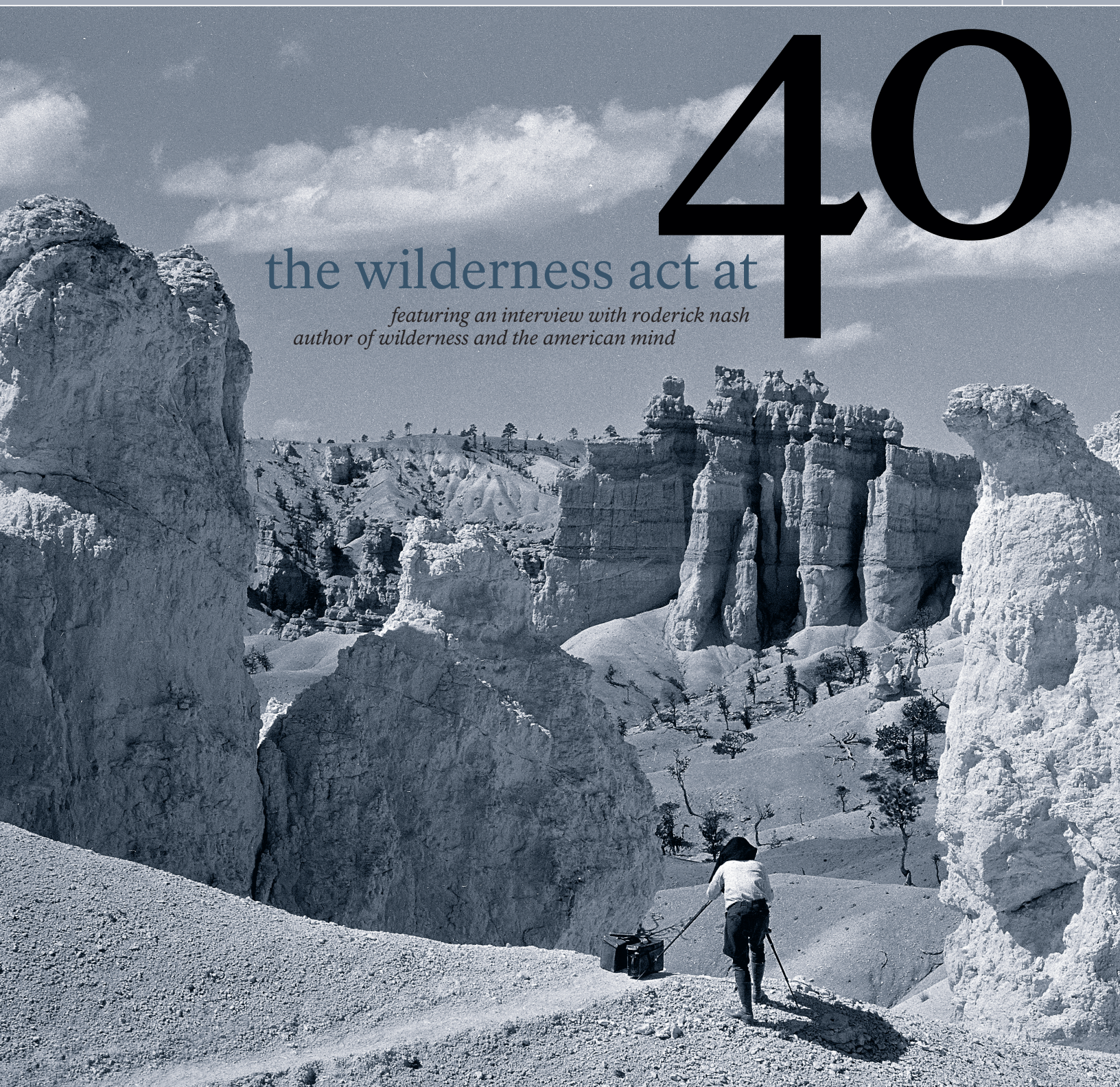
COMMON Ground

PRESERVING OUR NATION'S HERITAGE FALL 2004

40 the wilderness act at

featuring an interview with roderick nash author of wilderness and the american mind



FIRST WORD

The Cultural Side of Wilderness

BY LUCY LAWLISS

PLACES UNTRAMMELED BY HUMANS. It's hard to conceive of such places in a world of more than six billion people. Can areas exist where nature has its way, and humans only visit? This was the vision of the advocates who saw their years of labor recognized when Congress passed the Wilderness Act of 1964—two years before the National Historic Preservation Act—creating for the first time a national system of protected wilderness. **IF THESE PLACES WERE SCARCE** 40 years ago, they have only become more so in the ensuing decades, making this act of government restraint—the conscious choice not to develop, not to manipulate, not to impair nature's rhythms, sounds, sights, and smells—one of the most profound and confounding decisions that a society could make. **THIS ANNIVERSARY YEAR OFFERS** an opportunity not only to examine and celebrate what the federal wilderness program has achieved—protecting cultural as well as natural resources—but to also think about the uniquely American philosophical roots of the wilderness movement. As Roderick Nash, author of the seminal *Wilderness and the American Mind,* explains in his interview, wilderness has moved from a place that invokes fear to one that commands awe and respect. **IN ADDITION TO THE 46 NATIONAL PARKS** with designated wilderness, the National Park System includes numerous places that *could* tell unique aspects of the wilderness story—a story most Americans would never contemplate. That story begins with Jamestown, the first English settlement in North America, literally hewn from the fearsome wildness of the 17th-century Virginia coast, and continues through Jimmy Carter's boyhood home, where the future President's inspired contact with the wilds of Georgia moved him to sign the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980, more than doubling the size of wilderness lands. **AND THERE ARE THE MORE OBVIOUS PLACES** like Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park in Woodstock, Vermont, specifically set aside to tell the conservation story. Superintendent Rolf Diamant challenges visitors who wander this picturesque agricultural landscape to "read" the evolution of stewardship written in its forest plantations and protected natural areas—to understand the conservation thinking that began with the mid-19th century publication of *Man and Nature*, written by the property's first owner, George Perkins Marsh. **NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS** and properties in the National Register of Historic Places also have stories that connect us to the ideas and ideals of wilderness. The figures commemorated range from Hudson River School artists Church, Cole, and Moran—who helped us see the spectacle of the wild—to Olmsted, Thoreau, Carson, Mather, and Leopold—who provided the intellectual foundation for wilderness conservation. **WHEN ASKED IF THERE IS** a figure yet to be nationally recognized, Doug Scott, long-time wilderness advocate also interviewed in this issue, didn't hesitate—it would be Howard Zahniser. A 20-year executive secretary for the Wilderness Society and editor of its publication *The Living Wilderness,* Zahniser wrote 66 drafts of the wilderness bill, steering it through 18 congressional hearings.

"Places like Niagara Falls, Central Park, and Yosemite Valley, while seemingly tame now, represented in their time all that man could achieve in an attempt to put visitors in touch with the greatness of nature."

Without his dedication, the Wilderness Act would never have passed. The legislation's memorable words—untrammeled by man—are his. **WE'VE COME A LONG WAY** in our thinking about the nature of wilderness, from the first naïve and destructive attempts to subdue wild lands for our benefit, to the present generation's need to revere and connect with wilderness as a place beyond human manipulation. Places like Niagara Falls, Central Park, and Yosemite Valley, while seemingly tame now, represented in their time all that man could achieve in an attempt to put visitors in touch with the greatness of nature. Today, from the application of science to understanding nature's dynamism, to the effect that this knowledge has on philosophies of humans as part of or separate from nature, the ongoing evolution of ideas will ultimately shape the future of our wild lands.

Lucy Lawliss is Lead, Park Cultural Landscapes, National Park Service, and the National Center for Cultural Resources' Liaison with the NPS National Wilderness Steering Committee.

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A-Frame

During the building boom of postwar America, the humble A-frame's star was on the rise. BY CHAD RANDL

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Above: The restored Grain Belt Brewery, a 19th-century Minneapolis landmark.

Cover: Utah's Bryce Canyon National Park, 1929. President Carter recommended setting aside 20,000 acres as wilderness at Bryce, which today the National Park Service manages as such. Presidential recommendations for Bryce and 18 other park areas—almost 6 million acres—await congressional action.

GEORGE GRANT/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER

NEWS CLOSEUP

RETURN TO MANASSAS

Saved from Development, a Battlefield Restored

Sixteen years ago, subdivision developers began tearing up the land near the site of Robert E. Lee's summer 1862 headquarters, a large tract next to Manassas National Battlefield whose woods and depressions once hid thousands of troops. The outcry was so loud that Congress seized the land. By that time, over 100 acres had been leveled.

Today, as a result of an ambitious restoration—and an unusual turn of events—the terrain looks very much as it did when Union and Confederate forces clashed 142 years ago. The land has been restored to within a foot of its original configuration, along with nearly all the vegetation. The remarkable turnabout hinged on two seemingly unrelated circumstances: the construction of the Smithsonian Institution's new annex to the National Air and Space Museum, and the court-martial of Union General Fitz-John Porter for cowardice.

The annex was built on wetlands a few miles from Dulles Airport. Under federal law, equivalent acreage had to be created, preferably in the same watershed. The Smithsonian looked to the nearby battlefield.

It was a fortunate coincidence. The National Park Service had been trying for years to undo the aborted development. For the Smithsonian, even though the developers had filled in the wetlands, restoration was cheaper than buying property in northern Virginia. The National Park Service already had a restoration plan, developed under contract by the University of Georgia School of Environmental Design.

Above left and center: Sculpting the restoration; pipes from aborted subdivision. Above right, opposite: Today.

Getting the land back to its 1862 condition was a Herculean feat of earth-moving and tree-planting, a six-month job that cost approximately $1.5 million. "It was pretty amazing," says Battlefield Superintendent Robert Sutton. "In some areas, earth 20 feet deep was moved."

This is where the court-martial comes in. Accused of disobeying orders during the second battle of Manassas, General Porter was cashiered out of the army and spent the next 15 years trying to clear his name. Eventually he was exonerated, thanks in large part to a detailed map prepared for his case. Almost a century and a half later, engineers faced with reconstructing the landscape found the map at the National Archives, virtually a template of the terrain and vegetation in 1862. The battlefield was restored by combining the map with aerial photographs and other more recent topographical data.

Sutton says it was Porter's desire to keep his case alive that ultimately let the land be reclaimed. "The court-martial was very, very useful to recreate the vegetation and the contours," he says. "If they hadn't sent cartographers out here to do the mapping, the restoration would have been impossible."

For more information, contact Superintendent Robert Sutton, Manassas National Battlefield Park, 12521 Lee Highway, Manassas, VA 20109-2005, email robert_sutton@nps.gov, www.nps.gov/mana.

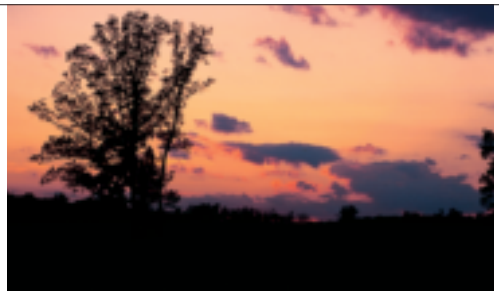
COMMON GROUND REVAMPS ONLINE PRESENCE

Common Ground has just re-vamped its online presence, carrying the magazine's message to the small screen in a big way. Now the entire range of news and features is available electronically, including an archive of back issues.

The site is easy to navigate, with access to any of the magazine's features or departments available from anywhere on the site. There's also a sophisticated search capability and slide shows of images from the magazine. A subscription link is provided for those who want to get on the mail list for the print version. Extensive links point to related sites around the Internet.

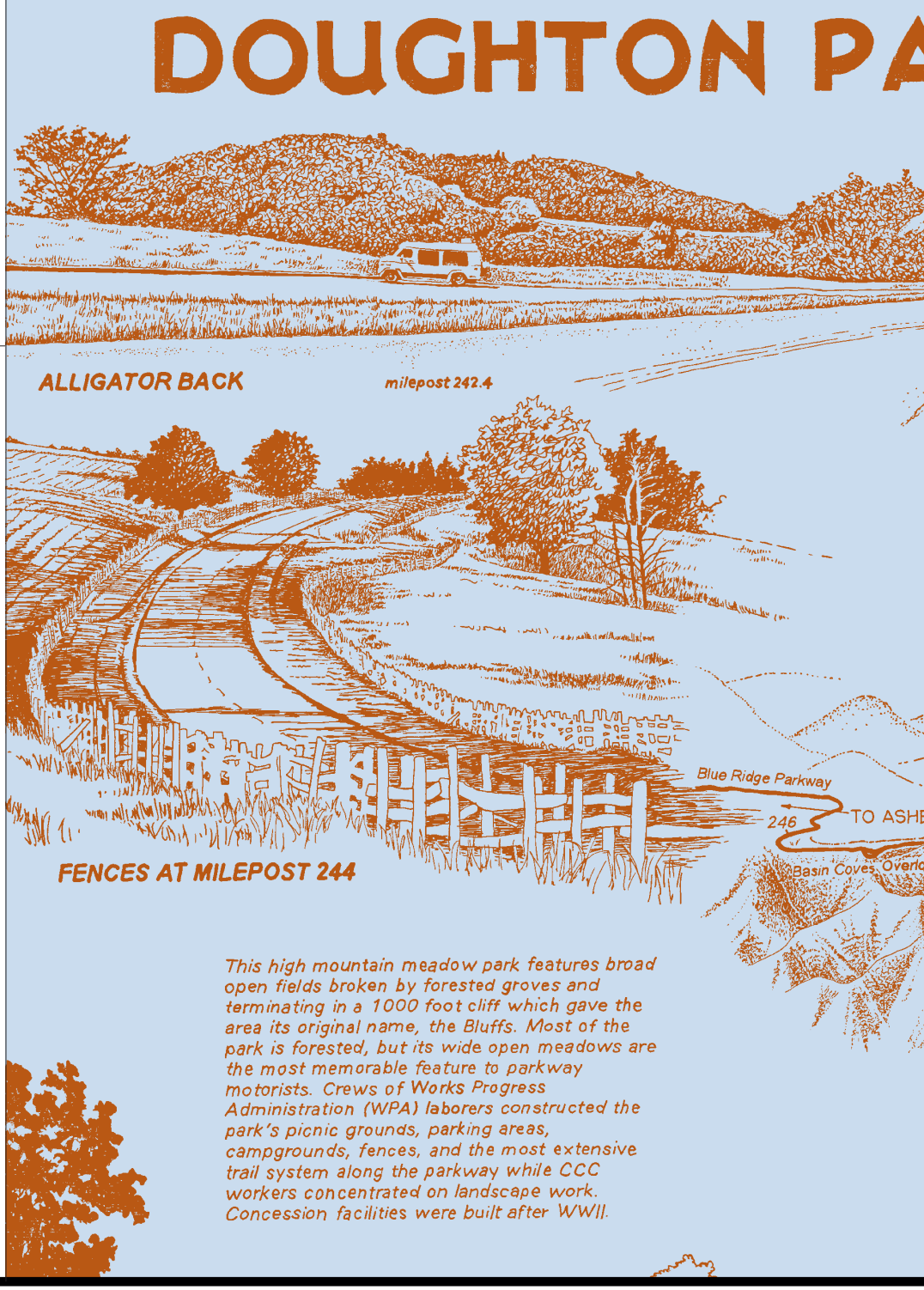
Common Ground online can also be downloaded in pdf format—in its entirety or by section.

Go to www.cr.nps.gov/Common Ground.



OPPOSITE, LEFT TO RIGHT: MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (2); DAVID ANDREWS/NPS; RIGHT: DAVID ANDREWS/NPS

Clockwise from right: Blue Ridge Parkway, North Carolina; entrance kiosk for a park; artist's rendition of a trip down Going-to-the-Sun Road at Montana's Glacier National Park; drawing inspired by the cover of a 1932 issue of *American Motorist,* depicting Mount Vernon Memorial Highway.



Motoring to Paradise The Story of the National Park Roads and Parkways

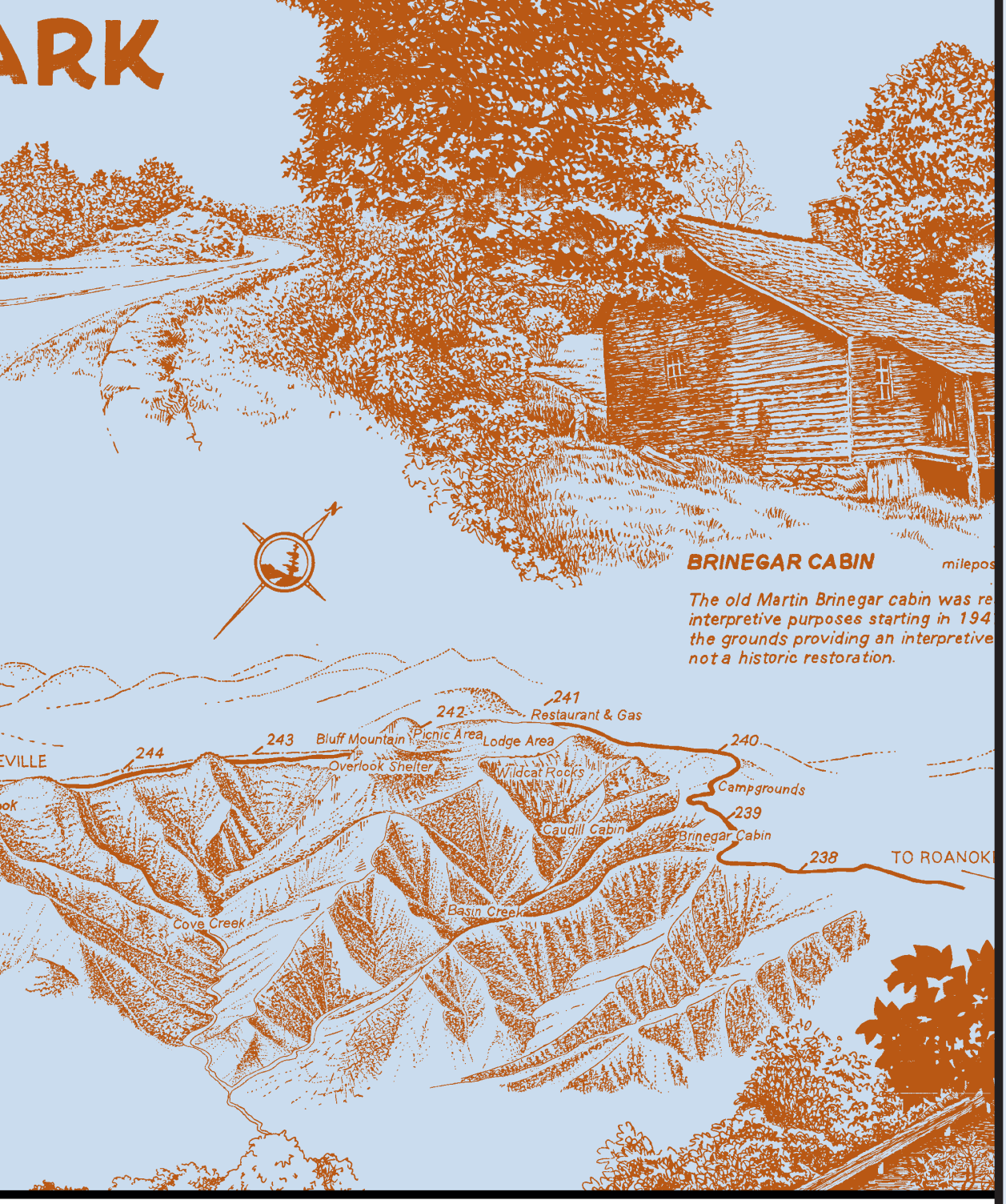
"Building roadways through remote and rugged terrain inspired some of the most spectacular feats in the history of American engineering," says NPS historian Tim Davis in the just-published *America's National Park Roads and Parkways,* whose pages testify to a marriage of art and ingenuity that may never be seen again. The volume, from Johns Hopkins University Press, is a behind-the-windshield look at the evolution of the parks and parkways. Over 300 sites are captured in meticulous drawings, which convey the mood and intent of each period of construction.

Park Roads and Parkways calls to mind an oversize graphic novel, replete with subplots, sidebar asides, and information graphics: road building blow-by-blow, with construction peel-aways; vista design; how to hide a highway; a history of transport; designing for scenic inspiration. Plus a visual vocabulary of landscape design, park style, with panoramas, overlooks, tunnels, check-in kiosks, auto camps, rim drives, guardrails, waysides, pullouts, and more.

From the culverts of Yellowstone to the bridges of Rock Creek Park, the manmade blends seamlessly with the land. The natural world gets its day too, in a host of delightful maps and botanical sketches. So do the drivers, with motorist views rendered in skilled perspective.

It's all here—a *Whole Earth Catalog* of the parks and parkways—the complete how and why of their construction.

The book is the product of a decade's worth of field work by the NPS Historic American Engineering Record, whose survey teams documented the parks from A to



ALL IMAGES NPS/HAER

Z, Acadia to Zion. Co-edited by Davis with NPS architects Todd Croteau and Christopher Marston, the volume conveys the creativity and deft hand brought to balancing protection with access.

"The National Park Service created a world-class road system through America's most treasured scenery," says Davis. "It stands as a social, artistic, and technological achievement in its own right." So does this book.

A second volume on park roads and parkways will also be published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

To order, go to the Press online at www.press.jhu.edu or call (800) 537-5487. For more information, contact Tim Davis, National Park Service, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 1849 C Street NW (2260), Washington, DC 20240, (202) 354-2091, email tim_davis@nps.gov.

KEYS TO CURATION

Two books are out on pressing curation issues among public agencies, museums, universities, and their partners. Addressing insufficient storage, poor record keeping, and other problems, *Curating Archaeological Collections,* by Lynne P. Sullivan and S. Terry Childs, fills a conspicuous gap in training for students, archeologists, and agencies that manage collections. The primer emphasizes holistic planning even before artifacts come out of the ground, to promote future study and access by a broad audience. Informed by decades of experience (Sullivan is curator of archeology at the University of Tennessee's Frank H. McClung Museum, Childs is an archeologist and collections specialist for the National Park Service), the guide offers sections on writing and archiving field notes and finding a repository, among many other topics.

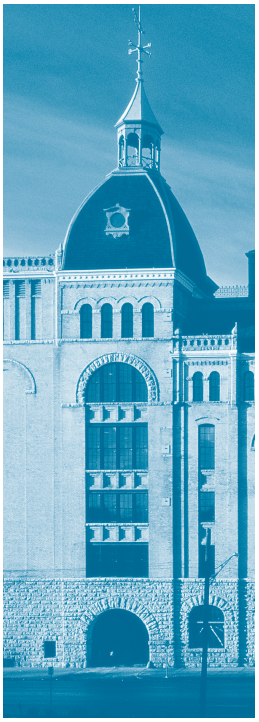
***Our Collective Responsibility: The Ethics and Practice of Archaeological Collections Stewardship,* edited by Childs for the Society for American Archaeology, takes a broad look at the state of curation today, with top archeologists and museum professionals offering their first-hand experience in tackling the most urgent issues. Contributors examine why collections languish, the shortcomings in university and professional training, budgeting for curation, and the unrealized research potential of collections.**

A wealth of related material from the National Park Service Archeology and Ethnography Program, notably the web feature "Managing Archeological Collections," is at www.cr.nps.gov/aad/collections.

To order *Curating Archaeological Collections,* contact Altamira Press, (800) 462-6420. For a copy of *Our Collective Responsibility,* call the Society for American Archaeology at (202) 789-8200. For more information, contact Terry Childs at terry_childs@nps.gov.

Tapped for Preservation

Once Run-Down Brewery Revitalizes Minneapolis Waterfront



Above: Exterior of the rehabilitated brewery. Right: Restored ironwork in the reception area.

FOR 25 YEARS, the old Grain Belt Brewery sat vacant, a hulking reminder of better days along the waterfront. At one time, the area around Marshall Street was a bustling working class enclave. But by 1975, when the brewery closed its doors, much of the area's business had moved and many residents had traded the close-in and close-knit for new homes in the suburbs.

Today, the brewery stands as a shining example of the economic windfall that sometimes accompanies preservation. Taking advantage of the federal-state program offering tax incentives to rehabilitate historic properties, developer Ryan Companies and RSP Architects brought the brewery back to life.

The $20 million, two-year renovation converted the 1891 building into RSP's headquarters, helping to reinvigorate the neighborhood. In 2002, the project won the Adaptive Reuse Preservation Award from the AIA Minneapolis chapter and the city's Heritage Preservation Commission.

The tax incentives can total 20 percent of the rehabilitation costs. The structure must be historic as certified by the National Park Service, must be income producing (apartments, retail, etc.), and must conform to the rehabilitation standards set by the Department of the Interior. The program is administered by the National Park Service, the IRS, and individual state historic preservation offices.

This part of Minneapolis grew fast in the late 19th century with an influx of European immigrants, lured by jobs and the chance to be entrepreneurs.

"THERE WAS VERY CLOSE COMMUNICATION. WE NEVER FELT LEFT OUT . . . WE WERE LIKE PART OF THE DESIGN TEAM."

CHARLES NELSON, MINNESOTA STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

Railroads, lumbering, brewing, and other industries thrived in close proximity to the Mississippi River. A strong working class community took root.

The brewery is part of a building complex—the Minneapolis Brewing Company Historic District—significant to the city's industrial development. The complex includes a wagon shed, a wheelwright shop, and a bottling house. Featuring a mix of styles dominated by the Romanesque, the brewery was the creation of Frederick Wolff and William Lehle, German-born brewery designers based in Chicago. The magazine *Architecture Minnesota,* reviewing the project, says the mix recalls the area's past as a melting pot.

According to Charles Nelson of the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office, the job was a team effort from start to finish. Says Nelson, "There was very close communication. We never felt left out. We actually were called in on discussions on windows, shingles, interior design features. We were like part of the design team." Nelson says that this is unusual for a state preservation office. The Minneapolis Community Development Corporation, a state agency that held the brewery in trust, was also integral to the team.

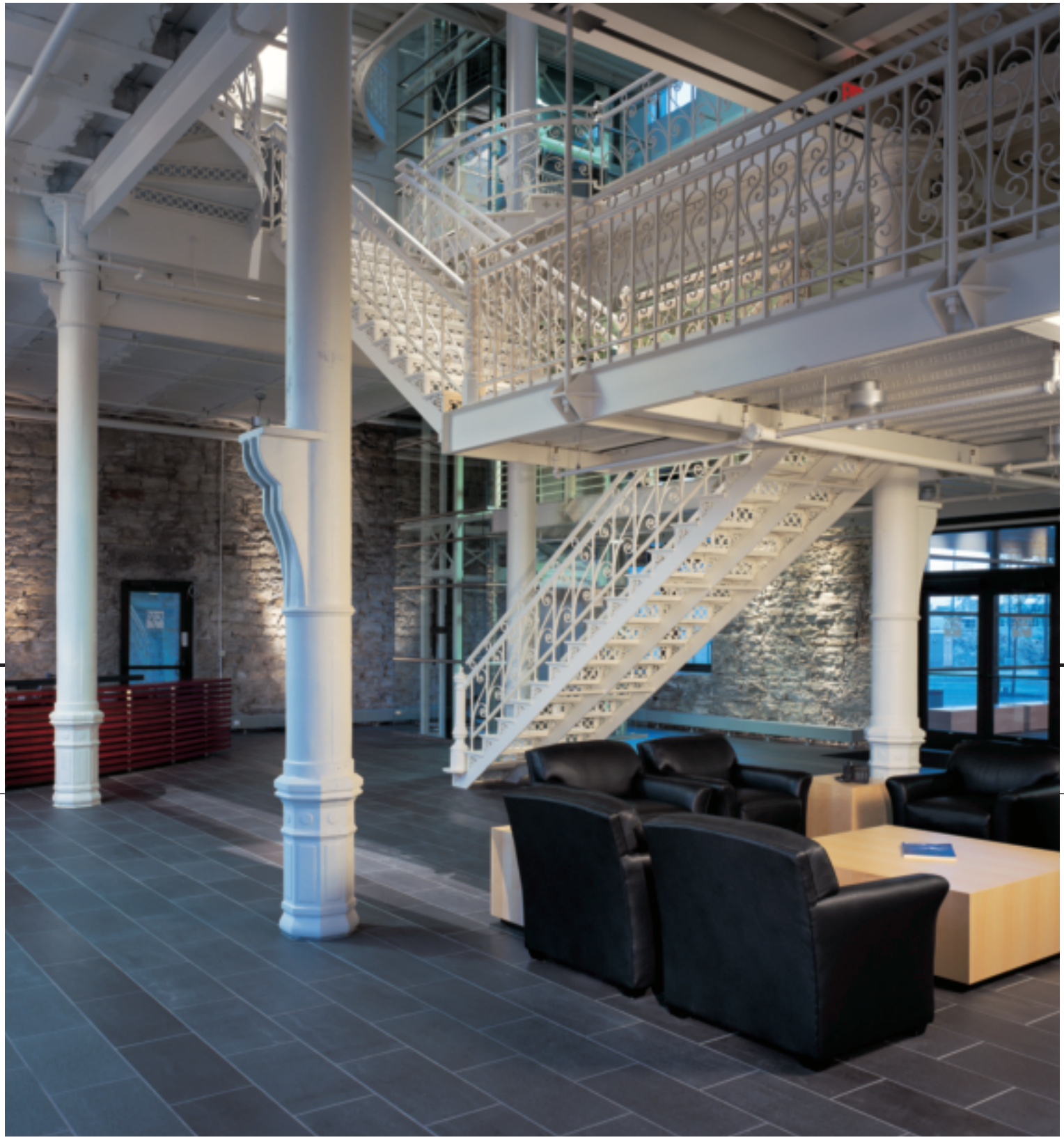
RSP President David Norback lauds the "tremendous circulation and free-flowing space." The high ceilings, the cast iron stairways, the tall arched windows provide a stimulating place to work.

The redevelopment is part of a plan to revitalize the city's river corridor.

Lights shining in the brewery's once-dark windows signal a bright future.

For more information on tax incentives, go to www2.cr.nps.gov/tps/tax/index.htm or contact Michael Auer at (202) 354-2031, email michael_auer@nps.gov. For more on the Grain Belt Brewery, visit www.mnpreservation.org/awards2002/brewery.

ALL PHOTOS GEORGE HEINRICH



GRANT SPOTLIGHT

SOUNDS OF SILENTS

Forgotten Film Studio Gets Boost from Save America's Treasures

If one were seeking the film industry's origins, it probably wouldn't be in the run-down structures among the palms in the Jacksonville, Florida, neighborhood of Arlington. But during the silent era, the city was a center of moviemaking, with the Richard Norman Studios producing films by, for, and about African Americans.

One of the few silent film studios still standing, the site recently received a $250,000 grant from the National Park Service-administered Save America's Treasures program. The structures include a former dark room, screening room, changing cottage, film storage area, set building, and garage to store props. Neglected for years, the complex will be restored with the help of the grant, matched dollar for dollar by the city.

White producer Richard Norman pioneered integration in the industry at a time when the challenges were immense. Theaters were segregated, and African Americans were routinely portrayed in films in a negative light. The Ku Klux Klan enjoyed a resurgence while D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* mirrored the nation's racism. An independent black cinema struggled to take root, but financing was difficult. There was no distribution system and relatively few African-American movie houses.

In the early years of the movies, filmmakers primarily shot in New York and Chicago but soon sought more comfortable climes. Florida was perfect—not only for its weather but its exotic terrain. In the 1900s, producers flocked to Jacksonville. Over the years, stars like Oliver Hardy, Mary Pickford, and Lillian Gish were regulars around town.

Left: Buildings that once housed the Norman Film Studios. Right: Posters, stills, and other memorabilia.

The studio made six features and a host of shorts. The filmmaking was frequently on the fly, with Norman often doing his own writing, editing, and distribution.

Ann Burt, head of Old Arlington, Inc., a local group instrumental in saving the place, says "most people would drive by these buildings and never have a clue of their history. One of the things that's so fascinating about this site is how much still remains." The scene she describes recalls the studio's story: crude light boxes still mounted on the walls, along with leftover film canisters and a small screen in the projection room.

Her group struggled to get attention. People took notice in 2000, when the National Trust for Historic Preservation characterized the studios as "nationally significant." Old Arlington, Inc., named after the neighborhood, convinced the city to buy the property. City officials plan to nominate the studio as a national historic landmark.

Over the years, wildlife invaded the unassuming bungalow-style buildings. But the most immediate threat today is water damage. Emergency repairs have kept the rain at bay while officials seek an architect for the renovation.

Planners envision the restored studio as a museum and tourist attraction.

For more information, contact Jody McDaniel, Recreation, Planning, and Grants Coordinator, City of Jacksonville, 851 N. Market Street, Jacksonville, FL 32202, (904) 630-3586, email jodym@coj.net.

RAY STANYARD/FL BUREAU OF HISTORIC RESOURCES EXCEPT NEAR LEFT ANN BURT

the wilderness act at 40

the STORY *so far*

a talk with doug scott, *policy director of the campaign for america's wilderness*

interviewed by lucy lawliss *lead, park cultural landscapes, national park service*
and tim davis *lead historian, park historic structures and cultural landscapes, national park service*

From the mid-1960s, Doug Scott was on the front lines of the wilderness movement, first in the national parks as a seasonal ranger, then lobbying for the cause with the Wilderness Society. Focused on getting areas designated as wilderness, he worked closely with the National Park Service and other agencies, encouraging Congress to act on their proposals and, when local citizen groups developed better alternatives, expand the wilderness boundaries. From 1973 to 1990, he worked for the Sierra Club; today he is the policy director of the Campaign for America's Wilderness. Here he reflects on the past, present, and future of the wilderness movement.

Left: ***In search of solitude before the Valley of the Yosemite, 1872.***

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE

Q: As we look back on this 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act, could you talk about what the framers were thinking in 1964?

A: I would take the story farther back. The wilderness bill was introduced in Congress in 1956. It took eight years to pass. But it was conceived at a meeting near what is now Voyageurs National Park in the summer of 1947.

Q: Why Voyageurs?

A: Once a year, the leaders of the Wilderness Society met someplace around a campfire to talk deep philosophy. That year it was Voyageurs.

And if you could ask Howard Zahniser, the society's director, what was the motive for the bill, he would say to protect the wilderness in the parks. People think it was mostly about our national forests, but it was broader than that.

The leaders came to the conclusion that relying on administrative promises and regulations to protect wilderness—which even in parks could be changed with the stroke of a pen—wasn't working.

For its entire history, the Park Service—despite being asked again and again by people inside and outside the agency—refused to draw boundaries saying, this is wilderness. We promise not to develop it, ever. We promise that the next time we do a park master plan we won't dream up a new road or extend a campground into the wild area. And so all through the '30s, the '40s, and the '50s, the movement was fighting the concessioners, the dam builders, and sometimes the Park Service itself over plans to develop some new thing.

If you were Zahniser in those days, your morning mail, likely as not, would have a letter from a grassroots person who cared about someplace saying, have you heard? Somebody wants to develop X. So the leaders said hey, wait a minute. We shouldn't always be on the defensive. Isn't there a way to dust our hands and say done? Not to have to re-fight the same battle two years from now. These guys were committed to the idea of not just preserving wilderness until the next planning cycle. They were about preserving it forever. So they asked Congress to draw a line saying this is wilderness. You may not contemplate developing things in it. Or, if you want to contemplate it, bear in mind you'll need an act of Congress.

Last year, President Bush signed a little known bill to correct a 31-acre boundary error in a Utah wilderness area. An act of Congress signed by the President. That's the power of the Wilderness Act.

"Last year, President Bush signed a little known bill to correct a 31-acre boundary error in a Utah wilderness area. An act of Congress signed by the President. That's the power of the Wilderness Act."

An evolving relationship with nature: Climbing Mount Rainier National Park's Paradise Glacier at the turn of the century (right) and exploring Mammoth Cave (below).

Q: Did the Mission 66 program, the announcement in the 1950s that all of a sudden the Park Service was going to spend a billion dollars on the parks, scare wilderness advocates?

A: The sales point for Mission 66 was that in the post-war boom people were starting to travel en masse to the national parks and forests. There was a huge need to catch up with recreational facilities, and conservation groups agreed. But there was also a huge increase in roads and development generally, and the groups objected to some of that.

In 1951, at a Sierra Club wilderness conference, Zahniser said in a speech, "Let's try to be done with a sequence of overlapping emergencies, threats, and defense campaigns. Let's establish an enduring system of areas where we can be at peace and not forever feel that wilderness is a battleground." He outlined what today reads like the table of contents of the act.

He already had the bill in his mind, but didn't put it to paper because he didn't want a debate over words until there was wider agreement. He wanted a consensus including the leaders of the Park Service and the other federal agencies.

LEFT ABOVE: NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT: CURTIS & MILLER

27786
CURTIS & MINER

LEFT: HARVEY STORK/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT ABOVE: GEORGE GRANT/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT BELOW: NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER

Experiencing the wild. Left: Researchers examine the remains of a prehistoric Native American granary in Zion National Park, Utah. Right Top: Young women camping at Glacier National Park, Montana, during the Depression. Right Bottom: Hiking in Mount Rainier National Park, Washington.

Well, about that time the Bureau of Reclamation proposed building a dam at Dinosaur National Monument. The Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club, and others mobilized to fight it. Zahniser saw that saving the monument would create the momentum to launch the wilderness bill campaign. That this threat to one park was a threat to the integrity of the whole system.

So he set the bill idea aside for four or five years while they fought that battle. Which they won. But all along Zahniser was laying the groundwork. So it's no surprise that immediately afterwards, in early 1956, he sat down with his son Ed's primary school pencil tablet and handwrote the first draft of the act.

Q: What was Zahniser's take on the relationship between wilderness and American culture?

A: Well, to him and the other leaders, that was perhaps its most important value.

Q: Could you elaborate a bit?

A: Like Aldo Leopold, another leader, Zahniser and his colleagues were deeply infused with the notion that wilderness was not simply a recreation area. It had recreational values, obviously, but it had many others too. And it's interesting how those values found their way into the act.

When they came to Washington, where Zahniser worked, the leaders hung out at a place called the Cosmos Club. And you can just see a little room with seven or eight of them talking deep philosophy. So when the bill went to Congress, there was this theme that Americans had tamed the wild continent, but in the process the wilderness had wilded us too. Frederick Jackson Turner said our democracy didn't come over on the *Mayflower*. It came out of our encounter with the wild places.

In wilderness you become Daniel Boone. You become Kit Carson. You become LaSalle when you put a paddle in the water. You relive history. Leopold said if the day comes when we have no wilderness, then Davy Crockett and Jim Bridger will just be names in a history book and "rendezvous" will just be a word in French.

Go look at the great paintings of Frederick Church and the Hudson River School. What they were celebrating was uniquely American—our wild landscape. Keep in mind that our early culture had an inferiority complex. Europe had castles and cathedrals and great works in the Vatican. And here we were, rude bumpkins in coonskin caps on the edge of the wilderness

Olympic Wilderness **The Quileute and Olympic National Park**

QUILEUTE MEMBER CHRIS MORGANROTH III recently spoke with Jacilee Wray, NPS North Coast and Cascades Network Anthropologist, about his tribe's relationship to the mountainous landscape, long a source of sustenance. "Traveling overland was nothing to people, they were hardy people," he says. "My grandmother never even wore shoes. Even in the snow. And I would go along too as far as I could and my sisters went along. It was a lot of fun just going up there when I was a wee little kid. And everybody would fish and watch the elk and have a good time." **Q: HOW WERE THE MOUNTAINS FORMED? A:** The mountains were formed, as my grandmother would say, "Táł̓a ́ykila," meaning a long time ago. But it was before the beginnings of time, so to speak, when the mountain range was not a mountain range. It was a beautiful huge valley where people went. And they would set down their implements of war at the outskirts because they couldn't bring them into the valley. When they went inside they had footraces and feats of strength just like they do in the Olympics. **THERE WAS THIS ONE BEING** called "Tatá•ḵʷay ́al," which means the big one or the giant one. Tatá•ḵʷay ́al didn't care for human beings because of what they did many, many years before. He would stomp on the people and try to subdue the people as best he could to get rid of them. But he couldn't catch up to them, so he swept great big mounds of land with his arms and his feet . . . This was how the mountains were created, from pushing the land together. **THE PEOPLE KNEW** that Great Spirits lived in the mountains, such as the Thunderbird, which lived under Blue Glacier. He brought them food during the great freeze of 11,000 to 12,000 years ago. According to legend, the people heard Thunderbird flying over and they feared for their lives in this time when ice was up over their houses and over their heads. They watched the Thunderbird hover over their village and then went over the ocean and picked up a whale and came back and put the whale at the feet of the people. **ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING STORIES** is about when everybody was having arguments and Quati said if you're going to fight then I'm going to cause a flood and do you in. And people built canoes and floated aimlessly and they found a mountain peak and there were already animals up there taking refuge. And that was Mt. Olympus. And several tribes landed to wait for the flood to recede. But when they tethered their canoes it began to get turbulent again. And some broke loose and people got back in as quickly as they could and all went different directions. **Q: I'VE HEARD THAT SOMETIMES YOU CAN STILL SEE THE TETHER ON THE MOUNTAIN WHEN THE SNOW MELTS BACK. A:** It could be a myth, it could be a story, and it could be true, we don't know. Because a great flood did happen we think about 6,000 years ago.

ABOVE: GEORGE GRANT/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT: HENRY G. PEABODY/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER

with the bears and the Indians. But that image evolved into a sort of patriotism.

The leaders talked about it incessantly. They said we have a deep moral responsibility to preserve wilderness so future generations are not robbed of the opportunity to know what shaped our culture. So even if you think you're just backpacking with your Boy Scout troop, you're connecting with something fundamental about our country. Leopold said that if there's a distinct American culture, it came out of the experience of the frontiersman—the hearty independence, the self-reliance. Senator Hubert Humphrey, the original sponsor of the act, talked about wilderness in the same way.

Q: Do you think the idea of wilderness is being usurped by scientists and environmentalists now?

A: Well, spell that out.

Q: There's a sense in much of the dialogue since the '60s that wilderness is a place without humans, without history. That the absence of people is a

"In wilderness you become Daniel Boone. You become Kit Carson. You become LaSalle when you put a paddle in the water. You relive history."

Above: "Primitive" transport—horse and rider, Olympic Peninsula, Washington, 1934. Right: "Mechanization" in the parks—passing through one of Yosemite's giant redwoods.

good thing, ecologically and spiritually. That human trespass degrades wilderness.

A: I could not disagree more. To the early leadership, the essential quality was the exclusion of machinery. If there were virgin areas that could be saved, great. But they didn't want to be limited to that because of their broader concerns.

Virtually all of Shenandoah National Park had been settled and farmed and logged, so there were fading scars of past inhabitants. For the purposes of the act, that wasn't the most important thing. It was a place without mechanization. A place where the primitive forms of travel could still be practiced. That's what the leaders focused on—the absence of "mechanization." And that's the word the act uses. It was machinery they wanted to get away from, the accoutrements of modern civilization.

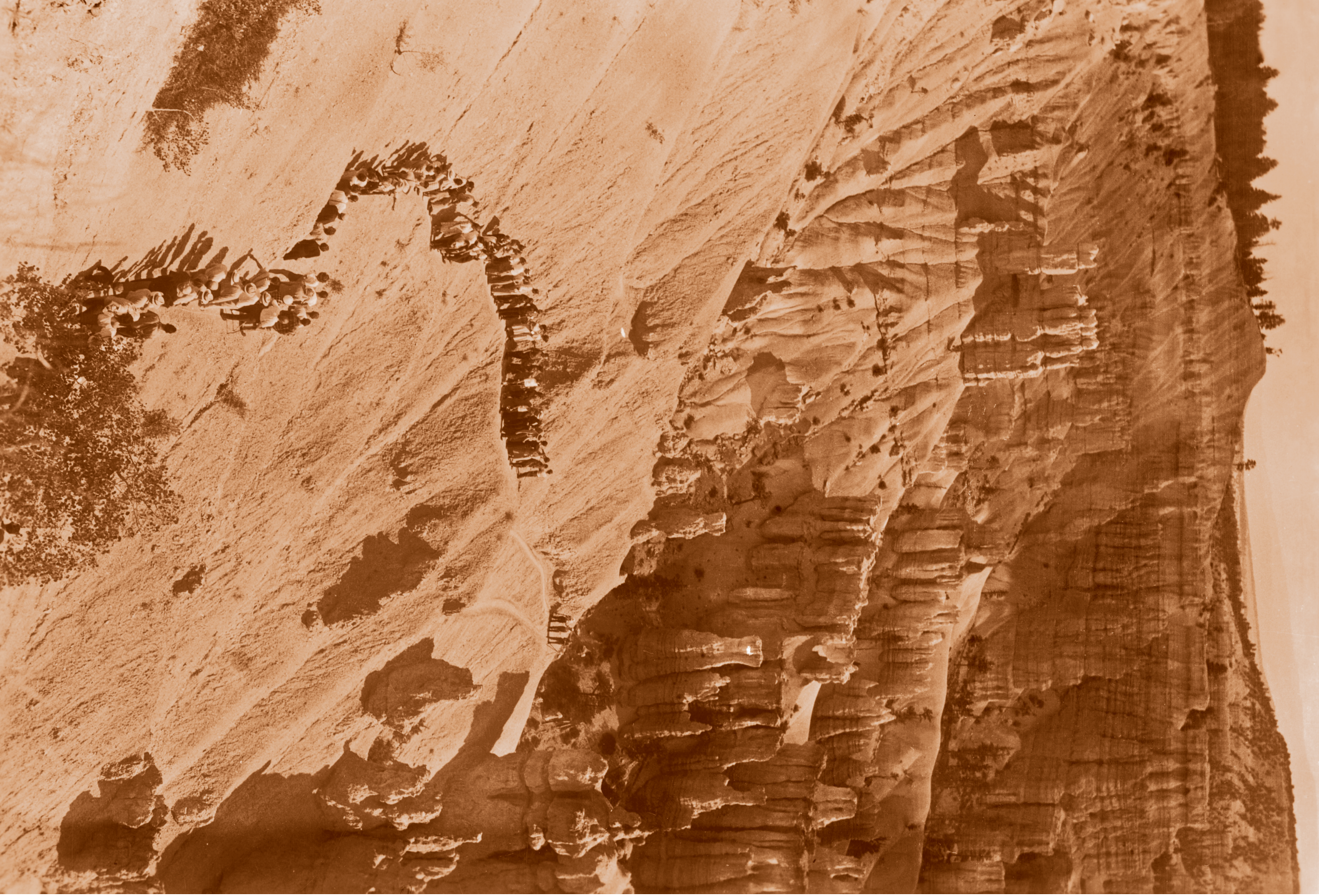
The first sentence in section 2(c) of the act describes the ideal: areas where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man. Zahniser went to enormous trouble to pick the word "untrammeled." He got criticized and stuck by his guns. He said untrammeled doesn't mean untrampled. It means unfettered, unrestrained. It means the earth and its community of life shall unfold in its own way. If the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge has been unfolding in its own way for eons, great. If Shenandoah National Park has been unfolding in its own way, that's great too, even as it recovers from the past human impact. It can only get better and wilder. Our job now is to stand at the boundary and keep the forces of nature from being constrained by human activity.

As a leader in the wilderness movement, I don't hear much that no one should be allowed in these areas. Just the opposite. They should be enjoyed by people. Because wilderness has so much to offer to the individual and society.

Some academics criticize the human-centered focus of wilderness discussions. Most of that is idle theorizing. It's all very nice. It just doesn't have anything to do with the world I live in. The world I live in is about helping people around the country protect the treasured wild places on our federal lands, using a practical law written by practical people who understood what they were doing. Who cared passionately about the national parks and forests and the grander mission of conservation.

People love wilderness. They flock to it. A few years ago I was driving in Yellowstone and there was an RV in one of the gravel pullouts. It had an awning with an older couple in lawn chairs gazing out at the wild valley. They were *using* the wilderness. When we get the wilderness formerly designated in Yellowstone, I sure hope Congress puts the boundary right at the edge of that pullout, right at the edge of the roads.

Senator Frank Church, the floor manager for the Wilderness Act, called it the critical edge. The largest use—and I mean *real use*—is by people who never set foot in the wilderness. They are feasting on it with their eyes and ears. That couple probably would have said, "Oh, my God, there are wolves and bears just over there." They wouldn't step into it. But they didn't come to enjoy the turnout. They came to enjoy the wildness of that view.



LEFT: NATT N. DODGE/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT ABOVE: GEORGE GRANT/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT BELOW: NPS · HARPERS FERRY CENTER

We work to save these places, with all the strength of the Wilderness Act, *for them*.

Sorry. I got on my favorite hobbyhorse.

Q: Do you think the act has achieved its goals?

A: It's still in the process. If Zahniser returned from the dead and we said, remember your wilderness law? It now protects 4.7 percent of all the land in the United States. Your original 9 million acres has grown to 106 million, thanks to over 115 individual pieces of legislation Congress has passed in these four decades. He'd be happy. But there's more to do.

Q: Has the law succeeded in ways you didn't expect?

A: The congressional push forced our movement to decentralize. When I got involved there weren't Sierra Club chapters or *ad hoc* citizen groups everywhere. If you had a hearing on wild lands in Isle Royale National Park, there wasn't a group in Michigan's upper peninsula to help you. So the movement decentralized and, boy, is it decentralized today. Instead of a relatively few national leaders, there are hundreds of leaders all over the country.

But that's the secret of the national wilderness system. In many cases, the acreage Congress ultimately chose to designate was not what the Park Service and other agencies recommended. Often it was more, much more because local citizens took their case to Congress.

Look at Idaho's Craters of the Moon National Monument and Preserve, one of the first parks with designated wilderness. The 1966 master plan reflected Park Service Director George Hartzog's infatuation with motor-nature trails through wild lands. And the Park Service planners said, oh, the boss wants the motor-nature trails, so they planned them everywhere. At Craters, they tried to take this decrepit old rutted trail around a butte and turn it into one. We at the Wilderness Society—backing a proposal by local citizens—kept it from happening. We persuaded Congress to put that area inside the wilderness boundary. That set a pattern.

Congress had become a court of appeals, where citizen groups could offer their own counter-proposals. Senator Church took the Park Service to task for leaving wild parts out of their wilderness recommendations. He championed the idea of bringing the boundary right down to the edge of current development. Unless the Park Service had a sensible reason not to.

In Frank's mind, you don't leave it out because you want the option to build someday. Congress will change the boundary if the case is persuasive. But the presumption had shifted.

And then the Forest Service announced blithely one day in 1971 that no federal lands in the eastern half of the United States qualified under the Wilderness Act. That was news to Congress, amongst others. We thought it was a little odd since, back when they could designate their wild areas administratively, the agency established three of them there. Well, we now have lots of congressionally protected areas in the East.

Did the Wilderness Act draw lines that would stick? Yes. Is the act being applied in lots of places? Yes. Is the work done yet? No. Look at the iconic parks along the center of the continent—from Glacier to Big Bend—virtually every one with outstanding wilderness yet to be designated by Congress, despite Presidential recommendations.

Seeking the scenic. Left: Guided tour of Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah, 1940. Below: Looking down a canyon at Zion National Park, Utah, 1929. Bottom: Early trailer camping at Yosemite.

A Wilderness for All **Wild Places and Cultural Diversity**

IS WILDERNESS a lockup for spoiled, upper middle class, Daniel Boone wannabes? Vast tracts for the well-heeled few to experience frontiersman fantasies? That's one question posed by an upcoming video from the Arthur Carhart National Wilderness Training Center. *American Values: American Wilderness* explores the importance of wilderness to all Americans, emphasizing its often intangible appeal. **ONE OF THOSE INTERVIEWED IN THE FILM,** Cheryl Armstrong, is executive director of the Beckwourth Mountain Club, which offers wilderness experiences to culturally diverse groups. When she brings urban Denver youth into the wilderness, she describes their reaction as "an awakening." Others in the film also evoke the transcendent qualities of wild places. Wilderness is a "wellspring of spiritual nourishment," says one. "The environmental regulatory functions of wilderness are important," he says. "All you have to do is look at the brown cloud over Denver to realize that." **THE FILMMAKERS INTEND TO PRODUCE** a Spanish language version too, not just a translation but a separate video that speaks to the role of wilderness in Hispanic culture. **NARRATED BY CHRISTOPHER REEVE,** the film is one of a series of events planned to coincide with the 40th anniversary of the Wilderness Act. The Carhart Center, established to train federal land managers responsible for wilderness areas, is aiming for wide distribution of the one-hour film on public television. REI, Inc., which sells outdoor gear, donated $50,000 toward producing *American Values: American Wilderness,* matched by the National Forest Foundation, a nonprofit partner. **FOR MORE INFORMATION,** contact Chris Barns, Carhart National Wilderness Training Center, James E. Todd Building, 32 Campus Drive, Missoula, MT 59812-3168, (406) 243-4682, carhart.wilderness.net/index.cfm.

Q: Let's talk a bit about preserving cultural artifacts in the wilderness.

A: I'm all for preserving the old things you trip over in Shenandoah and other parks. The act enumerates a whole list of purposes; the words historical and educational are both on it. I'd love to see a lot more of interpreting the wilderness and its human history. It's part of the story—our encounter with this once all-wild continent. The act is not about rolling up the trails and keeping people out.

Q: Some people believe that wilderness should be cherished as a prehuman, above-human ecological sanctuary. You suggest that the original meaning has been lost, that the shapers had more of a cultural view.

A: I wouldn't set it up as a dichotomy. But you're right. It's been lost by way too many people. There's no reason why you can't do both. Take the controversy at Bandelier National Monument.

Because of fire control measures, junipers have invaded up on the plateaus, shading out the native grasses. So when the heavy rains come, the soil runs off. Well, the Park Service did this fabulous little test plot. They chainsawed the juniper, usually a forbidden tool in a wilderness area, but permitted in this case by countervailing regulations. The grasses came back.

Above left: Using the wild—climbing Eagle Cliff at Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado. Above right: Park overload—campers at Yellowstone. Right: Picturing nature at Utah's Bryce Canyon National Park in 1960.

In another plot they did nothing. The park archeologist took me down to the catch basin below that plot, cupped his hands, and came up with Indian pot sherds from the runoff. And I said that's it. Get your chainsaws out. The Wilderness Act is not a straightjacket. The monument's purpose isn't just to have asphalt trails out to a couple of ruins. It's to leave those artifacts in place.

"Guardians not gardeners," Zahniser said. He was reacting to a report about how the national parks should be managed ecologically, to hold them as a vignette of primitive America defined as when the first white person saw it.

Q: Well, doesn't that interpretation beg the question whether they understood the degree to which Native Americans were manipulating the landscape?

A: Certainly right. Name the acre even before global warming that hasn't been impacted by humanity. You only have to look at Alaska to say that the Native American qualities are part of the story of this land. What we're trying to keep out are the Wal-Marts and the go-carts and the dirt bikes and the seemingly endless proliferation of roads.

Q: What are the primary challenges today?

A: There's unfinished business in the parks, and I use the "lowercase w" for wilderness to mean the area outside the boundaries. You know, the average person doesn't give a hoot whether it has a capital "W" and has yet been designated by Congress. They're out to enjoy some wild place and have a wonderful time.

There are certainly enormous challenges for those who administer our wild park lands. I try to avoid the phrase "wilderness management." I prefer "wilderness stewardship." Challenges in how to look after wilderness once it's designated. How to cope with the fact that in some places it's being loved to death.

I will tell you this, the American people get it. They get that wilderness areas are not primarily for recreation, though that's the way most of us talk much of the time, with recreational blinders on. Oh, wilderness, that's about backpacking.

Forest Service researchers, based in Athens, Georgia, do extensive polling. They've devised a list of 13 benefits of wilderness. For each they ask respondents whether it's important, really important, not important, really not important.

The sample size is huge, the statistical reliability off the scales. The American people, as measured by the poll, say all 13 benefits are important. By a huge margin. But when you rank the benefits, the ninth thing down is recreation. The first eight don't involve putting your foot in the wilderness area.

But the value that leaps out as most important to me is our moral obligation to leave some choices to the future. And the way I put it is, you know, it's conceivable that our movement might someday persuade the Congress to designate "too much" wilderness. A hundred years from now, people can say, uh, too much wilderness here. But we'll have given them the choice.

Former Senators Dale Bumpers and Dan Evans, a Democrat and a Republican, wrote a column a while ago. They said the wilderness designation is the most lower case "d" democratic land use decision our society makes. This act is a people's law. It is people saving wilderness for people.

FAR LEFT: ROGER CONTOR/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; NEAR LEFT: NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT: JACK BOUCHER/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER

We live in an age of cynicism. In a thousand unspoken ways we teach our children that our politics are corrupt and everybody's on the take and they all make these awful decisions and they don't give a damn about the rest of us. I've worked with Congress for 35 years, and I know that cynicism is way off the mark.

The work that ordinary citizens do using this act is the essence of democracy at its best. I can tell you about the pear orchardist in California or the cocktail waitress in a casino in a small town in Nevada or the hardware dealer in Montana who have gone to the halls of Congress not as silver-tongued lobbyists but as citizens urging action. That there are people like that working their hearts out for places they cherish.

Contact Doug Scott at the Campaign for America's Wilderness, 705 Second Avenue, Suite 203, Seattle, WA 98104, (206) 342-9212, cell (206) 200-0804, fax (206) 343-1526, email dscott@leaveitwild.org, www.leaveitwild.org. For information on the NPS Wilderness Program, contact Rick Potts, National Wilderness Program Manager, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240, email rick_potts@nps.gov.

Ground View

A Talk with Don Neubacher, Superintendent at California's Point Reyes National Seashore

Q: In practice, do you think the Wilderness Act promoted a privileging of natural over cultural resources because people weren't conversant with the historical aspects of its mandate? A: Initially that was true. I would be the first to admit in the beginning there was less emphasis on saving historic features. But it's matured. And the Park Service, in general, has a greater appreciation of that than we did 40 years ago. **Q: When do you think that appreciation came back? A:** It was always there. But our sophistication in working with cultural landscapes has really matured in the last 15 years. We still have a ways to go, though. **Q: When wilderness areas were first designated, was there a program of active removal of historic remains? A:** Yes, some removal did occur in certain areas. When our park was formed in 1962, they set up a pastoral zone and a back country zone. Then the Wilderness Act came in, and the Park Service proposed setting aside only around 8,000 acres. The public pushed that and so did Congress to around 32,000 acres. But you have to put it in context. There was a threat to wild places back in the '60s and '70s. It was the genesis of a big movement. Our community in particular bought into it. And if you look at the wilderness hearings, the public really wanted to keep the primitive area intact. I don't think there was much mention of preserving cultural remains. **Q:** It was interesting to

"People love wilderness. They flock to it. A few years ago I was driving in Yellowstone and there was an RV in one of the gravel pullouts. It had an awning with an older couple in lawn chairs gazing out at the wild valley. They were using *the wilderness."*

Far left: Touring urban wilderness at Fire Island National Seashore, New York. Left: Seeking the spectacle—peering into the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. Below: Alien presence? Remains of the Desert Queen Ranch at Joshua Tree National Monument, California.

hear from Doug Scott how the Wilderness Act was the first federal law to promote public participation in land decisions.

A: People were really scared of overdevelopment at Point Reyes. And they were afraid of promoting urban encroachment from San Francisco and Oakland. The Park Service was very recreation oriented; there were plans for everything from marinas to major complexes to a coastal highway. All of it was stopped with the wilderness overlay.

Q: Do you or other parks interpret the rewilding of formerly developed lands? For example, by telling the story of how the Wilderness Act took conspicuous cultural landscapes like the old cabins at Shenandoah and perhaps some of the ranches at Point Reyes.

A: Most of our back country was heavily wooded, marginal in terms of ranch landscape. We do a good job of telling the story of the past presence. It's part of the experience, going to campgrounds that are old ranch sites. And we have a big program to share information on the Native American use. But we don't really talk about making it wilder. We try to get cultural and natural to complement each other, preserving both. And the boundary was artfully drawn to keep historic structures out of the wilderness area. For more information, contact Don Neubacher, Superintendent, Point Reyes National Seashore, Point Reyes, CA 94956, (415) 464-5100, email don_neubacher@nps.gov, www.nps.gov/pore.

LEFT: RICHARD FREAR/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; CENTER: NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; RIGHT: BRIAN GROGAN/NPS/HAER

PETER DRUSCHKE

the wilderness act at 40

WILDERNESS
STATE OF MIND

a talk with **roderick nash**
author of ***wilderness and the american mind***

interviewed by lucy lawliss *lead, park cultural landscapes, national park service*
and tim davis *lead historian, park historic structures and cultural landscapes, national park service*

Roderick Nash, professor emeritus of history and environmental studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, published the landmark *Wilderness and the American Mind* in 1967. Now in its fourth edition, it has been praised as a book that changed our world. "Wilderness preservation is an American invention, our unique contribution to world civilization," Nash says. "If you want to understand American history there is no escaping the need to come to terms with our wilderness past. Wilderness areas are historical documents; destroying them is comparable to tearing pages from our books and laws. We can't teach our children about our history on freeways or in shopping malls. Take away wilderness and you diminish the opportunity to be American."
Roderick Nash is a descendant of the Canadian river explorer Simon Roderick Fraser.

Left: ***Inyo Mountain Wilderness, California, Bureau of Land Management and U.S. Forest Service.***

LEFT: © PETER DRUSCHKE; RIGHT: CHRIS BARNS

"Wilderness is a state of mind. It doesn't exist like a mountain or a canyon or a river; it isn't a place, it's a quality. And the perception of that quality will vary from individual to individual . . . It's like happiness, also a word that ends with 'ness.' What makes you happy isn't necessarily going to make me happy."

Q: We chatted with Doug Scott about who drew the lines around wilderness, and where, why, and how they were drawn [see page 12]. But we haven't talked much about what's inside the lines.

A: Well, wilderness can certainly be defined as a place on a map, which the 1964 act did. You say, that's wilderness. But where did it come from?

Wilderness is a state of mind. It doesn't exist like a mountain or a canyon or a river. It isn't a place, it's a quality. And the perception of that quality will vary from individual to individual. We might all be standing in the same place and say, well, is this wilderness? Well, it is to me but it isn't to you. It's like happiness, also a word that ends with "ness." What makes you happy isn't necessarily going to make me happy.

Civilization created wilderness. About 15,000 years ago, as the hunting and gathering lifestyle gave way to settlement, we began to fancy we were different from the rest of nature, above it. We drew lines around things: fences, corrals, city walls. We began to say, this is controlled, something we own, and what we didn't control was wild.

A new generation of wilderness values. Left: Half Dome in the Yosemite Wilderness. Above: Bisti/De-Na-Zin Wilderness, New Mexico, Bureau of Land Management.

Q: In your book you lay out the transition from wilderness as something negative to something we cherish. Could you talk about that—especially as it pertains to the beginnings of the National Park Service and later the Wilderness Act?

A: This, of course, is the big story I tried to tell in *Wilderness and the American Mind*. It's one of the most dramatic turnabouts in the history of ideas.

Initially we feared what we did not control. Wild country, wild animals, and wild people were thought of as threats to the security and survival of civilized society. Wilderness was "howling"—hated by European colonists, who longed to bring order to the chaos of nature, light into darkness. In their religions God cursed wild places. Civilization was a blessing; wilderness was a devilish place.

The furthest thought in John Winthrop's mind when he stepped off the boat in Massachusetts Bay in 1630 was to protect the wild country. He feared the wild country; he feared the wild people, the wild animals. He wanted a city upon a hill; the last thing he thought about was a national park or a wilderness preserve.

Driven by these biases, the pioneers eliminated a lot of the wild places, and the wild people too. But pioneering changed us as well as the land. We began to understand that the conquest of wilderness could go too far. Yet only gradually did the conquer-and-dominate mindset give way, first to appreciation and then to preservation.

Romanticism, with its delight in awesome scenery and noble savages, underlay the change, as did the concept of wilderness as the source of a distinctive American art, character, and culture. The Adirondacks and the Grand Canyon became the equivalent of the Acropolis and Buckingham Palace.

By the 1850s, Henry David Thoreau could celebrate the physical and intellectual vigor of the wild as a necessary counterpoint to an effete and stale civilization. He called for people and landscapes that were "half cultivated." He realized that saving some wilderness from development would help keep the New World new.

Q: Back then his views were not widely shared, or appreciated.

A: Granted, few people paused to read Thoreau at the height of westward expansion, but the next half century brought a sea change. The national parks—with Yellowstone in 1872 and Yosemite in 1890—began a policy of protecting public lands for their scientific, scenic, and recreational values. In 1892, John Muir organized the Sierra Club to defend the parks, rallying the nation behind the idea of wilderness as a valuable part of civilization.

With the public perception of a vanishing frontier, wilderness emerged as a novelty. You have the first glimmerings of people thinking that they did not have to fight the wild any more. They began to think, I'd like to get away from the city. I'd like to get back to nature. I'd like to read *The Call of the Wild*. I'd like to read *Tarzan*. I'd like my kid to know something about the old frontier, go camping, join the Boys Scouts. Theodore Roosevelt's popularity was an expression of the new idea of wilderness as an asset rather than a liability. The old enemy had become an important part of American history. The park and conservation movement built on these ideas.

Q: Do you think the Wilderness Act idea could have carried the day in 1916—when the park system was established—or did it have to wait another half century? That is, considering the Wilderness Act's more ambitious stance favoring protection over recreation.

A: The Wilderness Act was anticipated in the 1920s, when the Forest Service began to take stock of large roadless areas. At the same time, the growing science of ecology pointed to wilderness as a reservoir of natural processes. Aldo Leopold, a forest ecologist, led the way in the 1930s in defining an ethical, not merely an economic, relationship to the land. When Bob Marshall and others founded the Wilderness Society in 1935, they understood wild country to be more than a playground.

Still, recreation, scenery, and economics were the arguments for protecting wilderness. Economics meant tourist economics, which, of course, figured back as early as the railroad interest in nature tourism at the national parks—Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, Glacier. The utilitarian rationale served the cause well, but by the 1960s there were changes in the air.

Q: Now that's interesting. Doug Scott told us the rationale was largely to preserve this very human, "small d" democratic experience. A chance to be Daniel Boone, to quote Doug. A chance to connect with these early, revered Americans. It was not a nature movement.

"With perceptions of a vanishing frontier, wilderness emerged as a novelty. You have the first glimmerings of people thinking that they did not have to fight the wild any more. They began to think, I'd like to get away from the city. I'd like to get back to nature."

A: Doug was talking about '64?

Q: Yes. And before that, about the '20s and '30s with Leopold and later the '40s and '50s with Howard Zahniser and the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club. Doug said they wanted to preserve this experience of a lost America. Not just plants and animals and habitats. That was a post-'60s idea. The concept was to save cultural experiences from being lost in the developed areas of the parks.

A: I believe what Doug is saying applies more to the early 20th century. You had organizations like the Sons of Daniel Boone; people going out there to learn woodcraft skills and, as the phrase went, "get back to nature." But with Rachel Carson's work in the early 1960s and the resurgence of Leopold's *Sand County Almanac,* we see the start of a different rationale. Still recognizing the need to protect wild country for the primitive experience, as Doug put it, but now looking at wilderness as a way to protect the planet.

The act gave specific, systematic, and secure protection to the wilderness. The language itself was revolutionary; the law spoke of "an enduring resource of wilderness" for the American people. Traditionally, the term "resource" was reserved for hard-core economic stuff like lumber, oil, soil, minerals, and hydropower. In calling wilderness a "resource," Congress—really, Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society, who wrote most of the act—enlarged the definition to include space, beauty, solitude, silence, and biodiversity. These uses became just as legitimate as the extractive industries. Zahniser, a great fan of Thoreau, certainly had a much broader vision of wilderness than simply for outdoor recreation.

Q: Do you think the anthropocentric view is more pragmatic politically, given the realities of environmental advocacy today?

A: I think that, politically, the older view will continue to be a mainstay of appropriations and justifications. But in my book, *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics,* I examined the emergence in the 1960s of a new philosophy of environmental advocacy. This was clearly ecocentric. One sign of the times was the Endangered Species Act of 1972. The value of wilderness in this context points to a very different direction than the old recreation and economic arguments.

Q: Agreed. But you take the recreation and economics view to task.

A: I recognize their value politically, but I think there are higher, less selfish horizons in the pro-wilderness argument. Let me share something I sometimes slip into my lectures. I say I want to talk to the men in the audience only. Haven't we all been asked—usually in the middle of the night by a partner—why do you love me? And I say the three answers to that question that aren't going to work are scenery, recreation, and economics!

Our love of wilderness can be articulated on a similar less selfish plane. The starting point is thinking about its inherent value—in Thoreau's words, as a civilization other than our own with rights and interests we should respect.

ABOVE: © PETER GOIN; RIGHT: WILDERNESS.NET

Above: The wild through the windshield—California's Joshua Tree Wilderness, with over a half million acres. Right: Back to nature. Images from Wilderness.net, an educational initiative by the University of Montana's Wilderness Institute, the Arthur Carhart National Wilderness Training Center, and the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute. Go to www.wilderness.net.

The wild from afar. Above: Montana's Glacier National Park; President Nixon recommended setting aside almost a million acres as wilderness, managed as such while awaiting congressional action. Right: View of California's Yosemite Wilderness, 1980.

Q: Can you talk about "big W" wilderness—places congressionally spearheaded and delineated and controlled? How do we deal with artifacts inside the boundaries? What's their role in a place where we're not supposed to be reminded of humans? Do we remove them?

A: I think artifacts from the native or pioneer past have a legitimate place. The National Park Service has a cultural mission as well as one involved in protecting nature. But let the cultural preservation be in the context of wilderness where people are visitors who do not remain.

Q: How does that square with the rights of nature? Is that as important as protecting wilderness for the birds and bees?

A: The key is to keep modern development, including interpretative infrastructure, out. Let designated wilderness be a place where we relearn that we are members, and not masters, of the life community. Why not do for other species what we are trying to do for the oppressed minorities of our own?

Q: Doug Scott spoke about the idea of wilderness as a place for people to escape the machines, the frustration of urban life. Today there's a concern about another form of technology—cell phones.

A: Sounds like a good point from Doug. Organizations like Wilderness

LEFT: MARTIN STUPICH/NPS/HAER; ABOVE: © ROGER MINICK, COURTESY JAN KESNER GALLERY, LOS ANGELES

Watch support a similar logic. As for cell phones, I'm a wilderness guide in the Grand Canyon. It's hard to tell customers paying $4,000 a trip that they can't get a stock quote or talk to their grandkids. We don't prohibit phones but we do point out they change the experience. Leaving the cell behind might be thought of as a form of restraint essential to preserving wilderness. Mountain bikes stay out; why not cell phones? Communication aids make for carelessness in wild country; they undermine the self-reliance at the heart of the experience.

Q: If you're lost, does looking at your GPS break the contract?

A: There's an argument that getting lost is a valuable experience. There's something to be said for the old-school methods of exploration. If it's too easy we'll lose much of the value of a wilderness visit. I say gain the experience you need—perhaps by going first with others who know the way—so you don't need cell phones and GPS on your journeys.

Q: Doesn't that get back to your definition of wilderness as a place beyond control?

A: Right. Let's look at it this way: I think that stumbling across a pioneer cabin in wilderness is much less damaging than making a call on a cell phone. The latter puts you in contact with the whole enchilada of modern civilization.

Q: Unfortunately, we're not always very good at interpreting

Right: President Carter recommended setting aside 20,000 acres of Utah's Bryce Canyon National Park as wilderness. The National Park Service protects the wilderness character and values of not only its 46 officially designated areas, but also areas in an additional 31 parks either recommended by the President or studied or proposed by the agency. These places encompass 55 million acres—about 84 percent of park lands—from the Mojave to the Shenandoahs, from the Everglades to Fire Island. Below: Natural encounter? Image from the educational initiative Wilderness.net.

wilderness within the parks. How would you gauge the public perception of wilderness?

A: I agree there is much value of wilderness left unfulfilled. I tell my students to think about individual parks and wilderness areas as books, over time shelved in libraries such as the National Park System. Rangers have been librarians with primarily a protective mission. Now the challenge is to learn to read the books we've saved, to become environmentally literate. This calls for a new generation of educators; scientists, yes, but also poets, theologians, historians, and philosophers. With their help we may be able to understand wilderness as a moral resource, its preservation a gesture of planetary modesty by earth's most dangerous animal. We may be able to produce an ethic that leads the way to sustainable inhabitation of this planet. Nothing can be more important.

Q: In a culture not noted for self-restraint, don't you think it's remarkable that the Wilderness Act is still quite beloved? In 2064, what do you think our relationship with wilderness will be like?

A: It's pretty evident that the wilderness we have now is all we'll ever have. Pressures are mounting; wildness will become increasingly rare. The scarcity theory of value will kick in and wilderness, like diamonds, will gain value. In 2064, Americans will see that preserving the parks and the wilderness areas were among the best ideas we ever had as a civilization.

Q: We work with countries around the world where it's impossible or undesirable to remove people, yet we're one of the few nations who insist no one can live in a wilderness area. This would be ludicrous in the Brazilian jungles. Yet here we moved Native Americans out and settlers too. We said we'll maintain the artifacts of your existence, and even be proud that visitors can encounter them, but you can't live there.

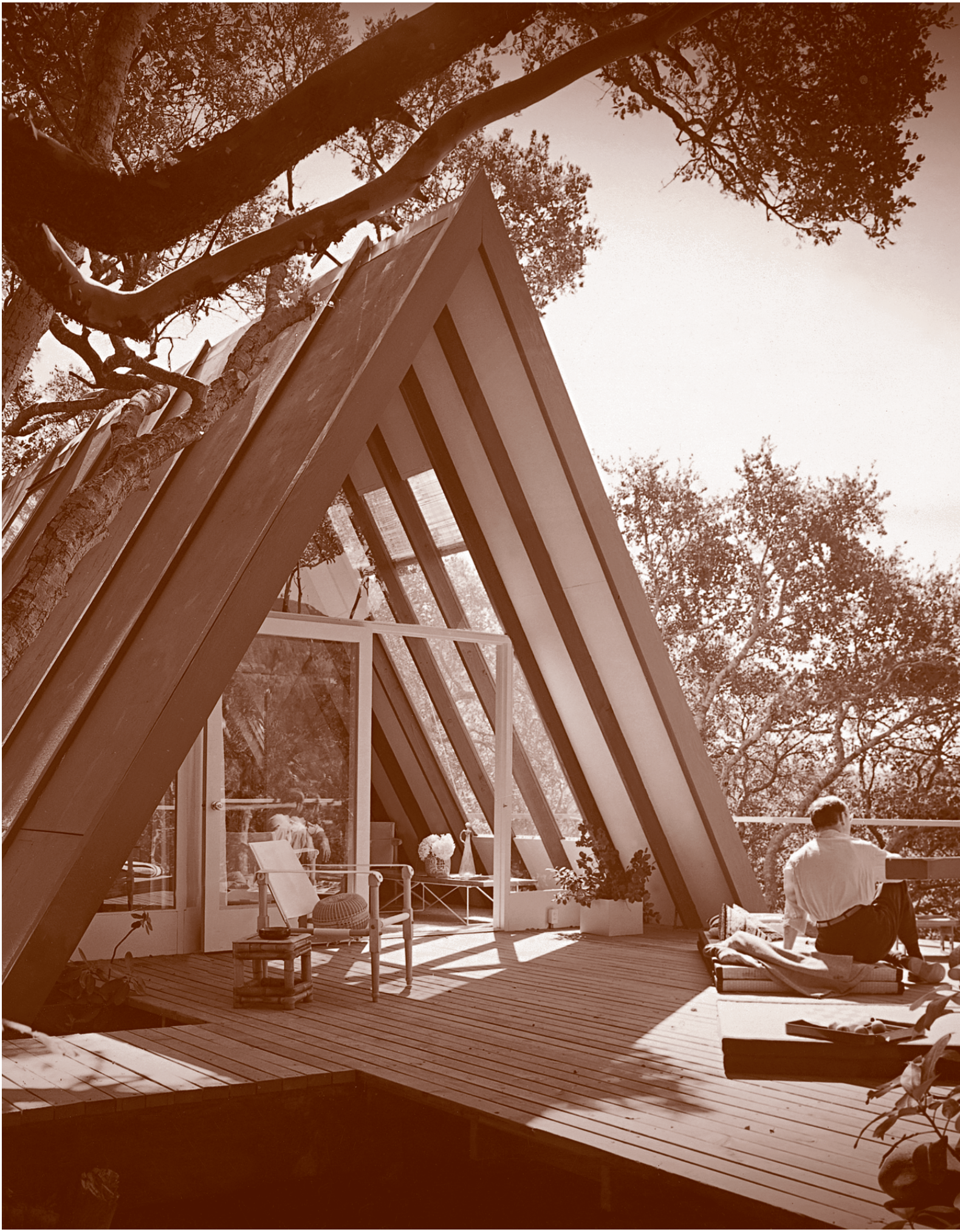
Do you see a softening of our stance because of encounters with other cultures? Or do you think we'll promote our way of dealing with wilderness on an international scale?

A: If everyone who wanted to live in wilderness accepted the lifestyle of Brazilian hunters and gatherers, I would have no problem with people living there. Problem is, they want cars and computers and credit cards too. They also have trouble keeping their population in check. I take a hard line here. People who have chosen the road of technology should be visitors only—just like the act states. As a species we have made far too heavy an impact on the global environment. There is more pavement than designated wilderness in the lower 48 states. Protecting wilderness gives us a chance to level the playing field with the rest of nature.

For information on the NPS Wilderness Program, contact Rick Potts, National Wilderness Program Manager, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240, email rick_potts@nps.gov.

"If everyone who wanted to live in wilderness accepted the lifestyle of Brazilian hunters and gatherers, I would have no problem with people living there. Problem is, they want cars and computers and credit cards too."

ABOVE: THOMAS C. GRAY/NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER; LEFT: WILDERNESS.NET



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A frAme

an excerpt from the new book **by chad randl**
architectural historian, heritage preservation services,
national park service

THE A-FRAME'S ASCENT TO POPULARITY coincided with an economic expansion that brought vacation homes within reach of a rapidly expanding middle class. As Americans began to enjoy longer weekends and extended vacations, they yearned to get away from their everyday life, to obtain what was once available only to the rich: a second home in the country. There was a new emphasis on recreation, both for self-improvement and for the sheer joy of it. With the evolution of a leisure industry predicated on conspicuous consumption, Americans packed up the station wagon and headed out to stake their claim on a small lakeshore or hillside lot.

Architecture during this time was also undergoing change. Blending elements of modernism, local building traditions, and recent technological advances, architects,

Left: Communing with nature, 1950s-style.

"A NASCENT LEISURE INDUSTRY, ENCOMPASSING THE BUILDING TRADES, REAL ESTATE AGENTS, MAGAZINE EDITORS, AND SPORTING GOOD AND MOTOR VEHICLE MANUFACTURERS, PROMOTED VACATION HOMES AS A NECESSARY POSSESSION. THE SECOND HOME BECAME A RIGHTFUL INHERITANCE."

especially those on the West Coast, developed entirely new expressions: origami-like roof forms, space-age motifs, and creative glazing schemes. Bearing the influence of work by Frank Lloyd Wright, Eliel Saarinen, William Wurster, and others, these designs offered a more human contemporary architecture and appealed to broad segments of the American population. Some of the most creative designs were for vacation homes.

Second-home design offered architects a cheap, informal opportunity to garner attention with something new. Image-conscious clients saw the contemporary vacation home as a way to distance themselves from everyday life, to reflect their true unbuttoned personality. Owning a stunning retreat marked the achievement of a revised American dream. It was from this mix of economic, architectural, and cultural trends that the A-frame came to the fore.

The A-frame's popularity lasted from around 1950 through the first half of the 1970s, when many Americans saw an upswell in their financial fortunes. During the 1950s, as industry shifted from wartime production to the manufacture of consumer goods, the economy ballooned. An increasing number of families had more money and time.[1] The middle class expanded rapidly. Between 1955 and 1965, the average income of an American worker rose 50 percent, while disposable income increased 57 percent.[2] Returned veterans, helped along by the GI Bill, filled a variety of new (largely white-collar) jobs in corporations, government bureaucracies, service industries, the media, and the military-industrial complex. As the percentage of middle-class families rose, their influence as culture creators grew proportionally.[3]

As the middle class came to dominate leisure spending, a new breed of vacation homes evolved to fit their budgets and lifestyles. A nascent leisure industry, encompassing the building trades, real estate agents, magazine editors, and sporting good and motor vehicle manufacturers, promoted vacation homes as a necessary possession. The second home became a rightful inheritance.

Extravagant claims about the investment potential of vacation homes were part of the pitch. Payments were manageable, appreciation was assumed. In the short term, renting out the home when not in use could cover much of the monthly mortgage. Long term, vacation homes could eventually serve as retirement homes before being passed on to one's children. According to some boosters, middle-class families could hardly afford not to own a second home. "As a rule . . . annual family vacations at resort hotels are a heavy drain on the budget, entail tiresome preparation and too often result in little more than fast-fading tans and fleeting memories. When such credits and debits are balanced, a vacation home may well be an economy."[4]

Even with rising incomes, many families still came up short. Increasingly available credit and financing helped close the gap.[5] Initially, banks were not willing to mortgage modest, individually constructed vacation homes, especially those built only for seasonal use.[6] Bankers saw contemporary vacation houses as a trend that would eventually lose favor and be difficult to resell in a foreclosure. So home developers and producers offered financing directly, including credit applications in brochures and plan books. Ads for precut A-frame kits encouraged buyers to "build now and pay later."[7]

With more money to spend on nonessentials, Americans now secured more free time in which to spend it. The 40-hour work week was nearly universal, the culmination of a trend dating back to the beginning of the century. In 1940 the average American worker was entitled to a week of paid vacation and two holidays. By 1969, the average paid vacation had doubled; holidays had grown fivefold.[8] Saturdays were ensconced as part of the weekend, rather than the last (half) day of the work week.

Artificial lakes and reservoirs, created by developers and public agencies like the Bureau of Reclamation, opened tens of thousands of miles of shoreline to recreational use.[9] Between 1946 and 1966, the mileage of surface road doubled.[10] Highway construction, especially the interstate system, brought large undeveloped recreation areas within a Friday night's drive of city and suburb. Roads like Interstate 70, through the Rockies, and California's Route 40, through the Sierra Nevada Mountains between San Francisco and Reno, created weekend wonderlands accessible year-round.[11]

Above: Antecedents of the modern A-frame. Hungarian farmhouse, circa. 1947; pole-and-thatch house in New Guinea.

Right: A winter vacation home in California's Squaw Valley, 1958.

LEFT: NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION; RIGHT: © ERNIE BRAUN/EICHLER NETWORK ARCHIVES

Above: Plywood manufacturers' product enticements. Left: San Francisco Arts Festival's Leisure House exhibit, 1951.

The automobile spurred the dispersal of recreational activities. In the 1920s and 1930s, cabin camps and cottage courts sprouted up, offering a private and flexible leisure experience.[12] Vacation homes, especially those individually built on scattered lots, took that seclusion a step further, requiring interaction only with family members and invited guests.[13] New roads permitted vacation home owners to seek out their own piece of unspoiled and uncrowded paradise.

A-frames were suited to the new economic atmosphere. Designers kept costs down to attract people of modest means. Though grand versions were built, the A-frame was often seen as "entry level." Plan books and popular magazines like *Better Homes and Gardens* featured a variety of small, 600- to 1,000-square-foot A-frames, the dramatic shape compensating for the diminutive size. Construction costs were often kept around $10 per square foot; construction time was measured in weekends. Articles boasted of how easy, fast, and inexpensive the A-frame was to build, one stating that "with a few long poles and not much dough, you can build your own Shangri-la."[14] Now, thanks to the beneficence of American capitalism, everyone had access to the good life.

LEISURE TIME AND VACATION HOMES

The leisure culture was an amalgam of several, at times conflicting, attitudes. There was a stubbornly persistent belief that free time was best spent on self-improvement, like taking courses or attending the ballet. Alternately, there was a sense that Americans had earned the right to relax, to lounge in hammocks and share cocktails on the patio. Somewhere between these two poles was an increasing interest in spending free time engaged in physical, usually outdoor, recreation.

The wealthy no longer dictated perceptions of what constituted the leisure life. Instead, the rules were being rewritten by new tastemakers. *Fortune* summed up the trend, saying that "the yacht splurge of the late 1920s is replaced by the outboard boom of today."[15] Unlike the yacht, the outboard motorboat represented widespread access to waterskiing, fishing, and a lakeside vacation home.

Broadly considered, leisure is a state of mind, a freedom from the necessities of life. Since the 19th century, when industrialization first delineated work time from free time, there was a growing concern among social scientists, politicians, and religious leaders that American civilization was imperiled by leisure.[16] This fear reached a peak in the postwar era. Robert Hutchins, a former president of the University of Chicago, observed that "if we survive the leisure which the atomic age will bring, it may make peace more horrible than war. We face the dreadful prospect of hour after hour, even day after day, with nothing to do. After we read all the comic books, traveled all the miles, seen all the movies, what shall we do then?"[17]

Many worried not so much about a nation of bored sybarites but one made weak from lazy living. In the Cold War era of missile gaps and domino theories, this was especially dangerous. The rhetoric of the time posed the Soviet Union, tempered by war and adversity, against an America becoming too comfortable to bother defending itself. If Americans chose to squander time on amusements, the moral and physical vitality of the entire country would be jeopardized. Abundance would be its downfall.

The solution was spending free time on activities considered fulfilling and enriching. Wholesome leisure, from learning to paint or play an instrument to woodworking or building a vacation home, refreshed one for new work and new trials psychologically, physically, and spiritually. Wholesome leisure emphasized the centrality of the family, creating a cultured population.[18] It was an antidote to such un-American developments as urbanization, overcrowding, and automation. It was often hard work and, therefore, an extension of the Protestant ethic that spurned indolence.

Spending money was a central component of the postwar leisure life, whether for a pair of skis, a dirt bike, a rec room, or a vacation home. Like a Ford Mustang bought in addition to the family car, vacation homes signaled that one had arrived. One recreation area developer told a conference of builders that when it comes to vacation homes, status "is the sizzle you are selling."[19]

The best leisure activities encouraged consumption and furthered economic growth. Unlike passive entertainment—frequenting bars and other uses of free time derided by the experts—outdoor recreation activities and do-it-yourself projects required the purchase of specialized equipment and tools. The beneficent effects of building vacation homes spread beyond the real estate and construction industries, since second sets of sheets, silverware, and furniture were required.

Such views helped justify the enormous efforts expended by all levels of government. From establishing the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to opening up Forest Service tracts to "vacation homesteading," agencies worked to instill the ideal of productive leisure.[20] Vacation homes were a bulwark against creeping Communism and a soft citizenry, an assertion of private property and the primacy of the family.

The idea of fun for fun's sake contrasted with the view that leisure must provide moral uplift. Many felt a joy of living after the privations of the Depression and self-

LEFT: © ERNIE BRAUN/EICHLER NETWORK ARCHIVES; RIGHT: APA, THE ENGINEERED WOOD ASSOCIATION

denial of the war years, or at least after a hard week at the office. In the words of one historian, this was the leisure lifestyle of "a new middle class of college-bred administrators, professionals and managers," who took "endless delight in pursuing a lighthearted existence of interpersonal repartee and pleasure based on a moral code that bore no relationship to babbitry and its Protestant morality."[21] It was youth-oriented, individualistic, and unapologetic in its focus on gratification.

Vacation homes appealed to both button-down conformists and hedonistic pleasure seekers, straddling the line between the safety of the family and the swinging bachelor, between wholesome recreation and the shameless quest for fun. The A-frame could be a sanctum where the nuclear family immersed itself in the regenerative powers of nature, or a totem of nonconformity, a singles' love nest where unchaperoned romance could blossom on the bearskin rug before a prefab fireplace.[22]

"HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION, ESPECIALLY THE NEW INTERSTATE SYSTEM, BROUGHT LARGE UNDEVELOPED RECREATION AREAS WITHIN A FRIDAY NIGHT'S DRIVE OF CITY AND SUBURB. ROADS LIKE INTERSTATE 70, THROUGH THE ROCKIES, AND CALIFORNIA'S ROUTE 40, THROUGH THE SIERRA NEVADA MOUNTAINS BETWEEN SAN FRANCISCO AND RENO, CREATED WEEKEND WONDERLANDS ACCESSIBLE YEAR-ROUND."

DO-IT-YOURSELF

Families that built their own A-frames fulfilled the hopes that Cold War Americans would make productive use of their free time. Amateur builders were part of a do-it-yourself phenomenon that included a plethora of activities from arts and crafts to building barrel chairs. As Americans became more adroit with the adding machine than the saw, hands-on projects provided a sense of fulfillment. With the cost of skilled tradespeople rising rapidly, doing it yourself was an economic imperative for those who wanted more than their salaries could cover.[23] Whether it was finishing an attic space or building a vacation home, couples, particularly young couples, saw do-it-yourself activities as a way to acquire comforts increasingly considered necessities.[24]

For those still a little squeamish about leisure for leisure's sake, do-it-yourself projects were both productive and morally defensible. Whether through construction or regular maintenance and repair, vacation homes offered the mix of leisure, labor, and self-affirmation that many Americans seemed to crave. (In fact, many articles pointed out that amateur vacation home builders got more work than they expected, as construction and upkeep left them more exhausted on Sunday night than they had been on Friday.)[25]

The aggressive marketing of electric tools, latex paints, linoleum, paneling, and prepackaged kits made home renovation and construction seem within the capability of the hands-on hobbyist. To promote the sale of construction materials, companies developed booklets of second home plans featuring easy-to-build A-frames. Some offered kits with all the materials for a basic A-frame shell. With sweat equity, do-it-yourselfers bought the necessities that they could not otherwise afford.[26]

POSTWAR ARCHITECTURE

In *Waiting for the Weekend*, Witold Rybczynski observed that "country retreats have always been an opportunity to break loose from the architectural constraints of the city."[27] Unconventional designs furthered the fantasy of escape. Rustic "camps," with bark exteriors and knotty furniture, had long allowed wealthy owners to play pioneer in the Adirondacks. In the past those who could afford modest summer homes usually selected designs traditional to rural or mountainous settings: variations on the English cottage, Cape, or bungalow. Except for the occasional cabin, there was little difference between summer homes and permanent homes.[28]

© WALLY REEMELIN

Above: An A-frame goes up in the hills above Berkeley, California, in 1948.
Far right: The San Francisco architecture firm of Campbell and Wong designed this model that came to be known as the Leisure House.

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The first to break with convention were International Style beach houses from the late 1920s and 1930s. Primarily on the coasts, these modern structures, with featureless white walls, ribbon windows, flat roofs, and open interiors, derived from a European industrial and socialist aesthetic that had nothing to do with leisure. Rudolph Schindler's concrete and glass Lovell Beach House, in Newport, California (1926), was one of the earliest in the new form. It was followed by others on the California shore, as well as homes on Long Island by Warren Matthews, William Muschenheim, and the firm Peabody, Wilson and Brown.[29]

Five such homes, offering affordable avant-garde living, appear in a 1938 *Sunset* cabin plan book.[30] Where the log cabin was a bulwark against the wilderness, these homes, with jutting terraces and copious glass, suggested a more engaged and salutary relationship with the outdoors. Nature was an accoutrement, not a threat.

In the early 1950s, the A-frame vacation home marked a new category of contemporary leisure architecture. The emphasis was on playful informality, dynamic structural concoctions, unconventional roof shapes, open plans, and unusual glazing configurations. Designers sought to produce dramatic structures with limited resources, goals that often proved complementary as tight budgets impelled innovation and modest size encouraged experimentation. The result was an accessible modernism, more at home in the pages of *Popular Mechanics* than in the "official" architectural press.

For those unexcited by strict modernism, the A-frame and its whimsical offspring had great appeal, in tune with the era of outdoor living, of sun decks, breezeways, and the all-important patio. They were uniquely suited for their function: the stylish, informal enjoyment of free time in natural surroundings. The magazine *Living for Young Homemakers* observed in 1961, "Vacation retreats are providing the ideal chance for designer and owner to unshackle all inhibitions. Fanciful expressions are popping up like bright impertinences against the conventional landscape. Houses and shelters are becoming more and more adventurous in themselves, inspired by shapes and forms that stir the imagination and invite the spirit to get away from it all."[31]

Playful roof forms set contemporary vacation homes apart, a trend paralleled in banks, car dealerships, and restaurants, replete with folded plates, hyperbolic paraboloids, cylindrical and spherical shells, bat wings, and saddles, often built in concrete or steel. Coming up with something new seemed a rite of passage for aspiring architects. California's modern coffee shops introduced a flamboyant vocabulary of cantilevered roofs, exposed trusses, and tilted glass walls that was part Frank Lloyd Wright organic, part Jetsons space age.[32]

Vacation home purveyors sought designs that were bold yet accept-

able to middle-class Americans. Like the parties, getaways, and activities that took place in and around them, contemporary vacation homes were relaxed, refreshing, and above all fun. To many, the A-frame matched this description.

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Notes

1. Nationwide, spending on leisure increased from approximately $8 million in 1946 to almost $24 million in less than 20 years. "Vacation Homes: An Exploding Market Takes On a New Shape," *House & Home* (February 1964): 107.
2. From a paper read at the Home Manufacturers' Association's 22nd Annual Convention, quoted in Richard Lee Ragatz, "The Vacation Home Market: An Analysis of the Spatial Distribution of Population on a Seasonal Basis, Volume I" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1969), 60.
3. Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (New York: Berg, 2001), 81.
4. William J. Hennessey, *Vacation Houses* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), vii.
5. In 1945 consumer credit was at $5.7 billion, and by 1970 it had climbed to more than $143 billion. During the early 1960s an expanding universal credit card industry was mass-mailing unsolicited charge cards, creating 26 million cardholders by the end of the decade, who charged refrigerators, hi-fis, rugs, and other furnishings to stock second homes. See Lloyd Klein, *It's in the Cards: Consumer Credit and the American Experience* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 27 and Lewis Mandell, *The Credit Card Industry: A History* (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 35.
6. "A Vacation House Can Pay for Itself," *American Home* (July 1961): 72.
7. *Free-Time Homes,* 2d ed. (Portland, OR: Potlatch Forests, Inc., 1962), 21. Customers could buy a kit with no money down, using a payment plan to cover the cost.
8. Ragatz, "The Vacation Home Market," 46.
9. By 1968, the Bureau of Land Management had created more than 200 reservoirs and more than 9,500 miles of shoreline. Between its creation in 1933 and 1968, the Tennessee Valley Authority created more than 10,000 miles of new shoreline, which accommodated at least 12,000 vacation homes. See Clayne R. Jenson, *Outdoor Recreation in America* (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co., 1970), 80, 88.
10. Ragatz, "The Vacation Home Market," 79.
11. Real estate and building trade magazines routinely discussed the distance an average family was willing to travel to reach its vacation home. As highways proliferated, that distance grew.
12. See John Jakle, Keith A. Sculle, and Jefferson S. Rogers, *The Motel in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
13. In the early 1970s, with increasing costs and scarcity of prime vacation property, second home ownership shifted to the vacation community and condominium.
14. "A-frames: New Cabin Fever," *True: The Man's Magazine* (October 1959): 60.
15. *The Changing American Market,* by the editors of *Fortune* magazine (New York: Time, Inc., 1955); reprinted as "$30 Billion for Fun," in *Mass Leisure,* ed. Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn (Glencoe, IL.: Free Press, 1958), 168. The piece noted that families earning more than $4,000 increased from 20 percent just before the Depression to more than 45 percent by 1953. Many economists believed that when a family reached the $4,000 level, they began to spend more on leisure. *Fortune* called them "the rulers of the leisure market."
16. Predictions that by 2000 the average work week would be 30 hours, with most Americans enjoying four weeks of vacation, pointed to a coming "crisis of leisure." See Paul F. Douglass and Robert W. Crawford, "Implementation of a Comprehensive Plan for the Wise Use of Leisure," in *Leisure in America: Blessing or Curse?* ed. James C. Charlesworth (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1964), 55.
17. Quoted in Jensen, *Outdoor Recreation in America,* 5.
18. Historian Elaine Tyler May borrowed the rhetoric of the Communist threat when she wrote that female sexuality and leisure were "contained" during this period, the former within the traditional family and the latter through constructive use of leisure. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). Imagery from the period is conflicting. Illustrations of women carrying trays of drinks to seated husbands are often adjacent to those showing tool-belted women taking part in construction. Contemporary vacation homes were touted as low maintenance, for the sake of both husband and wife.
19. "NAHB Spring Builder's Conference Report," *National Association of Home Builders Journal of Homebuilding* (May 1963): 14.
20. As one government report observed, "Even in this era of electronic warfare, men are still the key to vigilant defense. In many situations a fit man with a rifle in his hands is the only effective defense, and in those where machines are the combatants, fit men must direct them." See *Outdoor Recreation for America: A Report to the President and to Congress by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1962), 23. The Department of the Interior administered a "small tracts" program in which recreational lot sales went from 103 in 1951 to almost 10,000 in 1960. In that 10-year period more than 43,000 recreation lots were sold. "Vacation Cabins," *NAHB Journal* (August 1962): 61.
21. Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise,* 81.
22. A 1961 exposé about cabins voiced concerns over such activities: "Winter 'athletes' set aside snowshoes and skiis [sic] while male-chasing females turn on the heat in pursuit of more intimate indoor sports—romance and wild parties." Gene Channing, "Sin in Snowland: The Shame of Ski Lodge Shack-ups," *Man's Life* (January 1961): 33.
23. "Modern Living: Do It Yourself," *Time* (30 June 1952).
24. Albert Roland, "Do-it-Yourself: A Walden for the Millions," *American Quarterly* (Summer 1958): 162.
25. Steven M. Gelber, *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 276.
26. Roland, "Do-it-Yourself," 162.
27. Witold Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 173.
28. See *Redwood Vacation Homes* (San Francisco: California Redwood Association, 1930); *Log Cabins and Summer Cottages* (Newark: Sears Roebuck & Co., 1940); Conrad Meinecke, *Your Cabin in the Woods* (Buffalo, NY: Foster & Stewart, 1945). Log cabins, long associated with grit and self-reliance, were increasingly made from log-veneer kits mass produced in a factory.
29. See chapter two in Alastair Gordon, *Weekend Utopia: Modern Living in the Hamptons* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001).
30. Sunset's *Cabin Plan Book* (San Francisco: Lane Publishing, 1938).
31. "Secrets of a Self-Indulgent Summer: Vacation Shapes," *Living for Young Homemakers* (July 1961): 41.
32. See Alan Hess, *Googie: Fifties Coffee Shop Architecture* (San Francisco: Chronicle, 1985).

Above and right: A-frame interiors, late '50s.

RIGHT, LEFT: © HEIDI AND PETER WENGER

ARTIFACT SIMPLE AMUSEMENT

DESPITE ITS SOMBER MONUMENTS OF POWER, Washington, DC, at the turn of the century was still very much a sleepy little city. On the outskirts were quaint roadside diversions such as the Glen Echo Amusement Park, opened in 1911. A speculative venture by the Washington Railway and Electric Company, the place featured a dance hall, roller coasters, concessions, and a carousel. **TODAY THE SITE IS PRESERVED AS GLEN ECHO PARK** Historic District, administered by the National Park Service and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The carousel—a rare relic of an extinct artistic tradition and one of the few still on its original site—was documented in drawings and photographs by the Historic American Buildings Survey of the National Park Service. **THIS MODEL WAS BUILT IN 1921 BY THE WILLIAM H. DENTZEL COMPANY** of Philadelphia, a carousel manufacturer since the Civil War. The horses are the handiwork of one of the era's most skilled carousel carvers, Daniel C. Muller. It is believed to be the first of the "jester head" models, which took their name from the grinning faces on top of the carousel. The 1920s Wurlitzer military-band organ—the only one of its kind to accompany a carousel—is the only one in public use today. An integral part of the experience, the organ played the popular tunes of the day. Much later, at the height of the civil rights movement, the then-segregated carousel was the site of protests. **IN ITS HEYDAY, IT MUST HAVE BEEN A STIRRING SITE** from the trolley out of Washington, a vision of color and motion capped by an exotic bell-shaped roof. Preserved today against the tide of a sprawling metropolis, it gives visitors a sense of amusement from a simpler time.

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"Vacation retreats are providing the ideal chance for designer and owner to unshackle all inhibitions. Fanciful expressions are popping up like bright impertinences against the conventional landscape . . . inspired by shapes and forms that stir the imagination and invite the spirit to get away from it all."

—*from* **Living for Young Homemakers,** *1961, quoted in "A-Frame," page 36*

A-FRAME SKI CHALET, 1950S. © HEIDI AND PETER WENGER

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