

"John Muir and the Pioneer Conservationists of the Pacific Northwest"  
by Ronald Eber, in John Muir in Historical Perspective (Peter Lang,  
1999).

This essay is from the book John Muir in Historical Perspective,  
a collection of the papers presented at the 1996 John Muir  
Conference held by the University of the Pacific, in Martinez and  
Stockton, California, April 18-25, 1996.

This essay focuses on Muir and his work with six persons most  
influential in the Pacific Northwest (Oregon and Washington State)  
region's conservation affairs:

Robert Moran  
Judge John Waldo  
Lester Leander (L.L.) Hawkins,  
William Gladstone Steel,  
Philemon Beecher (P.B.) Van Trump  
Edmond S. Meany

Available on John Muir Global Network, johnmuir.org by permission of  
the author, Ronald Eber, 2023.

About the author: Ron Eber serves on an advisory committee to the  
Curator of Special Collections at the University of Oregon's Knight  
Library regarding the establishment of an Oregon Conservation  
Collection. Visiting lecturer at the University of Oregon and Willamette  
University on Oregon Land Use Planning, Agricultural Land  
Preservation, The History and Meaning of Land in America, Oregon  
Conservation History and John Muir and the American and Northwest  
Conservation Movement. He has also written a variety of articles on  
environmental subjects and Oregon conservation history including  
"John Waldo, Pioneer Conservationist of Oregon," "The History of  
Oregon's Forest Reserves," "John Muir's Mount Hood," and "John Muir  
and Oregon," John Muir Newsletter, Fall 1993.

Further biographical information about Ron Eber may be found at:  
<https://planetpatriot.net/ron-eber/>

## CHAPTER 10

### JOHN MUIR AND THE PIONEER CONSERVATIONISTS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Ronald Eber

*Those [forest] reserves are not merely for the convenience and benefit of the  
people near them, but they are the property of the nation and for its greatest  
good. It is unreasonable to suppose that they should be destroyed or imperiled  
for any local convenience, as a mere present to men engaged in one local  
industry.*<sup>1</sup>

Public support protecting the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest is  
longstanding. The current controversy is just the latest round in a century of  
debate over the fate of the region's forest lands. John Muir's statement to the  
people of Portland, Oregon, in 1899 represented his strongly held opinion about  
the need to protect the Pacific Northwest's forests and wilderness. It was this  
type of outspoken advocacy that he brought to those he met on his travels  
throughout the region and that also represents an attitude he continually  
encountered during his visits between 1879 and 1908.

John Muir's connections with the literary and scientific communities in the  
Northeast and California are well known.<sup>2</sup> However, his travels and  
acquaintanceships with many pioneer naturalists, mountaineers and  
conservationists in the Pacific Northwest have received only brief mention in  
the better known works about him.<sup>3</sup> His separate trips and meetings in the  
region have not been examined in the broader context of his life and work.  
Muir's published works on the Pacific Northwest are limited, but a close look  
at the letters and journals of his travels in that region clearly show that he was  
well acquainted with the area even before his first visit, and with a wide range  
of important community leaders who shared his views about forests and  
wilderness.<sup>4</sup>

From 1874 until his death in 1914, John Muir studied and explored the  
wonders of Oregon and Washington including the Cascade forests, Columbia  
Gorge, Puget Sound, Mt. Rainier and Crater Lake.

Prior to his first visit, Muir was widely known in the Pacific Northwest  
through his writings. Early in 1879, Muir exchanged letters with P.C. Renfrew,  
an early mountain climber and road builder living outside Eugene, Oregon, after  
whom the Renfrew Glacier on the Middle Sister in the Cascade Range is named.  
Renfrew read Muir's letters to the *San Francisco Bulletin* and other journals for

years "with the greatest benefit and pleasure." Renfrew urged Muir to visit Oregon and explore the Cascades with him. He also provided information, at Muir's request, about the tree species and glacial action around the Three Sisters mountains. In Renfrew's second letter to Muir, he poetically expresses his thanks for the latter's articles and writings: "Need I say that many times I have risen from the perusal of articles closing with your name with 'thank you' in my heart" and "the hope that I may soon clasp your hand and let you hear it from my lips."<sup>5</sup>

More important to an understanding of Muir than his writings was his ability to inspire and influence personally the people he met. Many prominent individuals and close friends have written about how well Muir could "convey to others the full measure of his own enthusiasm" for the wilderness.<sup>6</sup> The noted naturalist John Burroughs wrote that "[n]o one could thoroughly know John Muir, or feel his power... until he met him."<sup>7</sup> Muir's gift of speech was clearly the source of his effectiveness and ultimately his influence. He was a "great talker, but not a loud talker." He was described as "argumentative" but "rarely aggressive or disagreeable" with a "keen sense of humor and was something of a tease."<sup>8</sup> His friend Marion Randall Parsons wrote that "[h]is speech had all the beauty of phrase, the force and vigor of style of his written word, but with an added spell of fire and enthusiasm and glowing vitality that made it an inspiration and never ending delight."<sup>9</sup> The "bullish" Teddy Roosevelt observed: "John Muir talked even better than he wrote. His greatest influence was always upon those who were brought into personal contact with him."<sup>10</sup>

What is apparent from the record of Muir's travels and continuing relationships in the Pacific Northwest was his power and ability to influence people even after only a brief encounter. Some have written about his impact on them while, for others, we can only infer that Muir had an affect on their later activities and writings. There is no doubt that Muir influenced many of the pioneer conservationists in the Pacific Northwest and that they, in turn, also made a strong impression on him. While John Muir is not directly responsible for their choices, he certainly motivated or reinforced their mutual interests in the protection of the region's forest wilderness. In turn, he provided a national voice for their views.

Among the many people Muir met were those who then or later became active in the region's conservation affairs. Of these, six persons deserve special mention. These are Robert Moran,<sup>11</sup> Judge John Waldo,<sup>12</sup> Lester Leander (L.L.) Hawkins,<sup>13</sup> William Gladstone Steel,<sup>14</sup> Philemon Beecher (P.B.) Van Trump<sup>15</sup> and Edmond S. Meany.<sup>16</sup> Each one became a leader in citizen efforts to protect Mt. Rainier or Crater Lake as well as to establish forest reserves and state and local parks in the northwest. Each became acquainted with and were possibly influenced by John Muir, and they in turn may have influenced him. Together they helped Muir and supported each others' conservation efforts and eventually

established the foundation for the early conservation movement on the Pacific Coast.

At the beginning of Muir's first trip to Alaska in 1879, he met Robert Moran who was the ship's engineer on board the *Cassair* in 1879 and later on the *Gertrude* in 1880. Before coming to Alaska, Moran earned his living in logging camps and on river boats. Author Linnie Wolfe notes that Muir and Moran continually "hobnobbed" in the engine room and that Moran provided Muir with "much first hand knowledge about forest destruction in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia."<sup>17</sup> These conversations no doubt provided Muir with additional information to support his recent writings and lectures in the late 1870's about the increasing problem of forest destruction and the need for forest conservation.<sup>18</sup>

Muir's conversations with Moran also provide one of the clearest indications of the former's ability to influence others. After these brief encounters, they had no further contact except for a short letter in 1912 from Moran to Muir. In this letter, Moran reintroduces himself to Muir and notes that "our mutual friend Professor Meany recalled to my mind our acquaintance in Alaska."<sup>19</sup> Moran's interest in conservation is not apparent until his retirement in 1904 to Orcas Island in Puget Sound. His estate, "Rosario" initially included about 3,000 forested acres around Mt. Constitution. Over the years he continued to buy more forest land on the island and, starting in 1911, tried to donate the land to the State of Washington for a park. At first, the state refused the donation, but finally after a long campaign, the gift was accepted and Robert Moran State Park established in 1921. The park now includes over 5,000 acres donated by Moran. In 1919, he was a founder and later vice president of the National Park Foundation of Washington at the instigation of Stephen Mather, the first Director of the National Park Service.<sup>20</sup> Important to our inquiry here is Linnie Wolfe's note that Moran "attributed to Muir's influence the fact that he became a conservationist."<sup>21</sup>

Muir's visit to Portland, in January 1880, established his reputation and many of his principal contacts in the Pacific Northwest. After six months in Alaska, Muir returned to Oregon intent on exploring the Columbia River Gorge and then returning quickly home to his intended, Louie Strentzel. Unfortunately, he reported, he was "pounced upon" to lecture about his travels in Alaska and allowed himself "to be entangled in a snarl of lectures while trying to keep free and make haste to home."<sup>22</sup> While in town, he visited Dr. Lindsley, one of the Presbyterian ministers he met en route to Alaska who was a very prominent member of the Portland community. Through Dr. Lindsley he probably met others who shared his interest in the Alaskan wilderness.<sup>23</sup>

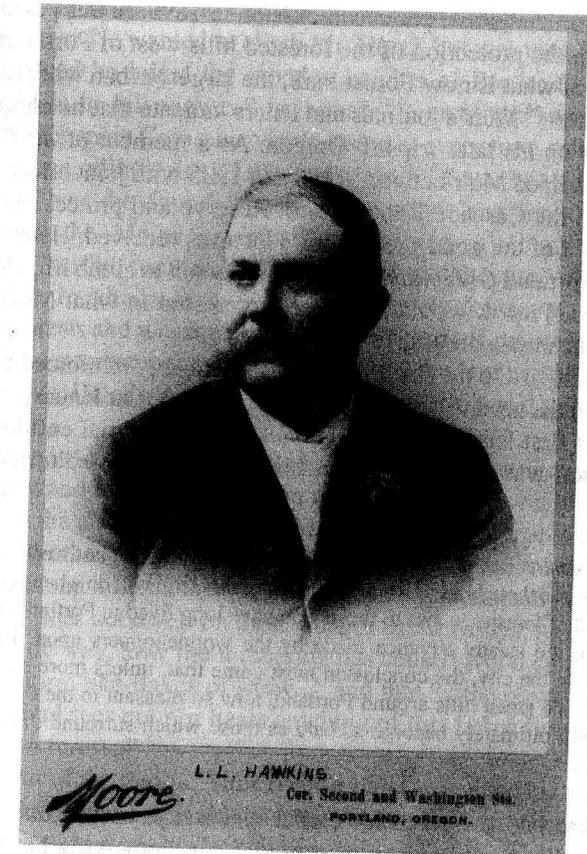
The Natural Science Association sponsored three "illustrated" lectures entitled "The Glaciers of Alaska and California"; "Earth Sculpture: The Formation of Scenery"; and "Resources and Gold Fields of Alaska."<sup>24</sup> The

*Oregonian*, Portland's main newspaper, encouraged attendance by running several articles about the lectures. The promotional articles mentioned that the "celebrated geologist and naturalist" who had written for *Harper's* and *Scribner's* magazines, had "a national reputation second only to that of [Louis] Agassiz," the noted geologist.<sup>25</sup>

The lectures received extensive coverage in the *Oregonian* and provided a welcome opportunity for those already familiar with Muir's writings and explorations about Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada. The lectures captivated his audiences. The *Oregonian* reported that with a "slightly peculiar enunciation"<sup>26</sup> he spoke to standing-room-only crowds without interruption for up to two hours. His talks were "intellectual and entertaining" and "free from the technical and usually unintelligible terms which characterize scientific addresses."<sup>27</sup> After his first lecture, the *Oregonian* reported that Muir "has been for years a patient and conscientious student of nature amid solemn, silent grandeur, and the scenes he thus gazed upon seem to have left their stamp upon him."<sup>28</sup> The noted Civil War General O.O. Howard wrote how Muir's "whole face lighted up as he talked of the youth of the world, the present morning of creation, [and] the beginning of the work of the infinite..."<sup>29</sup> No record exists of everyone Muir met in Portland, but based on letters, diaries and the news coverage, it is clear that many other individuals known to be active in scientific, civic, business and conservation activities were present.

One of the most prominent persons to attend Muir's lectures was United States District Judge Mathew Deady accompanied by his son. Possibly as a result of the lectures, Deady went on his own trip to Alaska later in July 1880, to see the glaciers and crossed paths with Muir again. In his diary he notes that, "I am not surprised now that he [Muir] has become possessed about glaciers."<sup>30</sup> Also present was Oregon Supreme Court Justice John Breckenridge Waldo.<sup>31</sup> Waldo made annual trips to the high Cascades from the late 1870s until his death in 1907. His letters and diaries, although not as poetic as Muir's, provide an extensive record of this travels and observations of the Cascade Range during this time. Waldo was inspired enough by Muir's lectures that he and his wife began to plan a trip to Alaska, but it is not known whether they ever traveled there. Judge Waldo became one of the leading advocates for the protection of Oregon's Cascade Range Forest Reserve.<sup>32</sup> No known record exists of any other meeting or letters between them, but given the reaction of others to Muir's lectures, Waldo's attendance could only serve to reinforce his own basic love of the wilderness. It is likely that Muir's later contacts with other northwest conservationists brought Judge Waldo's well-known activities to his attention.<sup>33</sup>

Muir probably reestablished his acquaintance with L.L. Hawkins during his stay in Portland. Hawkins was "one of the most colorful personalities in Portland history."<sup>34</sup> He originally met and camped with Muir as a member of Joseph LeConte's trip to the High Sierra in 1870.<sup>35</sup> Muir was introduced at the



Lester Leander (L.L.) Hawkins, ca. 1895; founding member of Mazamas and long-time friend of John Muir (photo courtesy of the Mazamas, Portland, Oregon)

lectures by Dr. George Chance,<sup>36</sup> a prominent dentist involved in a wide range of civic and scientific activities. Dr. Chance was on the board of a local scientific and industrial group known as the Portland Mechanics Fair with L.L. Hawkins.<sup>37</sup> Given Hawkins' friendship with Dr. Chance, the extensive press coverage and his prior camping trip with Muir, one must assume that probably Hawkins either attended Muir's lectures or visited with him while in Portland.

Hawkins was involved in a wide range of business as well as outdoor activities. In 1894, he was a founding member of the Mazamas, a northwest

mountaineering club, and later became its second President.<sup>38</sup> He also was appointed to Portland's first parks commission in 1899. In this position, he was instrumental in the protection of the forested hills west of Portland and in the establishment of what is now Forest Park, the largest urban wilderness park in the United States.<sup>39</sup> Muir's journals and letters indicate that he continually met with Hawkins on his later trips to Oregon. As a member of the Sierra Club, Hawkins also helped Muir between 1896 and 1905 with joint efforts by the two clubs to retain the Cascade Range Forest Reserve and protect Mt. Rainier.<sup>40</sup> Finally, in light of the good press Muir's lectures received, Henry L. Pittock, owner of the Portland *Oregonian* and the first person to climb Mt. Hood in 1857 likely attended. Pittock would have been interested in what Muir had to say about the Alaskan wilderness.<sup>41</sup>

Muir's first visit to the Pacific Northwest probably reinforced his emerging concerns about the need to protect the nation's forests. On January 12, 1880, the day of Muir's first lecture, the *Oregonian* ran an editorial entitled "Save the Timber" which was likely to attract his attention. The editorial sounded a warning:

The great destruction of timber, caused by the great storm of last week, naturally awakens some thought as to what the people of this land will do when the country is denuded of forests. . . .but to those who have long lived in Portland, and who have seen the steady advance made by the woodchoppers upon the groves surrounding the city, the conclusion must come that, unless more economy is practiced, the green hills around Portland, now so pleasant to the eye of every visitor, will ultimately become as bald as those which surround those of San Francisco.<sup>42</sup>

This editorial, as well as his earlier discussions with Robert Moran and others, certainly would have strengthened Muir's emerging beliefs about the need for greater forest protection during this critical time when his philosophy was clearly evolving from "poetry to politics."<sup>43</sup>

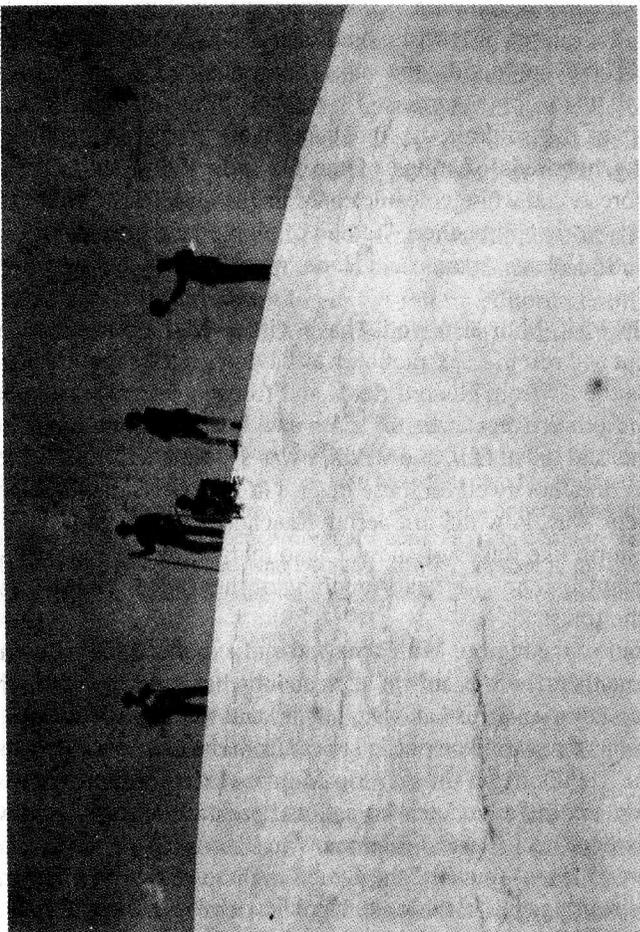
Muir's next extended trip to the Pacific Northwest was in 1888 and allowed him to explore the region further.<sup>44</sup> Accompanied by his good friend, the painter William Keith, he visited many of the region's most beautiful places including Mt. Rainier, Snoqualmie Falls, the Columbia River Gorge, Multnomah Falls and Crater Lake. It was a leisurely trip "along the lines of ordinary travel" featuring travel by train and horseback, stays in hotels and some camping.<sup>45</sup> But Muir's preference was clearly stated: "only by going alone in silence without baggage can one truly get into the heart of the wilderness. All other travel is mere dust & hotels & baggage and chatter..."<sup>46</sup> He gathered information for a series of articles later published in *Picturesque California* in 1889. His most complete descriptions of the Pacific Northwest's diverse landscapes are found in his essays entitled "The Basin of the Columbia River" and "Washington and Puget

Sound."<sup>47</sup>

Of the region's beauty and vast forests, the snow-capped mountains clearly caught Muir's eye. He wanted to climb Mt. Hood, but was unable to do so due to illness. Instead he hiked the wooded heights of Portland's west hills.<sup>48</sup> "Mount Hood is in full view..." he wrote. "It gives the supreme touch of grandeur to all the main Columbia views, rising at every turn, solitary, majestic, awe inspiring, the ruling spirit of the landscape."<sup>49</sup> Later he was able to climb Mt. Rainier. There he found "the most luxuriant and most extravagantly beautiful of all the Alpine gardens I ever beheld in all my mountain-top wanderings." On the summit, he looked out at "the vast maplike views, comprehending hundreds of miles of the Cascade Range, with their black interminable forests and white volcanic cones in glorious array reaching far into Oregon..." As a storm approached, "[s]oon of all the land only the summits of the mountains, St. Helens, Adams, and Hood, were left in sight, forming islands in the sky."<sup>50</sup>

During the visit, Muir also would have witnessed the tremendous impact rapid settlement and resource extraction was having on the region at that time: smoke choked the air from cleared fields and forests; animal waste made the Willamette and other rivers unfit to drink; sawdust from countless sawmills clogged streams and killed fish, and wildlife was systematically slaughtered.<sup>51</sup> Although Muir does not dwell on these images in his essays, he does describe, in his own poetic way, how the lumbering has caused wood chips to fall "...in [a] perpetual storm like flakes of snow..." and that "...the observer coming up the [Puget] Sound sees not nor hears anything of this fierce storm of steel that is devouring the forests."<sup>52</sup>

On this tour of the region, Muir renewed and expanded his acquaintances in the area. From them, he was able to learn about what had occurred in the way of forest conservation since his last visit in 1880 and to establish the network of concerned persons that would be needed to confront the conservation issues that emerged in the 1890's. Also on this trip Muir met two of the region's most active mountaineers and advocates for national parks and forest conservation: William Gladstone Steel<sup>53</sup> and Philemon Van Trump.<sup>54</sup> Besides efforts to protect the forests, Steel founded the Oregon Alpine Club in 1887, the first known mountaineering club in the west. Upon its demise, he would later found the Mazamas in 1894 together with his friend, L.L. Hawkins.<sup>55</sup> Van Trump was in the first party to climb Mt. Rainier in 1870 and "climbed side by side" with Muir to the top "listening to his interesting talk."<sup>56</sup> Two others on the climb were Edward S. Ingraham, who named "Camp Muir," the primary base camp for climbs to the summit, and then student Charles V. Piper, who later became one of the most widely respected pioneer botanists in the Pacific Northwest.<sup>57</sup> Muir was able to learn from them and others about the region's emerging conservation issues.



John Muir's party on top of Mt. Rainier, August 1888, by A.C. Warner. This is the first known photograph taken on the summit (John Muir Papers, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library. Copyright 1984 by Muir-Hanna Trust)

While Muir was away between 1880 and 1888, efforts began to place off limits, that is, reserve, the forest lands of the Cascades from private acquisition and settlement under the nation's land laws. The effort in Oregon was led by Steel and Waldo. Steel, after a trip to Crater Lake in 1885, wanted to create a national park around the lake. Working with Judge Waldo, he circulated a petition urging President Cleveland to reserve the area from future homestead and timber claims under the general land laws. The petition received broad local support, including apparently many of those who heard Muir lecture in 1880; and on February 1, 1886, the Crater Lake Reserve was temporarily withdrawn from settlement claims pending legislation to create a public park.<sup>58</sup> But this was not enough. Steel and Waldo then started a campaign to create a forest reserve for the entire Cascade Range of Oregon. This was finally achieved in 1893.<sup>59</sup> Steel's tireless efforts to protect Crater Lake succeeded with the establishment of Crater Lake National Park in 1902.<sup>60</sup>

How much Muir learned about specific developments is unclear, but certainly he was told by Will Steel about the recent and ongoing activities of Waldo and others to protect Crater Lake and the forests of the Cascade Range. Later Muir lent his support to these efforts, writing: "Surely out of all of Oregon's abounding forest wealth a few specimens might be spared to the world, not as dead lumber, but as living trees. A park of moderate extent might be set apart and protected for public use forever, containing at least a few hundreds of each of these noble [sugar] pines, spruces and firs." To those who would do this, Muir wrote, "The trees and their lovers will sing their praises, and generations yet unborn will rise up and call them blessed."<sup>61</sup>

Oregon's Cascade Range forests received formal protection in 1892-93 under the 1891 Land Revision Act.<sup>62</sup> This act allowed the president to set aside forest lands as public reservations. Three were initially established in Oregon. The Bull Run and Ashland Forest Reserves were relatively small areas withdrawn to protect the watersheds for the cities of Portland and Ashland. The Cascade Reserve, over four million acres, stretched from Mt. Hood to Crater Lake.<sup>63</sup>

Unlike Oregon, citizen efforts in Washington to establish parks and forest reserves apparently did not begin until after passage of the 1891 Land Revision Act. Early support came from some of the pioneer climbers of Mt. Rainier, most notably Van Trump. His advocacy and writings provided local support for the president to set apart the mountain and its environs as a "national park or reserve" especially after the Bull Run Reserve was created on Mt. Hood.<sup>64</sup> Shortly after the Oregon reserves were set aside, the Pacific Forest Reserve, established in early 1893, consisted of almost one million acres around Mt. Rainier. Although Muir did not suggest a park or forest reserve for Mt. Rainier in *Picturesque California*, as he did for Oregon's Cascade forest lands, it is possible that he discussed the idea with Van Trump and others on the climb.<sup>65</sup>

After creation of the Pacific Forest Reserve, Muir, Van Trump and others helped initiate a campaign to establish Mt. Rainier National Park.

Five scientific societies including the Sierra Club appointed committees in a cooperative effort to secure legislation for the park in 1893–94.<sup>66</sup> John Muir led the Sierra Club's committee which also included Van Trump and George Bayley, a climbing companion of both Muir and Van Trump.<sup>67</sup> The club's directors approved a resolution in support of establishing a national park, and the *Sierra Club Bulletin* published Van Trump's account of his 1892 climb of Mt. Rainier with Bayley.<sup>68</sup> Finally in July, the groups issued a joint report calling for the establishment of the park ". . . not merely because it is superbly majestic. . ." but also because of its ecological value as ". . . an arctic island in a temperate zone."<sup>69</sup>

However, before the campaign to establish Mt. Rainier National Park could be completed, the established Forest Reserves in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere came under attack. Early in 1896, Oregon's congressional delegation made a concerted effort on behalf of grazing interests to reduce significantly the size of the Cascade Range Forest Reserve. Muir, informed by his friend Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of *Century Magazine*, of the efforts of "the Oregon sheepman" [sic] to reduce the Cascade Forest Reserve, "got the [Sierra] Club Director's to pass a strong resolution against reducing the area of the Cascade Reservation or any other..."<sup>70</sup> The resolution "unalterably" opposed the reduction of "any forest reservation."<sup>71</sup> Steel and Waldo rallied the Mazamas to organize a national campaign to protect the Cascade Reserve and they sought Muir's support for their effort.<sup>72</sup> Later in May, the Reverend Earl Morse Wilbur, a member of the Mazamas' Executive Council, attended a Sierra Club meeting where the forest situation was discussed, and a week later he spent a day at Muir's home in Martinez. Muir was impressed by Reverend Wilbur: "a pleasant intelligent gentleman" he wrote and was apparently intrigued that he was both a "minister and mountaineer."<sup>73</sup> During their visit, Muir and Wilbur made plans for the National Forestry Commission's visit to the Pacific Northwest, including Mt. Rainier and Crater Lake scheduled for August.<sup>74</sup>

The National Forestry Commission was appointed by the National Academy of Science at the request of the Secretary of Interior. The commission was comprised of the country's leading forestry experts and Muir was invited to accompany them on their trip.<sup>75</sup> Because of the controversy over the forest reserves, the commission was instructed to survey the existing reserves, other forested areas, and recommend a national forestry policy for them. Pending the results of the commission's report, efforts to break up the current reserves were put aside.<sup>76</sup>

In July, Muir left the Forestry Commission for a previously planned trip to Alaska. En route back to San Francisco, he met with "Mr. Van Trump at Yelm" (near Mt. Rainier) and in Portland with "Mr. Hawkins who showed me the city

and introduced me to many Mazamas and others."<sup>77</sup> These meetings no doubt focussed on protecting the Pacific and Cascade Range Forest Reserves and the planned visit of the Forestry Commission. Muir's statement to the *Oregonian* shows that he understood the difficulty in establishing a national forestry policy. It foreshadows the eventual split with Gifford Pinchot over how to preserve the forests and still provide a supply of timber. As reported, Muir, "a lover of forests" and the "self-appointed inspector of Gorges, Glaciers and Forests," said:

Simply withdrawing timber lands from [homestead] entry is only the first step. Something must be done to preserve and perpetuate the forests, for the timber must ultimately be used. The forest must be able to yield a perennial supply of timber, without being destroyed or injuriously affecting the rainfall, thus securing all the benefits of a forest, and at the same time a good supply of timber. The establishment of national parks and [forest] reserves is only the beginning of the work necessary to secure these lands.

The destruction of forests by the sheepmen and lumbermen would be an inexpressible calamity, as those forests protect the sources of rivers. Every sawmill is a center of destruction, owing to the wasteful methods of lumbering practice, by which the old trees and saplings alike are destroyed. No civilized government under the sun leaves its forests to be destroyed without care, except the United States government.<sup>78</sup>

After he returned from Alaska, Muir rejoined the Forestry Commission in Ashland and set out for the "remarkable Crater Lake," the "one grand wonder of the region."<sup>79</sup> Will Steel and other Mazamas guided the group. Unfortunately, the commission's stay was cut short because of poor weather and they left after only two days for Mt. Shasta and the redwood forests of northern California.<sup>80</sup>

In early 1897, the commission's final report became the basis for President Cleveland's executive order establishing thirteen new forest reserves. Three new reserves were created in the Pacific Northwest: the Olympic Reserve, a new area around Mt. Baker in the North Cascades and an expansion to the Pacific Reserve around Mt. Rainier south to the Columbia River. The report also recommended national park status for Mt. Rainier but not for Crater Lake.<sup>81</sup> This may have strained Muir's relationship with Will Steel and explain both Muir's reluctance later to support actively the same park status for Crater Lake and Steel's noticeable absence from the campaign to protect the Hetch-Hetchy valley in Yosemite.<sup>82</sup>

The commission's report no doubt revived the campaign for the establishment of Mt. Rainier National Park which was finally accomplished in 1899. For his part, Muir finally provided the broad national coverage the effort needed in his well-known essay "The Wild Parks and Forest Reservations of the West" published in 1898. There he wrote:



Mazama climb of Mt. Pitt (McLoughlin) enroute to Crater Lake, 1896. Northwest friends of Muir include from left to right: Will Steel (derby hat); Henry Pittock (bearded standing in middle); Edward Parsons (standing second on right); Reverend Earl Wilbur (standing far right); and Charles Sholes (seated fourth from right). ( Photo courtesy of the Mazamas, Portland, Oregon)

The Mt. Rainier forest reserve should be made a national park and guarded while yet its bloom is on; for 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. . . . Altogether this is the richest subalpine garden I ever found, a perfect floral elysium. The icy dome needs none of man's care, but unless the reserve is guarded, the flower bloom will soon be killed, and nothing of the forests will be left but black stump monuments.<sup>83</sup>

In 1899, Muir stopped again in Portland to join the Alaska Expedition organized by Edward Harriman owner of the Southern Pacific Railroad.<sup>84</sup> It was on this trip Muir first met Edward Harriman and established a friendship that later aided Muir's efforts to rejoin Yosemite Valley with the surrounding National Park.<sup>85</sup> Muir attended a reception hosted by the Mazamas, where he met "some of the old scientific society who got [him] to lecture 20 years ago."<sup>86</sup>

At the reception, Muir discussed with Steel, Hawkins and others the need to protect the forest reserves from sheep grazing. Nationally, grazing in the forest reserves was very controversial, and especially so in Oregon. In 1897, Pinchot commissioned a special study on the effects of grazing on forest lands in the Oregon Cascades. The report was considered "a model of fairness and thoroughness, sympathetic to needs of sheepmen but at the same time recognizing the need of regulations."<sup>87</sup> Based on this study, Pinchot opened up the forest reserves in the region to sheep grazing. Local conservationists split over the issue with Judge Waldo supporting some grazing while the Mazamas were unsure.<sup>88</sup>

Muir's journal reports his frustration over the Mazamas lack of concern about sheep grazing in the Forest Reserves:

On the 29th, met Judge George. Had long talk on forest protection, found him lukewarm. Mr. Steel uncertain on the same subject. Told him forest protection was the right side and he had better get on record on that side as soon as possible. He promised to do what he could against sheep pasture in the Rainier Park and also in the Cascade reservation. Met Hawkins said he did not like to fight like Quixote on sheep question or any other, fat, easy—and obliging.<sup>89</sup>

Muir felt that without a good fight, Pinchot's policy would lead to renewed grazing in the Sierra reserves. Thus, following the meeting, Muir characteristically issued a strong denunciation of continued sheep grazing in the Cascade Reservation.

Better bring the bands of sheep right into the city of Portland and let them denude every lawn and destroy every flower garden than permit them on the forest reserves. . . . What rights have the sheepmen to graze their flocks there? If they actually had rights there the general good would warrant [sic] extreme measures to extinguish those rights. But they have none. Therefore, why should they be

permitted to enjoy favors that threaten prodigious injury, not merely to the locality, but to the whole state and a great deal more? . . . This question ought to be kept alive. The people ought to be roused to a full appreciation of the harm that would come from opening the reserves for grazing. There is no question about their protecting such great interests when they understand the matter.<sup>90</sup>

The next day the *Oregonian* wrote an editorial in support of Muir's position. Using "vigorous language," Muir went on record "against opening the forest reserves to those who want to let sheep graze on those lands. . . . The American bison is extinct, but the timber wealth of our coast ought to be more sacred than wild cattle on the hoof."<sup>91</sup> Muir's blast and the editorial opened up a firestorm of controversy with letters, pro and con, appearing regularly in the *Oregonian* for the rest of the summer and well into the fall.<sup>92</sup> Steel kept his word and got on the "right side" of the issue with a strong condemnation of sheep grazing published later in the *Oregonian*.<sup>93</sup> Van Trump also joined Muir and Steel in opposing continued sheep grazing in the newly created Mt. Rainier National Park.<sup>94</sup>

What emerged from Muir's visits, and conservation activities was a network of individuals dedicated to the protection of the forests, wilderness areas and park lands of the Pacific Northwest. Besides their informal efforts during the 1890's, this early network of conservation leaders developed further during the joint Sierra Club Mazama climbing trip to Mt. Hood and Mt. Rainier in 1905. This outing brought together an impressive group of over two hundred pioneer mountaineers and conservationists who had heard and been inspired by Muir's wilderness gospel.<sup>95</sup>

Although Muir could not attend, this trip firmly "united in indissoluble bonds the Mazama and Sierra Clubs"<sup>96</sup> and established a working relationship between the leadership of the two groups.<sup>97</sup> The outing included local hikes, a special Mazamas Day at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland and boat trip on the Columbia River. Leading the Sierra Club delegation were many of its active leaders including William Colby, Edward T. Parsons, Joseph N. LeConte and forestry expert, Professor William Dudley of Stanford. The Mazama's contingent included past presidents Charles Sholes, Rodney Glisan, Steel and Hawkins, as well as local historian Prof. William Lyman and Seattle photographer Ashael Curtis. Two of the Pacific Northwest's most famous mountaineers were also present: former Mazama President Henry L. Pittock, the first to scale Mt. Hood in 1857 and General Hazard Stevens, the first atop Mt. Rainier with Van Trump in 1870.<sup>98</sup> Last, an unknown businessman from Chicago, Stephen Mather, later to become the first Director of the National Park Service, traveled west for the climb. "It plunged him deep into California save-the-forest circles and put his inexhaustible team behind the conservation cause for life."<sup>99</sup>

The outing's initial result was an effort to improve the protection of Mt.

Rainier National Park. After the climb, a joint committee prepared a report to the president and Secretary of the Interior on the present condition of the park and recommended appropriate action to "preserve it in its native attractiveness for generations to come" and to develop "a carefully considered system of roads and trails connecting the park's main features" especially a trail around the mountain to access its many glaciers.<sup>100</sup> It also helped to enlist northwest conservationists in John Muir's final crusade to protect Yosemite's Hetch-Hetchy Valley and the integrity of national parks everywhere.

Between 1907 and 1913, the national campaign to protect Hetch-Hetchy Valley developed. Early in 1907, the city of San Francisco renewed its request to dam the Tuolumne River in the Hetch-Hetchy Valley of Yosemite National Park. Muir's strongest supporters in opposing this threat to the park were Colby, Parsons and LeConte all part of the 1905 outing to Mt. Rainier.<sup>101</sup> They decided to seek support from around the country including many of the Mazamas they met in 1905. Colby and Parsons clearly had deep ties to the Mazamas<sup>102</sup> and probably at Parson's request, their president, Charles Sholes, also a member of the 1905 outing and earlier climbs with him, wrote a strong letter to the Secretary of Interior opposing the dam.<sup>103</sup> After the permit for the dam was granted by the Interior Secretary early in 1908, Muir and his supporters shifted their attention to prevent the needed Congressional approvals. Parsons again sought help from his friends in the Pacific Northwest.<sup>104</sup> Sholes wrote to the President and the Oregon congressional delegation opposing the dam. Muir thanked Sholes for his support writing: "Victory in this case will go far to save all our noble godful parks."<sup>105</sup>

At the same time, Muir's opposition to the proposed dam was challenged by some of his long-time friends in the Sierra Club.<sup>106</sup> As a counter measure, a new group was created by Muir, Colby and Parsons to support the Sierra Club's efforts to protect Hetch-Hetchy. Called the Society for the Preservation of National Parks, its "Advisory Council" included the following Mazamas, all members of the 1905 outing: Charles Sholes, Henry Pittock, Prof. William Lyman and Rodney Glisan.<sup>107</sup> Later, a contingent of Mazamas, including past president and editor of the *Oregonian*, Henry Pittock, attended the Sierra Club's 1909 summer outing to Yosemite National Park and "the famous Hetch-Hetchy Valley." They were able to meet with Muir and Parsons and likely were treated to a grand discourse about the threat to Hetch-Hetchy.<sup>108</sup> This trip and meeting with Muir reinforced the *Oregonian*'s and Mazamas' continuing opposition to the damming of the valley.<sup>109</sup> Despite all the opposition that was generated by the public and the press nationally as well as in the Pacific Northwest, the proposal to build the dam and flood Hetch-Hetchy forever received final approval from President Wilson on December 19, 1913.<sup>110</sup>

Muir's final trip to Oregon was to Edward Harriman's Pelican Bay Lodge on Klamath Lake just south of Crater Lake in 1908. Here, Harriman induced



John Muir and Henry L. Pittock, owner of the *Portland Oregonian*, and past president of the Mazamas, at Happy Isles, Yosemite National Park, 1909 (John Muir Papers, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library. Copyright 1984 by Muir-Hanna Trust)

Muir to dictate the first part of his autobiography, later published as *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*.<sup>111</sup> While at Pelican Bay, Muir probably joined a trip led by Will Steel to the newly established Crater Lake National Park with Harriman and Oregon Governor George Chamberlain, a friend of Teddy Roosevelt.<sup>112</sup> While still at Pelican Bay, Muir wrote in his journal, "Happy the man to whom every tree is a friend—who loves them, sympathizes with them in their lives in mountain and plain,...while we,...rejoice with and feel the beauty and strength of their every attitude and gesture..."<sup>113</sup>

After that visit and during the intense fight to save Hetch-Hetchy, Muir still retained contact with his friends in the Pacific Northwest. He exchanged several letters with Van Trump that provided support for his efforts to rename Mt. Rainier "Tahoma"<sup>114</sup> and met with Will Steel at the 1912 National Park Conference held at Yosemite National Park.<sup>115</sup> He also sent greetings to the Mountaineers in 1909<sup>116</sup> and again in 1912 for their journal. He wrote: "God guide your climbing, every footstep, mindstep and heartstep, and lead you ever nearer to both heaven and earth."<sup>117</sup>

It was at this time that he exchanged several letters with Edmond S. Meany, President of the Mountaineers. Meany was a great admirer of Muir's and sent greetings to him from Professor Kincaid, a member of the Harriman Expedition as well as Robert Moran and Major Ingraham. Muir's influence on Meany was based on his many essays and books. Their only known meeting was a quick handshake in Seattle just prior to Muir's departure for Alaska with the Harriman party. Meany was inspired by Muir's writings and was "grateful for my share of your life and your work."<sup>118</sup> In June of 1914, Meany invited Muir to join the Mountaineers' upcoming summer outing to Glacier National Park.<sup>119</sup> Muir reluctantly declined noting it was "...a trip according to my own heart both as to the mountains and the mountaineers."<sup>120</sup> On the trip at Glacier, Edmond Meany, penned a poem for his "friend." Near the end of his life, Muir must have found the verse comforting and a warm reminder of his many nights in the wilderness. The poem read:

While at camp in the wildermost Rockies  
Where the stars sent a message I read  
I was gently lured off into slumber  
When the wind played a harp at my bed

From a cleft in the rocks by the river  
A young pine lifted his proud head  
Swayed his plumes of the slenderest needles  
For the harp the wind played at my bed

O, I love all the pines of the mountains  
To their homes I am constantly led  
For I know that I'll hear the quaint music  
When the wind plays a harp at my bed.<sup>121</sup>

In the Pacific Northwest, John Muir camped, climbed and worked with many a friend of the mountains and forests. From his intermittent contacts over the years, a network and movement was forged of people dedicated to the protection of the region's forest wilderness. The continuing debate over the fate of the Pacific Northwest's forests is possible only because of the visionary and tireless efforts of Muir and the many other pioneer conservationists that worked together over the years. They all set the example of how knowledgeable and committed citizens can protect the forests and wild places they love.

## NOTES

---

1. "Says Keep the Sheep Out: John Muir Talks About Maintaining the Forest Reserves," *Oregonian*, May 31, 1899.
2. A representative example includes: Richard F. Fleck, "John Muir's Homage to Henry David Thoreau," *Pacific Historian* 29 (Summer/Fall 1985): 55-64; Edmund A. Schofield, "John Muir's Yankee Friends and Mentors: The New England Connection," *Pacific Historian* 29 (Summer/Fall 1985): 65-89; and Nancy M. Slack, "Botanical Exploration of California from Menzies to Muir (1786-1900) with Special Emphasis on the Sierra Nevada," in *John Muir Life and Work*, edited by Sally M. Miller (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1993).
3. See for example Linnie Marsh Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness: The Life of John Muir* (New York: Knopf, 1945), pp. 204-205, 238-243, 270-271 and 338-339; Frederick Turner, *Rediscovering America: John Muir in His Time and Ours*, (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1985), pp. 262, 273-275 and 345-346; Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston, Little Brown, 1981) p. 86; and Holway R. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1965) pp. 5, n. 6, 16, n. 62, and 1819, n. 75.
4. Muir first viewed Oregon while exploring Mt. Shasta in 1874. Later in 1877, he evidently planned a visit and secured a letter of introduction to Oregon's pioneer geologist, Thomas Condon, a friend and colleague of California geologist Joseph LeConte. Letter of introduction, Charles Allen to Dr. [Thomas] Con[g]don for John Muir, September 5, 1877, JMP. Charles Allen was a former professor of Muir's at the University of Wisconsin. Muir appears to have met Thomas Condon on one of his latter trips to Oregon. Edmond Meany to John Muir, July 8, 1912, Meany Collection University of Washington (MCUW).
5. Two letters from P. C. Renfrew to John Muir, January 3, 1879 and February 26, 1879 in the Microfilm Edition of the *John Muir Papers*, (JMP), University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.
6. Alexander McAide, "Muir of the Mountains," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (January 1916): 22.
7. Burroughs, quoted in Fox, p. 119.

8. C. Hart Merriam, "To the Memory of John Muir," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (January 1917): 147–148.
9. Marion Randall Parsons, "John Muir and the Alaska Book," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (January 1916): 33–34.
10. Teddy Roosevelt, quoted in Fox, p. 126.
11. Robert Moran's conservation activities have received renewed attention in Thomas R. Cox, Chapter 2, "Weldon B. Heyburn and Robert Moran: Two Men and Two Parks" in *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988) pp. 14–31. Also of interest is Christopher M. Peacock, *Rosario Yesterdays: A Pictorial History* (Rosario Productions, 1985). Among the many books about the northwest, Moran's library includes a copy of Muir's *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth* and S. Hall Young's *Alaska Days with John Muir*, both without any signature or inscription.
12. Coverage of Judge Waldo's conservation activities has also recently received increased attention. The primary sources are: Gerald Williams (compiler), *Judge John B. Waldo: Letters and Journals from the High Cascades of Oregon 1877–1907*, USDA Forest Service, 1992; Jeffery M. LeLande, "A Wilderness Journey with Judge John B. Waldo, Oregon's First 'Preservationist,'" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 90 (Summer 1989): 117–166; and Gerald Williams and Stephen R. Mark (compilers), *Establishing and Defending the Cascade Range Forest Reserve: As Found in the Letters of William G. Steel, John B. Waldo and Others Supplemented by Newspapers, Magazines, and Official Reports 1885–1912*, Roseberg, Eugene, and Crater Lake, Oregon USDA Forest Service and USDI National Park Service, Crater Lake National Park, 1993.
13. Although L.L. Hawkins is mentioned consistently in Muir's northwest journals and in LeConte's *Ramblings*, no one has examined their relationship or Hawkin's conservation activities. An extensive biographical note about him is in Joseph Gaston, *The City of Portland, Oregon: Its History and Builders*, (Portland, Oregon, 1911) Volume II, pp. 358–374. Other information is found in: Joseph LeConte, "Ramblings Through the High Sierra," *Sierra Club Bulletin* III (January 1900): 1–107; F. Kimbark MacColl, *The Shaping of a City: Business and Politics in Portland, Oregon 1885–1915*, Portland, Georgian Press Co. 1976) pp. 158, 266 and 272; and Thornton T. Munger in collaboration with C. Paul Keyser, *History of Portland's Forest Park* (Portland, Forest

- Park Committee of Fifty, 1960) pp. 30–32. Also see note 35.
14. From citizen activist to Superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, William Steel was the most active conservationist of his time in the Pacific Northwest. No biography has been written yet, but he left an extensive record of his conservation work. The most impressive is the *Steel Scrapbooks*, a collection of news clips, articles and letters about Oregon conservation issues especially regarding the Cascade Range Forest Reserve and Crater Lake. The *Scrapbooks* are the basis for Williams and Marks' *Establishing and Defending the Cascade Range Forest Reserve*, supra. Also of interest are: William Steel, *The Mountains of Oregon*, Portland, 1890; Jack Grauer, *Mt. Hood: A Complete History*, Portland, Oregon, 1975, pp. 109–112, 129–146 and Stephen R. Mark, "Seventeen Years to Success: John Muir, William Gladstone Steel and the Creation of Yosemite and Crater Lake National Parks," *Mazama* (December 1990): 5–16.
15. Philemon Beecher (P.B.) Van Trump was the pioneering mountain climber on Mt. Rainier. He made at least 5 climbs to the summit between 1870 to 1892 including the first successful ascent in 1870. He guided Muir to the summit in 1888 as well as his California climbing companion George Bayley in 1883 and 1892. He became one of first Sierra Club members outside of California in 1893. The most complete description of his climbing and conservation activities as well as references to his many articles can be found in Aubrey L. Haines, *Mountain Fever: Historic Conquests of Rainier* (Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1962). For additional sources see notes 50 and 64–68, supra.
16. Professor Edmond S. Meany taught history at the University of Washington and was President of the Mountaineers, a Washington-based mountaineering club founded in 1906. Meany became president in 1908 and was urged by friends to remain so "like John Muir of the Sierra Club" which he did until 1935. He was a close friend of Robert Moran and supported his efforts to establish Moran State Park as well as other campaigns to protect the parks and forests of Washington. He is the editor of *Mt. Rainier: A Record of Exploration* (Portland, Binford's, 1916). For more information see Lydia Forsyth, "A Word Portrait of Edmond S. Meany," *The Mountaineer*, 50 December 1956: 26–33 and notes 19, 50 and 118.
17. Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, pp. 205–206.

18. For more about this development in Muir's philosophy and activities see Robert Engberg, "John Muir: From Poetry to Politics, 1871-1876," 25 *Pacific Historian* (Summer 1981): 10-19 and Robert Engberg, "John Muir's 'Great Evils from Destruction of Forests,'" 25 *Pacific Historian*, (Winter, 1981): 10-14.
19. Robert Moran to John Muir, October 5, 1912, JMP. Professor Meany had recently written to Muir and took the opportunity to reintroduce Moran and tell Muir about Moran's efforts to establish a state park on Orcas Island. See Edmond S. Meany to John Muir, September 10, 1912, JMP.
20. Cox, *The Park Builders*, pp. 23-31.
21. Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, p. 208.
22. John Muir to Louie Strentzel, January 6, 1880, JMP.
23. Ibid. and Emily Lindsley Ross to John Muir, August 7, 1907, JMP. Dr. Lindsley was an active supporter of the local YMCA along with General O.O. Howard which may explain how Muir's lecture in Vancouver was arranged later in January. Also, see notes 25 and 29.
24. Paid announcements and ticket information for these lectures were in the *Oregonian* on January 7, 9, 12, 14-17, 20, and 22 of 1880.
25. "Alaska's Wonderful Glaciers," *Oregonian*, January 5, 1880. Other articles about Muir's lectures ran in the *Oregonian* on January 9, 12, 13, 20, 23 and 24 of 1880.
26. O.O. Howard (Letter to the Editor), "Glaciers in Alaska: An Enthusiastic Report of John Muir's Lecture at Vancouver," *Oregonian*, January 24, 1880.
27. "Prof. Muir's Lecture To-Night," *Oregonian*, January 12, 1880.
28. "Mr. Muir's Lecture," *Oregonian*, January 13, 1880.
29. O.O. Howard (Letter to the Editor), "Glaciers in Alaska: An Enthusiastic Report of John Muir's Lecture at Vancouver" *Oregonian*, January 24, 1880. This letter provides a very detailed description of Muir's lecture including his subject, order of presentation, use of sketches and manner of delivery. General Oliver Otis Howard was Commander of the Department of the Columbia for the United States Army and a highly decorated veteran of the Civil War and visited Alaska for the Army in 1875. However, he is best known for his capture of Chief Joseph and the

- Nez Percé Indians in 1877. General Howard's assistant, Lt. Charles Erskine (C.E.S.) Wood, may also have attended one of Muir's lectures. He explored Glacier Bay two years before Muir in 1877. He and Muir "had a long interesting talk" about their mutual explorations while Muir made a brief stop at Portland in 1898; John Muir to Helen Muir, September 10, 1898, JMP. For more about the "discovery" of Glacier Bay by Muir and Wood see David Bohn, *Glacier Bay: The Land and the Silence* (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1967) pp. 43-45 and C.E.S. Wood, "Among the Thlinkits of Alaska," *Century Magazine* (July 1882) 323-339.
30. Judge Deady in Malcolm Clark (editor), *Pharisee Among Philistines: The Diary of Judge Mathew P. Deady 1871-1892* (Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1972), pp. 298 and 313.
31. Clara Waldo to Judge John Waldo, Portland, September 13. Typescript of letter provided to author by Judge Waldo's great grandson, Brian Johnson of Monmouth, Oregon. Mr. Johnson believes that based on other references in the letter, it was written sometime between Muir's lecture in 1880 and 1882.
32. See notes 12 and 14.
33. Given the close collaboration between Judge Waldo and Will Steel, Steel no doubt told Muir of Waldo's activities. Judge Waldo was at the northeast rim of Crater Lake in 1896 but for unexplained reasons did not make it around to join Steel and Muir with the National Forestry Commission at the south rim. The bad weather and heavy smoke may have been the reason. See Gerald Williams (compiler), *Judge John B. Waldo*, p.188.
34. MacColl, *The Shaping of a City*, p. 158.
35. LeConte, *Ramblings Through the High Sierra*, p. 44 and 56. Hawkins remained a life-long friend of Joseph LeConte and delivered a eulogy to him on the summit of Mt. Hood during the 1901 Mazamas' summer outing. Details of the friendship, after their "ramblings" in 1870, are unknown but always noted, see Gaston, p. 365; Gauer, pp. 135-136 and "Absent from Mazama Camp Fires," *Mazama*, March 1907: 74.
36. "Mr. Muir's Lecture," *Oregonian*, January 13, 1880. Although Dr. Chance is not noted for any conservation activities, he and Muir kept in touch over the years. Muir's journals note meeting with him on his visits to Portland in 1896, 1898 and 1899. Muir's 1896 journal included a

reminder to send Dr. Chance a copy of the *Sierra Club Bulletin*.

37. Harvey Scott, *History of the Oregon Country*, Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1924, Vol. III, 214–215.
38. *Mazama History*, The Mazamas (Portland, Oregon, 1932) pp. 33 and Grauer, p.144.
39. Munger, *History of Portland's Forest Park*, pp.1 and 30–32.
40. Muir's journals note meetings with Hawkins on July 22, 1896, September 9, 1898, and May 29, 1899. He also assisted with the joint Sierra Club/Mazama climbs of Mt. Hood and Mt. Rainier in 1905, see note 13.
41. Grauer, *Mt. Hood*, pp. 199–200.
42. "Save the Timber" *Oregonian*, January 12, 1880.
43. Again see note 17 and what follows.
44. In 1885, Muir passed through Portland on the train enroute to see his family in Wisconsin. Except for a brief description of the Columbia Gorge and Multnomah Falls there are no additional journal entries or letters regarding his stopover in Portland or whom he may have visited.
45. John Muir to Louie Strentzel, July 19, 1888, JMP.
46. John Muir to Louie Strentzel, July 23, 1888, JMP.
47. John Muir ed., *West of the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, Running Press, 1976), pp. 427–458 and 459–498. This is a reprint of the version of *Picturesque California* published in 1894 (see Kimes #446).
48. Wolfe, p. 239.
49. John Muir, *West of the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 470–471.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 455 and 458. Accounts of Muir's climb of Mt. Rainier can also be found in Meany, *Mt. Rainier: A Record of Exploration*, pp.150–158; Aubrey L. Haines, *Mountain Fever: Historic Conquests of Rainier*, Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1962, pp. 80–96; Paul Schullery ed., *Island in the Sky: Pioneering Accounts of Mt. Rainier, 1833–1894* (Seattle, The Mountaineers, 1987), pp. 117–124; A.C. Warner, "John Muir's Ascent of Mt. Rainier," 50 *The Mountaineer*, Seattle, Washington (December 1956), pp. 38–45. Photos from the climb are in the Microfilm Edition of the John Muir Papers, Series IV, Fiche 43. Also on the climb

were Henry Loomis who joined Muir at Glacier Bay in 1890 (Note 29) and Daniel Waldo Bass, nephew of Judge John Waldo. Judge Waldo notes in his diary about reading of the climb: Williams (compiler), *Judge John B. Waldo*, p. 68. Existing letters between Daniel and the Judge have not yet been reviewed for any further personal recollections about Muir or the climb.

51. Robert Bunting, *The Pacific Raincoast: Environment and Culture in an American Eden, 1778–1900* (University of Kansas Press, 1997).
52. John Muir, *West of the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 446–447.
53. John Muir to William Gladstone Steel, October 2, 1892, JMP. Steel included a copy of his book the *Mountains of Oregon* with this letter. If they hadn't met previously in 1880, they were likely introduced through their mutual friend, L.L. Hawkins or when Muir was trying to find local climbers to join him on Mt. Hood.
54. Muir and Keith were invited by a group they met in Seattle who were already preparing to climb Mt. Rainier. At Yelm (a settlement near the mountain), they met Van Trump who helped with their final preparations. Van Trump got "mountain fever" and decided to join the climb. Edward S. Ingraham, "Then and Now," *The Mountaineer*, V. VIII, 1915: 50–51.
55. Muir, Joseph LeConte and Thomas Condon were made honorary members of the Mazamas at this time. *Mazama History*, The Mazamas (Portland, Oregon 1932) p. 9 and Grauer, *Mt. Hood*, pp. 129–132.
56. Van Trump to Edmond Meany, September 22, 1915, MCUW.
57. Major E. S. Ingraham, Chapter X., "Discovery of Camp Muir" in Meany, *Mt. Rainier*, pp. 150–158; Erwin F. Lange, "Pioneer Botanists of the Pacific Northwest," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 57 (June 1956): 120–124 and C. V. Piper, "The Flora of Mt. Rainier," *Mazama*, II (1900–1901).
58. The petition reads like a "Who's Who" list of Portland and Oregon business and political leaders. Signers who later joined the Mazamas or may have heard Muir lecture in 1880 include Judge Waldo, Rev. Lindsley, L.L. Hawkins, Judge Melvin George, Henry L. Pittock, Rev. Thomas Elliot, Judge Deady, William Ladd, Henry Failing and Henry Corbett. "Petition to the President," December 21, 1885 printed in Williams and Mark, *Establishing and Defending the Cascade Range Forest Reserve*, 1993, pp. 4–7.

59. Lawrence Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation in the Pacific Northwest, 1891–1913* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington 1955), reprinted in 1979 by Arno Press, Inc. New York, pp. 29–53. This is the most complete historical account of forest conservation for this period. Sierra Club members were able to read an early report about the Crater Lake Reserve in Mark B. Kerr, "Crater Lake Oregon and the Origin of Wizard Island," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, June 1893: 31–39. Also see the sources listed in notes 12 and 14.
60. Steel's efforts to establish Crater Lake National Park are covered in Mark, "Seventeen Years to Success: John Muir, William Gladstone Steel and the Creation of Yosemite and Crater Lake National Parks." See note 14.
61. John Muir, *West of the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 476–478.
62. John Ise, *The United States Forest Policy* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 109–118. Unfortunately, the Act did not specify any particular policy on the use of the reserves which led to the many future disputes over their protection and use.
63. Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation*, pp. 39–53.
64. P.B. Van Trump, "On the Mountain Top" and "Conquering the Giant," *Tacoma Ledger* August 31, 1891 and September 12, 1892 as quoted in Haines, *Mountain Fever*, pp. 133 and 145–146.
65. Van Trump to John Muir, January 23, 1889 and June 18, 1890, JMP. Van Trump provided Muir with pictures from their climb of Mt. Rainier and information about the controversy over whether it should be named after the British Admiral Peter Rainier or retain its native name "Tahoma." Later Muir provided Van Trump with copies of his articles in *Picturesque California* about Washington and their climb of Mt. Rainier. Although Van Trump does not suggest park status for Mt. Rainier, these letters demonstrate their love of the mountain and of the time they spent together climbing. Van Trump considered his letters from Muir among his most "prized papers." Van Trump to Edmond Meany, August 28, 1915 (MCUW).
66. The four other societies besides the Sierra Club were the Geological Society of America, American Association for the Advancement of Science, National Geographic Society and Appalachian Mountain Club. Meany, *Mt. Rainier*, pp. 287–296. Also see Theodore Catton, "The Campaign to Establish Mt. Rainier National Park, 1893–1899," *Pacific*

- Northwest Quarterly*, Spring 1997: 70–81.
67. Bayley was a friend and climbing companion to both Muir and Van Trump. He climbed Mt. Rainier with Van Trump in 1883 and 1892 and numerous Sierra peaks south of Yosemite with Muir in 1875. Later he became a founding member of the Sierra Club and active in the campaign to create Mt. Rainier National park. Evelyn Chase, *Mountain Climber, George B. Bayley, 1840-1894* (Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1981) and Frances P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966), pp. 168, 177, 187 n. 12, 194.
  68. George Bayley to John Muir, January 27, 1894, JMP and Van Trump, "Mt. Tahoma," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 4, May 1894.
  69. Meany, *Mt. Rainier*, p. 291.
  70. John Muir to Robert Underwood Johnson, April 3, 1896, JMP. Johnson's letter to Muir also informed him of some of the efforts in Oregon to support the Cascade Reserve: Johnson to Muir, March 6, 1896, JMP. For more on the joint conservation activities of Johnson and Muir see Robert Underwood Johnson, "John Muir and Our Activities in Forest Conservation" in *Remembered Yesterdays* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1923), pp. 278–316.
  71. Resolution of the Sierra Club, March 14, 1896, Reel 51, JMP.
  72. T. Brook White to John Muir, April 2, 1896, JMP and Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club*, p. 16, n. 62. Also see generally Williams and Marks' *Establishing and Defending the Cascade Range Forest Reserve*, for all the activities that occurred in 1896.
  73. *Ranch Days*, May 2nd and 12th 1896, Reel 28, JMP. Wilbur's account of the 1897 Mazama summer outing to Mt. Rainier was published in the January 1898 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin*.
  74. "For Crater Lake," *Oregonian*, May 18, 1896.
  75. The Commission members were Prof. Charles Sargent, Harvard; Henry L. Abbot, Army Engineer; Alexander Agassiz, Harvard Zoology Museum; Arnold Hague, U.S. Geological Survey; Prof. William Brewer, Yale; and Gifford Pinchot, consulting forester. Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation*, pp. 59–68 and Ise, *The United States Forest Policy*, pp. 128–129.
  76. *Ibid.*

77. John Muir *Journal*, July 22, 1896, Reel 28, JMP.
78. "John Muir Is Here: The Noted Scientist Tells About Inspection of Forests" *Oregonian*, July 23, 1896.
79. John Muir, *West of the Rocky Mountains*, p. 498.
80. Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, pp. 270–271.
81. The President's action created a firestorm of controversy in the West which is beyond the scope of this paper. For more on this see Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation*, pp. 57–68 and Ise, *The United States Forest Policy*, pp. 131–139.
82. Muir's ambivalence toward actively working to establish Crater Lake National Park is covered in Mark, "Seventeen Years to Success," and note 60.
83. John Muir, "The Wild Parks and Forest Reservations of the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, Volume 81, No. 483 (January 1898): 26. Of note, is that the article makes no mention of his visit(s) to Crater Lake or any need for its protection.
84. For a complete description of the expedition see William H. Goetzman and Kay Sloan, *Looking Far North: The Harriman Expedition to Alaska 1899* (New York, The Viking Press 1982).
85. Richard J. Orsi, "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron' The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Railroad Company for the Preservation of Yosemite National Park," *29 Pacific Historian* (Summer/Fall 1985): 136–156.
86. John Muir *Journal*, Reel 29, JMP.
87. Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation*, p. 107.
88. Rakestraw, *A History of Forest Conservation*, pp. 96–124 and Lawrence Rakestraw, "Sheep Grazing in the Cascade Range: John Minto vs. John Muir," *27 Pacific Historical Review* 1958, pp. 371–382.
89. John Muir *Journal*, Reel 29, JMP. The original journal entry is slightly different from that published in Linnie Marsh Wolfe, "John of the Mountains: The Unpublished Journals of John Muir" (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1979) pp. 379–380. One should not be surprised over the uncertain position of the Mazamas and Muir's

- longtime friends. The sheep grazing interests were very strong in Oregon and fought both the establishment of the forest reserves and any limitations on grazing.
90. John Muir in "Says Keep the Sheep Out: John Muir Talks About Maintaining the Forest Reserves," *Oregonian*, May 31, 1899.
91. "A Word Fitly Spoken," *Oregonian*, June 1, 1899.
92. For example see the articles and letters that appeared in the *Oregonian* on September 5, 21; October 7, 14, 17 and 19.
93. William Steel, Letter to the Editor, "The Forestry Problem: Exclusion of Sheep from Reserves," *Oregonian*, October 19, 1899.
94. Van Trump to John Muir, January 26, 1900, JMP.
95. General accounts of this outing and the participants are: William Colby, "The Sierra Club on Mt. Rainier," *2 Mazama* (December 1905): 212–215 and 233–234; "Report of the Outing Committee," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Volume VI (January 1906): 50–51; and Grauer, *Mt. Hood*, p. 136.
96. Gertrude Metcalfe, "The Rainier Climb," *Mazama* (December 1905) reprinted in *Mazama* (December 1993), pp. 34–39.
97. At the time of the outing, Muir was attending to the illness of his daughter, Helen, whom he had taken to Arizona to rest and recover. See Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, pp. 304–305.
98. Detailed accounts of the group's activities and climbs were published in the *Oregonian* on July 10–11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25 and 29, 1905.
99. Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks*, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1951, p. 47.
100. "Report of the Joint Committee of the Mazama Club and the Sierra Club on the Mt. Rainier National Park," *Sierra Club Bulletin* Volume VI, (January 1906): 44–50.
101. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club*, pp. 92–97.
102. Colby and Parsons had been officers and members of the Mazamas. In 1907, Colby was vice president while Parsons had been vice president in 1901 and 1903. Parsons joined the Mazamas on their summer outing to Crater Lake in 1896 and also climbed and camped with them in 1897,

- 1899, 1900 and 1903. It was these outings that inspired the Sierra Club's successful outing program. See Rodney L. Glisan, "In Memoriam," *Mazama* (December 1914): 109; and Edward T. Parsons, "Rainier," *Mazama* (October 1900): 25-34.
103. Charles Sholes to the Honorable James B. Garfield, September 16, 1907, JMP. Charles Sholes was a close friend of Will Steel and L.L. Hawkins as well as a founding member of both the Oregon Alpine Club and Mazamas. He was Mazama president in 1895, 1903 and from 1905 to 1908, more than anyone in the club's history. He wrote many articles for the Mazama journal, some of which were later published in Charles H. Sholes, *Trails: Which Leads the Way of All Our Tales* (Rogers, Arkansas, 1946).
104. Edward Parsons to Charles Sholes of the Mazamas and Ashel Curtis of the Mountaineers, both dated January 1, 1909, JMP.
105. John Muir to Charles Sholes, February 10, 1909, JMP.
106. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club*, pp. 108-117.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99 and 182.
108. Marion R. Parsons to Edmond Meany, December 4, 1912 (MCUW), and "Report of the Outing Committee," *Sierra Club Bulletin* VII (January 1910): 189-190.
109. Committee for Preservation of Yosemite National Park, Bulletin No. 1 as printed in *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress 1st Session Vol. 50 pt. 6, pp. 5875-5876, (November 10, 1913).
110. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club*, p. 167.
111. Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness*, pp. 318-319.
112. *Medford Daily Tribune*, August 14, 1908.
113. John Muir, in Wolfe, *John of the Mountains*, p. 437. Muir's journal dates this statement September 4, 1908, but does not provide a location. However, we can safely locate Muir at Pelican Bay on this date based on news accounts of his trip and a letter date" September 10, 1908, to his daughter Helen, marking his return from the "grand Klamath outing Monday eve," which was September 7, 1908.

114. Van Trump to John Muir, July 8, 18, and 27, 1910, JMP. For more on the controversy over the appropriate name of the mountain see Genevieve McCoy, "'Mt. Tacoma' vs. 'Mt. Rainier': The Fight to Rename the Mountain" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (October 1986): 139-149.
115. Proceedings of the National Park Conference held at Yosemite National Park, October 14-16, 1912 (Washington, GPO 1913): 5-7
116. *The Mountaineer*, 2, November 1909: 3.
117. *The Mountaineer*, 5, November 1912: 6.
118. Meany to John Muir, July 8, 1912 and Muir to Meany, September 27, 1912 (MCUW) and Meany to Muir, September 10, 1912, JMP.
119. Edmond Meany to John Muir, June 27, 1914, JMP.
120. John Muir to Meany, July 7, 1914 (MCUW).
121. "When the Wind Plays a Harp by My Bed" by Edmund Meany, "autographed for my friend John Muir," August 14, 1914, Reel 51, JMP.