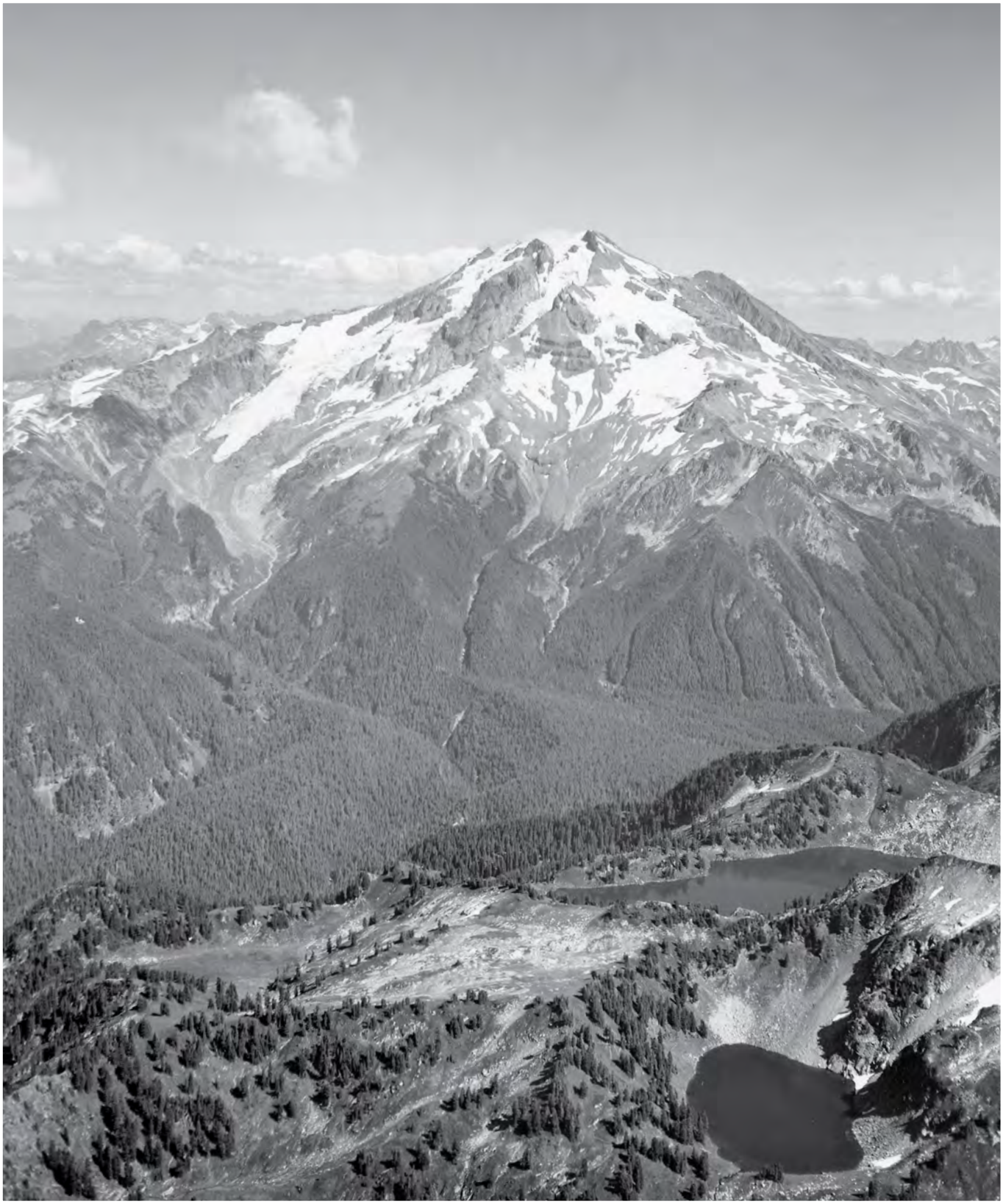


Glacier Peak and White Chuck River valley from Lake Byrne, 1963. A Forest Service wilderness reclassification study of Glacier Peak in the mid-1950s piqued the interest of conservationists, who valued heavily timbered river valleys on the western slopes of the Cascades as access corridors to alpine areas. The Forest Service valued these valleys for their merchantable timber. Courtesy North Cascades National Park Service Complex Museum Collection, NOCA 11751.

Climbing boots, leather with Tricouni Swiss nails, felt lined cuff, and leather laces, 1940s-1950s. Courtesy of The Mountaineers Archives, MTR.2014.18.

Crown Jewel Wilderness

On the 50th anniversary of North Cascades National Park, Lauren Danner explains how a love for the land became a quest for preservation.

Excerpt from *Crown Jewel Wilderness: Creating North Cascades National Park*, by Lauren Danner (Washington State University Press, 2017)

Activism to preserve the North Cascades as wilderness began in the mid-1950s when a handful of outdoor recreationists became concerned about increased logging on national forests and its effect on wilderness in the Glacier Peak area. The United States Forest Service, which managed the North Cascades, found itself caught between postwar demand for both more timber and more wilderness. This excerpt sets the stage for the conflict that helped professionalize the burgeoning conservation movement and, in the process, forced the Forest Service and the National Park Service to reconsider how they engaged with their constituents and with the lands they managed.

It all started with Glacier Peak. This "somber king on throne of granite" is not granite at all, but a volcano composed of layers of pumice and dacite. Its last known eruption was 1,100 years ago, but modern geologists believe that when Glacier Peak erupts again it will be especially destructive. Famously remote, Washington's fourth-tallest mountain requires miles of hiking through difficult terrain just to reach the base. It did not even appear on a map until 1898, though it was long known to Native Americans, who called it Tda-ko-buh-ba or Dakobed (Great Parent). Dazzlingly beautiful as it floats above surrounding peaks, Glacier Peak "bestows familiarity only to those willing to strive for it."

Dazzlingly beautiful as it floats above surrounding peaks, Glacier Peak "bestows familiarity only to those willing to strive for it."

A group of Wenatchee citizens in 1926 proposed that Glacier Peak—a favorite destination of outdoors clubs like the Mazamas and Mountaineers—be set aside for recreation under Forest Service supervision. Five years later, the Forest Service approved a 233,600-acre Glacier Peak-Cascade Recreation Unit. Little more than a name change for the mountain's alpine high country, the new category satisfied locals who wanted to see Glacier Peak reserved. The Depression forestalled further action until 1938, when the Forest Service approved a new land classification order that expanded the area to 275,000 acres and renamed it the Glacier Peak Recreation Unit.

The label was a Forest Service attempt at systematic land use classification. In 1929, the Forest Service implemented regulation L-20, which allowed the creation of Primitive Areas for national forest recreation; however, regional foresters were instructed that "no hard and fast rules" or standards could be universally applied to the use of such areas. In 1938, the same year the Glacier Peak Recreation Unit was created, the Forest Service proposed the U-regulation, new rules for reclassifying primitive areas as wilderness. Under these rules, areas of more than 100,000 acres would be renamed Wilderness Areas and require the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture. Those between 5,000 and 100,000 acres would be called Wild Areas and could be established by the regional forester. No roads, logging, or special use permits were allowed in either. Both designations required public notice. If public opposition to proposed boundaries emerged, the regional forester had to conduct public hearings and submit the testimony to the Chief of the Forest Service or the Agriculture Secretary for a final decision. If the Forest Service were to reclassify Glacier Peak as a Wilderness Area, a process requiring boundary studies, public notice, and possibly hearings, the area would enjoy stricter protection.

In 1940, Acting Chief C. M. Granger released more than half the land around Glacier Peak, citing mineral values and a proposed highway over the mountains. This left 347,525 acres held for possible reclassification.

Then the United States entered World War II, and reclassifying primitive areas fell down the Forest Service's list of priorities. It focused instead on fulfilling its founding mission of utilizing the nation's timber, and logging on the national forests increased accordingly. Federal timber sales nearly doubled during the war, although the national forests supplied only 10 percent of the wartime timber needed. Most timber still came from private forest lands. Forest Service historian Gerald Williams writes that near the end of World War II, the agency "told Congress that the national forests, especially in

A truck carrying sixty-foot logs and Forest Service vehicle on the upper Skagit, 1947. The agency tried to accommodate the timber industry's voracious appetite for national forest timber. Photo courtesy North Cascades National Park Service Complex Museum Collection, NOCA 11269.

the Pacific Northwest, could take more of the national timber burden." Congress allocated more funds for road-building and timber planning, and the Forest Service responded by increasing the amount of timber harvested from the national forests.

The postwar housing boom shifted demand for national forest timber into high gear. When the war ended, the Forest Service ordered all regions to create timber plans for all "working circles" containing marketable timber. A working circle was an area, typically 100,000 to 500,000 acres in size, used to calculate how much timber an area could produce. This informed the "allowable cut," the maximum quantity that could be harvested while maintaining a sustainable forest. After the war, many regions increased the allowable cut on their forests, citing better timber data, better access, and more efficient equipment. Further, the move toward intensive management and ever-higher yields expressed the national belief that maximizing natural resource utilization was a moral imperative. Prosperity was writ large in the tracts of suburban housing that were the right of every hardworking American. In this context, the Forest Service's reasoning that its "overriding purpose was not so much to protect the national forests but rather to develop their resources," as historian Paul Hirt wrote, makes sense.

The timber industry also found itself in a wholly different situation than before the war. Three years before Pearl Harbor, Washington State relinquished its standing as the nation's number-one timber producer as big companies moved southward into Oregon and California. Nevertheless, the timber industry accounted for nearly half the state's workforce in 1939, evidence of lumbering's continued dominance.

With its vast hydroelectric resources, Washington was ideally positioned to take on defense manufacturing needs when the nation entered the war. Aluminum and chemical production, shipbuilding, and aircraft construction quickly pushed the timber industry from the forefront of the state's economy. Labor statistics bear this out. In 1939, 46 percent of the state's workforce was employed in the lumber industry, while only 1 percent worked in shipyards. By 1944, lumber employment had dropped to 17 percent, while shipyard workers made up 32 percent. Those trends continued into the 1950s. From 1947 to 1953, employment in lumbering fell 8 percent while employment in the aircraft industry skyrocketed 154 percent.

As private lands were cut over, and with few sustained yield replanting programs, many timber companies turned to the national forests. The Forest Service's philosophy of multiple-use, wherein the many uses of the forests were balanced for maximum public benefit, devolved into the pursuit of one dominant objective: maximizing timber harvest.

The Forest Service's eagerness to promote logging led it to undervalue the demand for recreation. As historian Samuel Hays suggests, the agency "seemed to be trapped by its own internal value commitments" to timber harvest, and unable to acknowledge or respond to increasing public interest in wilderness.

That public interest grew proportionately with Washington's population. Wartime economic diversification meant Washington gained more people during the war than any other state but California. Between 1940 and 1950, Washington's population grew by more than one-third. During the 1950s, it grew another 20 percent. Most of the impact was felt

in urban areas such as Seattle, where the new industries were located. As the manufacturing industries grew, so did professions that supported the new residents, including health care and education.

Flush with postwar prosperity and plentiful leisure time, Washington's growing urban middle class took off for forests and parks in unprecedented numbers. They geared up with surplus military equipment or new, lightweight equipment from companies like REI, and set out to hike, backpack, climb, ski, snowshoe, fish, boat, and more. During the 1950s, membership in the Mountaineers doubled to more than 4,000. In the three years from 1952 to 1955, recreational visits to Forest Service Region 6 national forests (comprising Oregon and Washington) increased by more than one-third, and membership in the Mountaineers grew at precisely the same rate. When outdoor enthusiasts arrived in their national forests, many found cutover slopes, muddy rivers, and slash piles. Recreation groups, historical allies of the Forest Service, began to pressure the agency to set aside more unspoiled land.

World War II began, and the Forest Service focused on its founding mission of utilizing the nation's timber. Logging on the national forests increased accordingly.

Increasing population and growing demands for recreational resources steered conservationists and the Forest Service on a collision course. Internal Forest Service documents from the time show the agency purposely emphasized multiple-use to mollify recreation and conservation groups, but in reality logging was always given precedence.

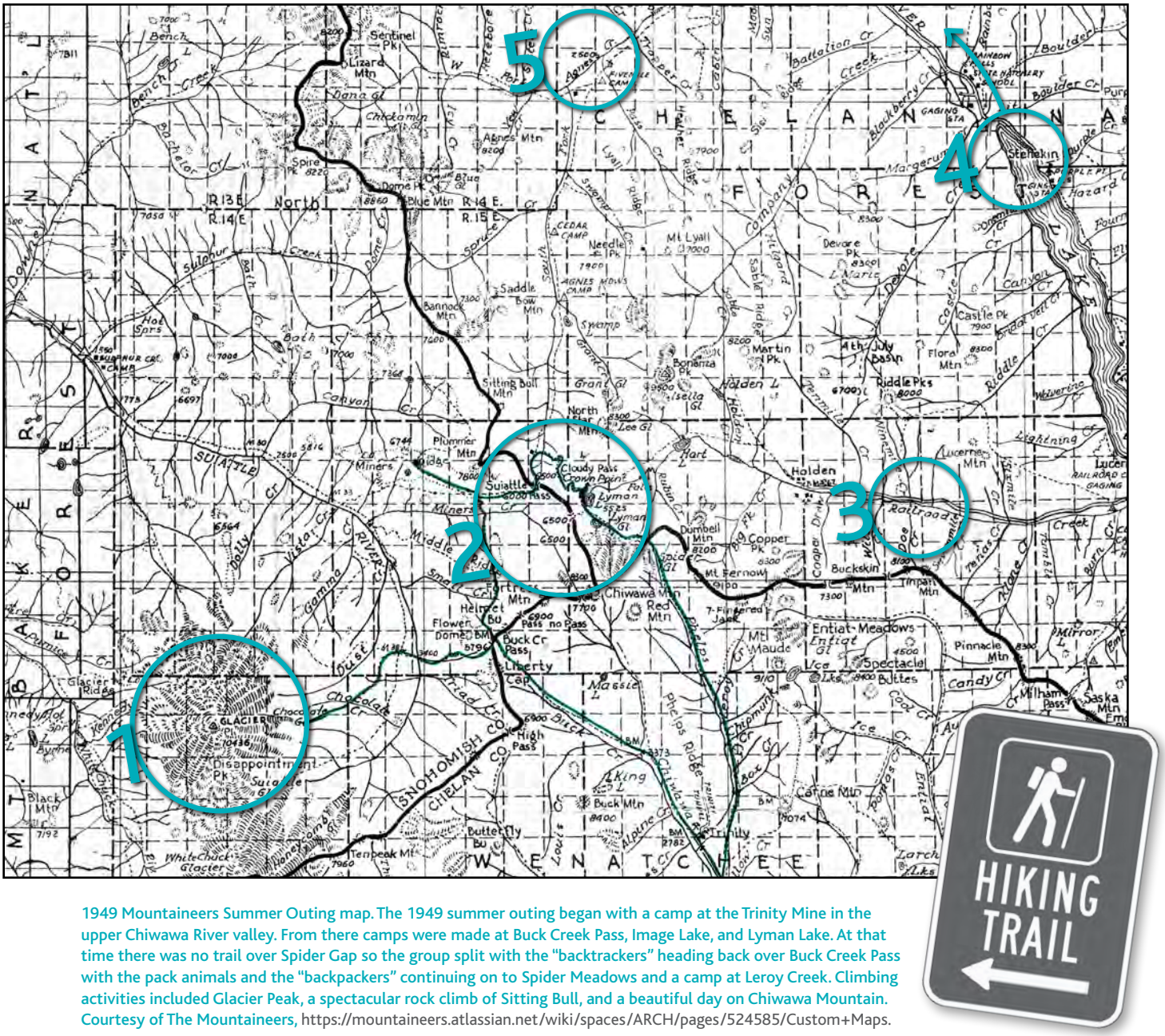
Indeed, in the years after World War II, the Forest Service reconsidered recreation use at Glacier Peak only in fits and starts. In 1946, the Glacier Peak Recreation Unit was renamed Glacier Peak Limited Area. The Limited Area designation, unique to Region 6, prohibited road-building and resource extraction until further studies could be undertaken, and could be undone at will by the regional forester.

In 1950, the agency began another study of the area, this time to consider reclassification from Limited to Wilderness Area. In late 1951, the agency admitted it had not devoted enough time to the reclassification study but noted that outdoors groups had generally agreed on boundaries earlier that year. Two years later, the Forest Service was still saying it planned to proceed with reclassifying Glacier Peak, but nothing happened.

In June 1955, University of California-Berkeley political science professor Grant McConnell was enjoying the summer break at his cabin in Stehekin. A longtime North Cascades enthusiast, McConnell climbed around Lake Chelan in the late 1930s and early 1940s with the Wyeasters, a Portland mountaineering club. During World War II, he was rescued from the Pacific Ocean when the destroyer on which he was stationed sank in combat. McConnell spent a month recuperating in a cabin under Si Si Ridge, west of Stehekin. Captivated by the area's beauty and tranquility, he and his wife Jane bought a cabin on the banks of Company Creek, a tributary of the Stehekin River, and moved there after the war ended. In 1948, the McConnells moved to Berkeley, where Grant earned his doctorate, then joined Berkeley's faculty and began a prolific and prominent career as a political scientist with an abiding passion for conservation.

The McConnells returned to Stehekin each summer, and it was while there in 1955 they heard rumors of a Forest Service timber sale in the valley. Stehekin, accessible only by foot, boat, or plane, had remained virtually unchanged since the 1930s. But after World War II, people returning from the war, like McConnell, moved there, and the tiny Stehekin school reopened for the first time since the early 1940s. The tourist trade picked up again. With gas rationing over, people began vacationing, and remote Stehekin was an ideal escape from the bulging Seattle suburbs and other urban areas. Stehekin appealed anew to land developers, who began buying old homesteads and subdividing them. Predictably, the timber industry became interested in the mostly untouched valleys along the Stehekin River. Specifically, the Stehekin watershed interested the Chelan Box and Manufacturing Company, which foresaw that logs cut there could be floated downriver to Lake Chelan, chained into rafts, and towed to the company's mill near Chelan. Talk of logging the Agnes Creek valley, a major tributary of the Stehekin River that drains a large geographic area from Dome Peak to Suiattle Pass, was especially widespread. Much of the valley was part of

Clearcut areas such as this below Mount Shuksan convinced conservationists they needed to pursue protected status for the entire North Cascades. 1963 photo courtesy North Cascades National Park Service Complex Museum Collection, NOCA 17271.



1949 Mountaineers Summer Outing map. The 1949 summer outing began with a camp at the Trinity Mine in the upper Chiwawa River valley. From there camps were made at Buck Creek Pass, Image Lake, and Lyman Lake. At that time there was no trail over Spider Gap so the group split with the "backtrackers" heading back over Buck Creek Pass with the pack animals and the "backpackers" continuing on to Spider Meadows and a camp at Leroy Creek. Climbing activities included Glacier Peak, a spectacular rock climb of Sitting Bull, and a beautiful day on Chiwawa Mountain. Courtesy of The Mountaineers, https://mountaineers.atlassian.net/wiki/spaces/ARCH/pages/524585/Custom+Maps.

Circles indicate (1) Glacier Peak, (2) Lyman Lake, Suiattle and Cloudy passes, (3) Railroad Creek, (4) Stehekin Valley (River) and (5) Agnes Creek, mentioned within the book excerpt.

the existing Glacier Peak Limited Area, and McConnell felt much of this secluded, isolated haven should be part of any new wilderness area.

McConnell was not the only conservationist interested in the fate of Glacier Peak. Later that summer of 1955, three backpackers were camped in the snow near Suiattle Pass when they saw a helicopter overhead, bringing equipment to a proposed mining operation on nearby Miners Ridge. About halfway through a forty-mile trek that included Railroad Creek, Lyman Lake, Suiattle and Cloudy passes, and Agnes Creek, the trio felt this "very upsetting" incident made their objective all the more imperative. They were there on assignment to get an idea of what the Glacier Peak country looked like and report back to their organization, the Mountaineers.

As one of the oldest and most respected outdoors clubs in Washington, the Mountaineers had followed Forest Service activities at Glacier Peak for decades, in part because the mountain was a popular destination for club outings. In 1953, the Mountaineers Conservation Committee noted preserving wilderness values at Glacier Peak was "a tremendous project, but a very vital one." The group's monthly newsletter hinted at its apprehension about the Forest Service's ability to apply multiple-use principles to Glacier Peak. Time and again, proposed Forest Service wilderness "tragically eliminates most of the river areas which contain the virgin forests." The Mountaineers urged members to backpack into the remote, difficult-to-reach area, taking pictures and writing reports to help develop boundary recommendations. Agnes Creek was called out as one of several areas of concern.

The Mountaineers had reason to fear the possibility of eliminating valley floors and forests from the wilderness area. In an effort to demonstrate its commitment to the principle of multiple-use, the Forest Service habitually omitted merchantable timber found in river valleys. In this scenario, recreationists got the high mountain vistas and timber companies got the lowland trees. Conservationists dubbed the result a "wilderness on the rocks" or "starfish wilderness," since such wilderness areas hugged barren ridges and steep slopes. To raise awareness about what such a wilderness would look like, the Mountaineers sponsored more trips into the Glacier Peak region in 1953 and 1954.

In 1954, the Mountaineers and others interested in wilderness preservation gained valuable insight into the Forest Service's priorities. A few hundred miles south of Glacier Peak loom the Three Sisters, a cluster of mountains that includes three of Oregon's five tallest peaks (Mount Hood and Mount Jefferson are taller). The Forest Service had set aside nearly 200,000 acres surrounding the Three Sisters as a Primitive Area in 1937, adding another 55,000 acres the following year. In 1954, the Forest Service proposed reclassifying the Primitive Area into Three Sisters Wilderness Area, much as it was doing with Glacier Peak. The proposal eliminated 53,000 acres of low-elevation forests and offered instead two new, high-elevation Wild Areas at nearby Diamond Peak and Mount Washington. Local conservationists were outraged by this quid pro quo, which they viewed as trading irreplaceable old-growth forest for wind-scoured alpine ridges with little harvestable timber. A "loose-knit collection of hikers, scientists, and social liberals" gelled into a unified opposition group, Friends of the Three Sisters. They would spend the next three years fighting the Forest Service proposal, and the Mountaineers closely tracked their work.

Back in Washington, the Mountaineers appointed Polly Dyer chair of the Conservation Committee in January 1955. Dyer had moved to Seattle from California in 1950, joining the Mountaineers and becoming a prominent member of the Olympic Park Associates, a watchdog group formed to protect Olympic National Park. Polly took several trips to the Glacier Peak area in 1955, including one with representatives from the Forest Service and the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, a regional umbrella organization dedicated to keeping its member clubs informed of conservation issues. That trip left from Darrington, on the west side of the mountains, and followed the Suiattle River and Sulphur Creek to Meadow Mountain, familiarizing club members with the "Shangri-La of the Cascades." But Dyer's Railroad Creek-to-Agnes Creek journey with two other Mountaineers, Phil and Laura Zalesky, was by far the more significant trip for future activism in the North Cascades.

The Zaleskys had been hiking in Glacier Peak country for several years by the time they invited Polly Dyer to see the eastern side of the range in July 1955. Phil Zalesky taught in the Everett School District, and he and Laura were members of the Everett Mountaineers. After reading an influential *Harper's* magazine article by Bernard DeVoto about the effects of overuse on the national parks, Phil had written to his congressman, Rep. Jack Westland (R-WA), expressing his concern. Receiving an unsympathetic reply from Westland's office, Phil contacted the Seattle Mountaineers Conservation Committee, where he met Polly Dyer. She had not seen the Glacier Peak country before—most Seattle Mountaineers hiked in the closer-to-home Interstate 90 corridor around Snoqualmie Pass—and the Zaleskys asked her to come on a backpacking trip.

Sitting in a Stehekin café after their trek while waiting for the downlake ferry, the trio probably looked a bit bedraggled. But their ice axes caught the eye of a resident who had come to the dock to collect her mail. Jane McConnell wandered over and asked what they had climbed. Agnes Creek, Railroad Creek, Miners Ridge, Cloudy Pass, they responded, adding they were members of the Mountaineers conducting a study trip. You need to meet Grant, Jane insisted, because he was concerned about proposed logging in the Stehekin valley. Thus the McConnells and the nascent Seattle conservation movement, all of them professionals enjoying the fruits of the midcentury economic boom, first connected. The importance of this chance meeting would become increasingly clear over the next decade.

Flush with postwar prosperity and plentiful leisure time, Washington's growing urban middle class took off for forests and parks in unprecedented numbers.

In fall 1955, Polly and John Dyer visited the McConnells at their home in Berkeley, and Polly and Grant began talking about ways to protect Glacier Peak and the Stehekin valley. As Conservation Committee chair, Polly kept a close eye on the Three Sisters controversy, and she saw how the local group

Baker Lake and Mt. Baker, circa 1955, photograph by Josef Scaylea. A family sets up camp with Mount Baker visible in the background. General Subjects Photograph Collection, 1845-2005, Washington State Archives, Digital Archives, http://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov, 2018.

enlisted help from national conservation organizations such as the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club. When the Dyers lived in California, Polly's husband had climbed with Sierra Club executive director David Brower, and they maintained the friendship after the Dyers moved north.

McConnell's interest was both personal and professional. In a 1954 article in *Western Political Quarterly*, he argued the conservation movement had become "small, divided and frequently uncertain." Original Forest Service Chief Gifford Pinchot's utilitarian philosophy emphasized material uses of natural resources for "the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run." Humans were at the center of this argument: their needs were paramount. This starkly conflicted with the approach recently expressed by Aldo Leopold, whose wilderness thinking had evolved toward an ecological perspective. Leopold asserted that humans were part of a larger ecological system and could not be elevated among other elements. Natural resources had values that could not be expressed in economic terms, and those should be considered equally in land use decisions. McConnell realized that Glacier Peak could be a flash point for this conflict and, possibly, a means to create common cause among conservation groups.

In this spirit, McConnell invited Brower to speak to his political science class about the role of interest groups in conservation. Brower grew up wandering the hills around Berkeley and joined the Sierra Club in 1933. A prolific climber, he recorded seventy first ascents during the 1930s, but found time to edit the Sierra Club *Bulletin* beginning in 1937. In 1939, he made a Sierra Club film about Kings Canyon that helped win support for its creation as a national park. After serving in the ski troops of the Tenth Mountain Division during World War II, he returned to the Sierra Club, accepting an appointment to the board of directors and leading high trips. In 1952, Brower became the 7,000-member club's first executive director and led its transformation to a national organization dedicated to wilderness preservation. Rangy and charming, with vivid blue eyes and a wave of white hair, Brower proved an effective leader of the growing movement.

Beginning with the first Biennial Wilderness Conference in 1949, the Sierra Club in the 1950s became a major proponent of wilderness preservation and national park activism. The Dinosaur National Monument campaign exemplified this new approach. A proposed dam on Colorado's Green River that would have flooded parts of the exceptionally scenic monument was defeated under the leadership of Brower and the Sierra Club, resulting in what many view as the first victory of modern environmentalism.

McConnell believed the North Cascades warranted national attention because the wilderness there was largely unknown, scenically magnificent, and one of the largest such tracts remaining in the continental United States.

McConnell believed the North Cascades, like Dinosaur, warranted national attention because the wilderness there was largely unknown, scenically magnificent, and one of the largest such tracts remaining in the continental United States. The Sierra Club could bring national credibility to the issue, and Brower was the key. Brower accepted the invitation to speak to his Berkeley class, and McConnell used the opportunity to show him slides of the North Cascades, hoping to pique his interest. It worked. McConnell re-upped his lapsed Sierra Club membership, Brower installed him on the club's Conservation Committee, and they began strategizing how the Sierra Club could become involved in Glacier Peak.

To Brower's way of thinking, the North Cascades was a natural issue for the Sierra Club to tackle, in part because it was a wilderness issue and potentially a national park issue. His strategy was four-pronged: 1) act locally and activate the grassroots; 2) influence the broader conservation community through meetings and private contacts; 3) get national publicity; and 4) lobby policymakers in Washington, D.C.

Step one was connecting with McConnell and, by extension, local conservationists. Brower utilized his connections in the Northwest to build a grassroots base of support. In addition to the Dyers and now the McConnells, he had a good friend in Seattle who became the lodestone of the regional effort to preserve the North Cascades. Irish-born Patrick Goldsworthy had been a Sierra Club member since 1940. He had worked as a "horse," carrying equipment for photographer Cedric Wright in California, who first introduced him to the Sierra Club. After serving in World War II, Goldsworthy was an assistant trip leader under Brower, taking over when Brower's efforts in national conservation became a full-time enterprise. Like Grant McConnell, Goldsworthy held a doctorate from Berkeley, his in biochemistry. Appointed to the University of Washington Medical School's research faculty in 1952, Goldsworthy and his wife, Jane, moved north. Goldsworthy wanted to see the Cascade Range up close, and on a colleague's recommendation, hiked to Cascade Pass. Deeply impressed, he decided to join the Mountaineers to learn more, and in 1953 the Goldsworthys completed the club's climbing course.

Late in 1953, Brower flew to Seattle to discuss forming a Pacific Northwest chapter of the Sierra Club with the Goldsworthys and Dyers. The foursome sent letters to every Sierra Club member in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska, inviting them to join. The Pacific Northwest chapter's sole objective was to work on conservation issues, starting with Glacier Peak.

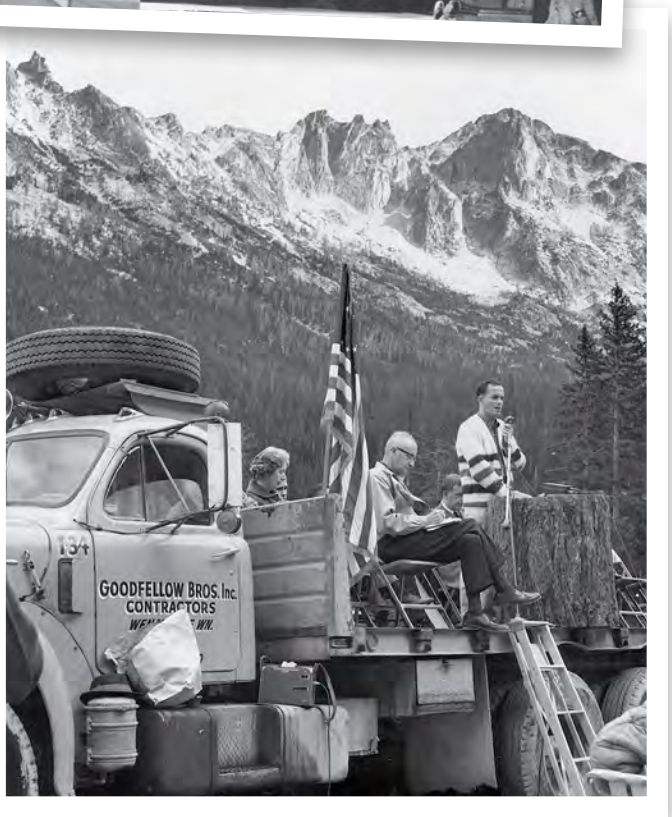
With the enlistment of Brower and the Sierra Club in California, and the ongoing activities of the Mountaineers in Washington, Glacier Peak was poised to become a nucleus of conservation activism. The Glacier Peak issue attracted local and national attention, and many saw it as an important test of the Forest Service's commitment to wilderness.

The conflict over Glacier Peak continued until 1960, when the Secretary of Agriculture overruled the local Forest Service office to create a large Glacier Peak Wilderness including some of the river valleys that conservationists deemed critical to the wilderness experience. By then, though, the rift between the Forest Service and conservationists had widened beyond repair. Conservationists joined together to push for a wilderness national park in the North Cascades, a battle that ultimately took ten years to resolve. Crown Jewel Wilderness: Creating North Cascades National Park *recounts how the politically sophisticated conservation movement leveraged the national pro-wilderness mood and the magnificent mountain scenery to win permanent protection for the North Cascades.*

Left: Image Lake and Glacier Peak. The threat of an open-pit mine operation in this area galvanized widespread opposition in the 1960s. 1963 photo courtesy North Cascades National Park Service Complex Museum Collection, NOCA 16609.

Below: President Lyndon B. Johnson gives Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson a pen used to sign the North Cascades national park complex bill into law, October 2, 1968. Immediately surrounding the president, left to right: Lady Bird Johnson, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation Director Ed Crafts, Senator Jackson, Sen. Thomas Kuchel, Sen. Warren Magnuson, and National Park Service director George B. Hartzog, Jr. Photo courtesy North Cascades National Park Service Complex Museum Collection, NOCA 16997.

Ceremonially reaffirming the state's investment in the North Cascades Highway, Gov. Daniel J. Evans dedicated the road on September 29, 1968. Jeep convoys left from each side of the Cascades and met at Rainy Pass after a jolting ride. The road was not completed until 1972. Photo courtesy Washington State Archives.



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ON THE COVER

"Cowlitz Valley – Tatooch Range" is the description of this hand-colored glass lantern slide from the Tacoma Public Library, circa early 1900s. The Tatoosh Range (modern spelling) is not far from Mount Rainier, and this image appears to include the geologic features known as Pinnacle Peak (on the left) and The Castle. This slide and many others were donated to the library by Tacoma-born Donald H. Cooper.