as well.

A couple of basic hypotheses have long undergirded assumptions about the historical origins of modern wilderness advocacy. First, most scholars have assumed that wilderness was an idea defined in opposition to the forces of production, and to a brand of utilitarian conservation that sought to make those forces more efficient. Secondly, many have assumed that the wilderness idea was the result of an aesthetic shift within the preservationist community away from scenery and toward a more ecological understanding of nature. Indeed, the emergence of the wilderness idea during the interwar years has often been tied to the concurrent development of ecology as a professional field. Conventional wisdom thus suggested that the innovation of wilderness advocacy was the rejection of the static and human-centered aesthetic of scenic beauty—an aesthetic that defined the park-making process but failed to provide a preservationist impetus in the absence of spectacular scenery—for a dynamic and nature-centered wilderness ideal that proved more powerful in opposing resource development.

The sources told a different story. While there was evidence to support the above hypotheses, it was mere background noise compared with the decibel level of another set of concerns voiced in the first issue of *The Living Wilderness*, the Wilderness Society's





*Yellowstone Park Transportation Fleet at Mammoth Hotel, n.d. As late as the mid-1910s, most visitors to Yellowstone saw the park by horse and carriage, but, after a brief experiment in coexistence in 1916, concessionaires sold their horses and motorized their fleets. The bill that created the National Park Service in 1916 charged the agency with preserving the scenery and wildlife of the parks and with providing for the enjoyment of the parks “in such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” The coming of large numbers of automobiles to the parks brought the tensions within that dual mandate to the fore.*

publication. “Ten years of warfare in Congress,” the founders proclaimed in a cover article describing their mission:

*have saved the National Park System from water power and irrigation, but left the primitive decimated elsewhere. What little of it is left is passing before a popular craze and an administrative fashion. The craze is to build all of the highways possible everywhere while billions may yet be borrowed from the unlucky future. The fashion is to barber and manicure wild America as smartly as the modern girl. Our duty is clear.<sup>15</sup>*

This was an odd call to arms. Where were the denunciations of industrial offenders? Where was the repudiation of the instrumental utilitarian worldview? Where was ecology’s influence? Such concerns were barely visible. Instead, the founders collectively bemoaned the “craze” for road building that was swiftly opening up the nation’s few remaining wild landscapes, and they criticized emergency conservation initiatives that prioritized the recreational development and beautification of the public domain, largely for recreational motorists, at the expense of wilderness conditions. Almost every contribution to that first issue of *The Living Wilderness* was about the automobile, roads, and the federal government’s willingness to countenance, and even encourage, the modernization and mechanization of roadless areas. The founders of the Wilderness Society, it became clear, had been driven wild.

## A WILDERNESS CONTEXT

There are two important implications to this conclusion, one substantive and the other methodological. First and foremost, it highlights the causative importance of road building and the

nascent American car culture to the emergence of modern wilderness advocacy. Secondly, accepting that the founders were driven wild means embracing an approach to the intellectual history of the wilderness idea that emphasizes material and cultural context over detached idealism. Context drove the creation of modern wilderness.

Such a contextualist approach challenges a notion often at the core of traditional wilderness narratives: that the history of preservationist sentiment in the United States has evolved from lower to higher forms of appreciation. The birth of modern wilderness advocacy was not simply the result of enlightened minds decoding an idea’s internal logic; wilderness was not a pure, platonic form that had flickered away for eons, waiting to be correctly deciphered and appreciated. Rather it was a product of intellectual engagement with specific circumstances. The founding of the Wilderness Society was a crucial moment in the history of American environmental thought and politics not because it embodied a collective epiphany that wilderness was the ultimate expression of preservationist sentiment, but because it involved the pragmatic act of giving a name to certain qualities that were disappearing from the American landscape because of road building and the automobile. The value of wilderness was not so much reassessed by the founders of the Wilderness Society as it was reinvented.

Why does it matter that the founders of the Wilderness Society were driven wild—that automobiles, roads, and other developments of the interwar era were the crucial determinants in the creation of what is today one of the most important, and controversial, models of nature preservation? It matters for a couple of reasons. First, in recent years the wilderness idea has received a lot of critical attention for its apparent shortcomings as a guiding environmental ideal, yet few of these criticisms have engaged the ideas of the founding generation of wilderness advocates. The current wilderness debate has thus been skewed by a fundamental misunderstanding of a foundational chapter in the history of American wilderness thinking. Secondly, many of the forces about



*Motor tourist showing off her park entry stickers, Yellowstone National Park, 1922. Developing consumer habits marked nature tourism during the interwar period, as Americans increasingly saw recreational nature as an experiential commodity and as they used stickers, postcards, and other souvenirs as markers of their consumption of nature.*



NPS/HPC

*Members of the Western Auto Studebaker Camp Inspection Tour on the Auto Log, Sequoia National park, early 1920s. The Auto Log was developed as a tourist site after a sequoia fell from natural causes. Since the 1910s, it has been one of the richest symbols of the intertwined American love affairs with automobiles and nature.*

which the founders expressed concern have recently reemerged to again reshape wilderness thought and politics. Unrecognized by most, wilderness advocacy has turned full circle.

Wilderness criticism has come in many guises, but it generally includes the following charges: that wilderness is a romantic ideal that celebrates a pure and distant nature where the privileged can go for their leisure without confronting the necessity of reforming their working relationships with the natural world or their consumer habits; that too heavy a focus on wilderness as a cornerstone of environmental politics has resulted in a sacrificial approach to much of the remaining landscape and dismissive treatment of the social issues at the heart of the environmental justice movement; and that wilderness ignores a deep past of Native American land use and land claims, and has often dispossessed Native Americans and other groups who found themselves on the margins of society. Wilderness critics have not always been wrong in leveling these criticisms, but they have been very selec-

tive in rendering their portraits of wilderness advocates.<sup>16</sup>

The founders of the Wilderness Society offer a very different picture of wilderness advocacy. Rather than being disengaged from the larger landscape of conservation, they were among their generation's most important thinkers on how to reform Americans' living and working relationships with nature. Moreover, founders such as Bob Marshall and Benton MacKaye mixed their wilderness advocacy with radical social agendas. Wilderness advocacy neither narrowed their environmental sights nor blinded them to the nation's social ills. And far from using wilderness preservation as a dispossessive tool, many of the founders—from Marshall to MacKaye to Oberholtzer—saw in wilderness preservation a potential tool for protecting Native American autonomy on the lands remaining within their control. Such a hope may have been naïve, but it was not disingenuous. Finally, from their concerns about the automobile, roads, and the motorization and modernization of outdoor recreation,

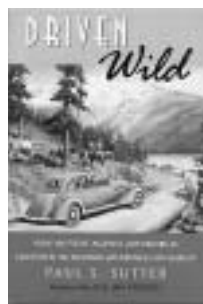


the founders of the Wilderness Society crafted a sophisticated critique of modern outdoor recreation and emerging consumer relationships with nature. Indeed, there is a powerful irony that has lurked unrecognized in the recent wilderness debate: some of the very arguments that critics are using today to challenge the appropriateness of wilderness as a preservationist ideal were developed by interwar advocates in making a case for wilderness. Understanding the origins of the Wilderness Society thus forces us to confront in wilderness advocacy a complexity that has been absent from much of the recent debate.

One of the reasons scholars have missed the critique of consumerism that lay at the heart of interwar wilderness thinking was because postwar wilderness politics have been so focused on opposing overzealous resource agencies such as the Forest Service and the Bureau of Reclamation. After World War II, wilderness thinking changed with the times. But in the last decade or so, Americans have again had to confront the implications of their intertwined love affairs with wild nature and motor vehicles. Off-road vehicles (ORVs) have taken the public lands by storm, so much so that the Wilderness Society has recently referred to them as “the single fastest growing threat to the natural integrity of our public lands.”<sup>17</sup> Moreover, public land managers have reached a series of controversial decisions about regulating jet ski and snowmobile use in the national parks and on other protected lands. Finally, the Park Service has begun to develop policies limiting automobile access to some of the most crowded national parks, such as Yosemite and the Grand Canyon, where motor vehicle use has threatened—once again—to overwhelm the natural setting.

These current problems of the wilderness may seem new to many, but they would have been familiar territory to the founders of the Wilderness Society. Understanding the history that they made by the side of a road in the Tennessee Valley almost seventy years ago can only enrich how we think about and deal with the particular challenges of wilderness preservation today. □

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## FOOTNOTES

1. Robert Marshall, “The Problem of the Wilderness,” *Scientific Monthly* 30, 2 (February 1930): 148.
2. Benton MacKaye, “An Appalachian Trail: A Project in Regional Planning,” *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 9 (October 1921): 325–330.
3. Harvey Broome, *Out Under the Sky of the Great Smokies: A Personal Journal* (1975): viii.
4. For details of this founding moment, see Broome, “Origins of the Wilderness Society,” *The Living Wilderness* 5, 5 (July 1940): 13–15; Michael Nadel, “Genesis of the Wilderness Society,” June, 1973, TWSP, Box 11, Folder 19; Stephen Fox, “We Want No Straddlers,” *Wilderness* (Winter 1981): 5–19; Harvey Broome to Robert Sterling Yard, September 7, 1939, TWSP, Box 11, Folder 20.
5. Broome, Frank, MacKaye, and Marshall drafted an invitation dated October 19, 1934. Marshall then sent out this invitation and a form letter to each of the other proposed founders. Most of those letters were dated October 25, 1934. Robert Marshall Papers (RMP), Bancroft Library, University of California, Box 1, Folder 18.
6. Harold Anderson to Harvey Broome, December 11, 1939, TWSP, Box 11, Folder 20.
7. This quote is from a letter from Marshall to Leopold, February 21, 1930, Aldo Leopold Papers (ALP), University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison, Wisconsin, 10–3, Box 4.
8. For a biographical sketch of Oberholtzer, see R. Newell Searle, *Saving Quetico-Superior: A Land Set Apart* (1977): 53–59.
9. See Nadel, “Genesis of the Wilderness Society,” 4. In a letter to MacKaye (November 24, 1934, TWSP, Box 11, Folder 20), Marshall noted that, “Collier says he would be delighted to join with us, although I am not sure whether it would be wise from his standpoint.”
10. See letter, John C. Merriam to Bob Marshall, November 3, 1934, TWSP, Box 11, Folder 20.
11. See “Minutes of the Wilderness Society,” and the resulting statement, “The Wilderness Society,” both in TWSP, Box 11, Folder 19.
12. The best example of this interpretation is Nash’s *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1982). See also Alan Taylor, “Wasty Ways: Stories of American Settlement,” *Environmental History* 3, 3 (July 1998): 291–310.
13. Roderick Nash, *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics* (1989); Michael Frome, *The Battle for the Wilderness* (1997); J. Baird Callicott, *In Defense of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy* (1989). On deep ecology, see Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology* (1985).
14. Samuel Hays’ *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (1987) is the classic example here, though it deals mostly with the postwar era. For versions rooted in earlier eras, see Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1982); and Peter Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (1969).
15. “A Summons to Save the Wilderness,” *The Living Wilderness* 1, 1 (September 1935): 1.
16. On wilderness criticism and the debate that ensued, see William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: Norton, 1996): 69–90; J. Baird Callicott and Michael Nelson, eds., *The Great New Wilderness Debate: An Expansive Collection of Writings Defining Wilderness from John Muir to Gary Snyder* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998).
17. The Wilderness Society, *Protecting America’s Wildlands: The 15 Most Endangered Wildlands 2000 Report* (2000).