NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT

1250

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. 1176

A BILL TO ESTABLISH ON PUBLIC LANDS OF THE UNITED STATES A NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM FOR THE PERMANENT GOOD OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, TO PROVIDE FOR THE PROTECTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE AREAS WITHIN THIS SYSTEM BY THE EXISTING FEDERAL AGENCIES AND FOR THE GATHERING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION TO INCREASE THE KNOWLEDGE AND APPRECIATION OF WILDERNESS FOR ITS APPROPRIATE USE AND ENJOYMENT BY THE PEOPLE, TO ESTABLISH A WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

JUNE 19 AND 20, 1957

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NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:08 a. m., pursuant to call, Hon. James E. Murray (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Murray (chairman), Neuberger, Watkins, Kuchel, Barrett, and Allott.

Present also: Benton J. Stong, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, please.

The hearings today are on S. 1176, introduced by Senators Humphrey, Neuberger, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Morse, Douglas, Mundt, Wiley, Clark, Lausche, Jackson, Magnuson, and myself, to establish on the public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system, and for other purposes.

Our growing population is bringing pressure on our land resources for farming, mining, lumbering, housing, and other uses. Some of our finest wilderness areas, which should be preserved for recreation, are being invaded for less important commercial uses.

There is a real need to set aside some of our fine wilderness areas, to be preserved in their natural state, for present and future generations to enjoy.

S. 1176 proposes such a set-aside. It will be explained in greater detail by its principal sponsor, Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota.

The bill and the reports of the Interior Department, Agriculture Department, and the Bureau of the Budget will be made a part of the hearing record at this point.

(S. 1176 and reports are as follows:)

[S. 1176, 85th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To establish on public lands of the United States a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this System by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness, there is hereby established a National Wilderness Preservation System. As hereinafter provided, this System shall be composed of areas of public land in the United States and its Territories and possessions retaining their natural primeval environment and influence and being managed for purposes consistent with their continued preservaion as wilderness, which areas shall serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment by the people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness.

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(b) The Congress recognizes that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, is destined to occupy and modify all areas within the United States, its Territories, and possessions except those that are set apart for preservation and protection in their natural condition. Such preservation of areas of wilderness is recognized as a desirable policy of the Government of the United States of America for the health, welfare, and happiness of its citizens of present and future generations.

It is accordingly declared to be the policy of Congress (1) to secure the dedication of an adequate system of areas of wilderness to serve the recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and conservation needs of the people, and (2) to provide for the protection of these areas in perpetuity and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness. Pursuant to this policy the Congress gives sanction to the continued preservation as wilderness of those areas federally owned or controlled that are within national parks, national forests, national wildlife refuges, or other public lands, and that have so far retained under their Federal administration their primeval character. It is pursuant to this policy and sanction that the National Wilderness Preservation System is established. Within the units of this System designated for inclusion by this Act, and in those that may later be designated in accordance with its provisions, the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount.

(c) A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and and whose travels leave only trials.

For the purposes of this Act the term "wilderness" shall include:

(1) The wilderness, wild, roadless, and primitive areas as presently designated by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Chief of the Forest Service within the national forests;

(2) Those units within the National Park System herein or hereafter designated as units of the National Wilderness Preservation System, except those portions set aside hereunder for roads, motor trials, buildings, accommodations for visitors, and administrative installations;

(3) The national wildlife refuges and ranges or areas therein, herein or hereafter designated as units of the National Wilderness Preservation System, except those portions set aside hereunder for roads and buildings and other installations for administration and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife;

(4) The areas within Indian reservations classified as roadless or wild and included in the National Wilderness Preservation System with the consent of the tribal council or other duly constituted authority; and

(5) Such other areas as shall be designated for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

SEC. 2. The National Wilderness Preservation System (hereafter referred to in this section as the System) shall comprise (subject to preexisting private rights, if any) the federally owned or controlled areas of land and water provided for in this section and the related airspace reservations.

NATIONAL FOREST AREAS

(a) The System shall include the following roadless, wild, and wilderness areas within the national forests: Caribou, Little Indian Sioux, and Superior Roadless Areas, Superior National Forest, Minnesota; Chiricahua Wild Area, Coloronado National Forest, Arizona; Galiuro Wild Area, Crook National Forest, Arizona; Sierra Ancha Wild Area, Tonto National Forest, Arizona; Cucamonga Wild Area, San Bernardino National Forest, California; Hoover Wild Area, Toiyabe and Inyo National Forests, California; San Gorgonio Wild Area, San Bernardino National Forest, California; Thousand Lakes Wild Area, Lassen National Forest, California; Yolla Bolly-Middle Eel Wilderness Area, Mendocino and Trinity National Forests, California; Maroon Bells-Snowmass Wild Area, White River National Forest, Colorado; Mount Zirkel-Dome Peak Wild Area, Routt National Forest, Colorado; Gates of the Mountains Wild Area, Helena National Forest, Montana; San Pedro Parks Wild Area, Santa Fe National Forest, New Mexico; Linville Gorge Wild Area, Pisgah National Forest,

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North Carolina; Diamond Peak Wild Area, Willamette National Forest, Oregon; Gearhart Mountain Wild Area, Fremont National Forest, Oregon; Kalmiopsis Wild Area, Siskiyou National Forest, Oregon; Mount Hood Wild Area, Mount Hood National Forest, Oregon; Mount Washington Wild Area, Willamette National Forest, Oregon; Mountain Lakes Wild Area, Rogue River National Forest, Oregon; Strawberry Mountain Wild Area, Malheur National Forest, Oregon; Three Sisters Wilderness Area, Deschutes and Willamette National Forests, Oregon; Goat Rocks Wild Area, in portions of Gifford Pinchot and Snoqualmie National Forest, Washington; Mount Adams Wild Area, Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Washington; Mazatzal Wilderness Area, Tonto National Forest, Arizona; Superstition Wilderness Area, in portions of the Crook and Tonto National Forest, Arizona; Marble Mountain Wilderness Area, Klamath National Forest, California; Bob Marshall Wilderness Area, in portions of the Flathead and Lewis and Clark National Forests, Montana; Gila Wilderness Area, Gila National Forest, New Mexico; Pecos Wilderness Area in portions of the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests, New Mexico; Eagle Cap Wilderness Area, in portions of Wallowa and Whitman National Forest, Oregon; North Absaroka Wilderness Area and South Absaroka Wilderness Area, both in the Shoshone National Forest, Wyoming; Teton Wilderness Area, Teton National Forest, Wyoming.

Additional wilderness and wild areas may be designated for inclusion in this System by the Secretary of Agriculture. Such designations shall be reported, with maps and descriptions, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. These designations by January 1, 1966, shall include, but shall not necessarily be limited to, the following areas within the national forests classified as primitive by the Department of Agriculture on January 1, 1956, with such modifications in boundaries as may be made upon reclassification as wilderness or wild:

AREAS CLASSIFIED PRIMITIVE

Blue Range Primitive Area, Apache and Crook National Forests, Arizona and New Mexico; Mount Baldy Primitive Area, Apache National Forest, Arizona; Pine Mountain Primitive Area, Prescott and Tonto National Forests, Arizona; Sycamore Canyon Primitive Area, Coconino, Kaibab, and Prescott National Forests, Arizona; Agua Tibia Primitive Area, Cleveland National Forest, California; Caribou Peak Primitive Area, Lassen National Forest, California; Desolation Valley Primitive Area, Eldorado Nation Forest, California; Devil Canyon-Bear Canyon Primitive Area, Angeles National Forest, California; Emigrant Basin Primitive Area, Stanislaus National Forest, California; High Sierra Primitive Area, Inyo, Sierra, and Sequoia National Forest, California; Mount Dana-Minarets Primitive Area, Inyo and Sierra National Forests, California; Salmon Trinity Alps Primitive Area, Klamath, Shasta, and Trinity National Forests, California; San Jacinto Primitive Area, San Bernardino National Forest, California; San Rafael Primitive Area, Los Padres National Forest, California; South Warner Primitive Area, Modoc National Forest, California; Ventana Primitive Area, Los Padres National Forest, California; Flat Tops Primitive Area, White River National Forest, Colorado; Gore Range-Eagle Nest Primitive Area, Arapaho and White River National Forest, Colorado; La Garita-Sheep Mountain Primitive Area, Gunnison, Rio Grande, and San Isabel National Forests, Colorado; Rawah Primitive Area, Roosevelt National Forest, Colorado; San Juan Primitive Area, San Juan National Forest, Colorado; Uncompahgre Primitive Area, Uncompahgre National Forest, Colorado; Upper Rio Grande Primitive Area, Rio Grande National Forest, Colorado; West Elk Primitive Area, Gunnison National Forest, Colorado; Wilson Mountains Primitive Area, San Juan National Forest, Colorado; Idaho Primitive Area, Challis, Salmon, and Payette National Forests, Idaho; Sawtooth Primitive Area, Boise, Challis, and Sawtooth National Forests, Idaho; Selway-Bitterroot Primitive Area, Clearwater, Nezperce, Lolo, and Bittterroot National Forests, Idaho and Montana; Absaroka Primitive Area, Gallatin National Forest, Montana; Anaconda-Pintlar Primitive Area, Beaverhead, Bitterroot, and Deerlodge National Forests, Montana; Beartooth Primitive Area, Gallatin and Custer National Forests, Montana; Cabinet Mountains Primitive Area, Cabinet and Kootenai National Forest, Montana; Mission Mountains Primitive Area, Flathead National Forest, Montana; Spanish Peaks Primitive Area, Gallatin National Forest, Montana; Black Range Primitive Area, Gila National Forest, New Mexico; White Mountain Primitive Area, Lincoln National Forest, New Mexico; Mount

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Jefferson Primitive Area, Deschutes, Mount Hood, and Willamette National Forests, Oregon; High Uintas Primitive Area, Ashley and Wasatch National Forests, Utah; North Cascade Primitive Area, Chelan and Mount Baker National Forests, Washington; Bridger Primitive Area, Bridger National Forest, Wyoming; Cloud Peak Primitive Area, Bighorn National Forest, Wyoming; Glacier Primitive Area, Shoshone National Forest, Wyoming; Popo Agie Primitive Area, Shoshone National Forest, Wyoming; Stratified Primitive Area, Shoshone National Forest, Wyoming.

Addition to or modification or elimination of wilderness, wild, or roadless areas shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act. Copies of such regulations and any subsequent amendments shall be forwarded to and filed by the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder.

Any addition, modification, or elimination of any national forest area or part thereof to, in, or from the System shall be made only after not less than ninety days public notice in accordance with section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 238, U. S. C. 5:1003), and the holding of a public hearing, if requested, and shall be reported with map and description to the secretary of the said National Wilderness Preservation Council and shall take effect as provided in subsection (f) below.

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

(b) The System shall include at the times and in the manner hereinafter provided for, the following units of the National Park System: Acadia National Park, Maine; Arches National Monument, Utah; Badlands National Monument, South Dakota; Big Bend National Park, Texas; Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument, Colorado; Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah; Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah; Carlsbad Caverns National Park, New Mexico; Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area, North Carolina; Channel Islands National Monument, California; Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona; Colorado National Monument, Colorado; Crater Lake National Park, Oregon; Craters of the Moon National Monument, Idaho; Death Valley National Monument, California and Nevada; Devil Postpile National Monument, California; Dinosaur National Monument, Colorado and Utah; Everglades National Park, Florida; Glacier National Park, Montana; Glacier Bay National Monument, Alaska; Grand Canyon National Park and Grand Canyon National Monument, Arizona; Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming; Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina and Tennessee; Hawaii National Park, Territory of Hawaii; Isle Royale National Park, Michigan; Joshua Tree National Monument, California; Katmai National Monument, Alaska; Kings Canyon National Park, California; Lassen Volcanic National Park, California; Lava Beds National Monument, California; Mammoth Cave National Park, Kentucky; Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado; Mount McKinley National Park, Alaska; Mount Rainier National Park, Washington; Olympic National Park, Washington; Oregon Pipe Cactus National Monument, Arizona; Petrified Forest National Monument, Arizona; Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado; Saguaro National Monument, Arizona; Sequoia National Park, California; Shenandoah National Park, Virginia; Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, North Dakota; White Sands National Monument, New Mexico; Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota; Yellowstone National Park, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming; Yosemite National Park, California; and Zion National Park, Utah.

Additional units of the National Park System may be designated for inclusion in the System by Act of Congress or by Executive order or proclamation of the President. No unit of the National Park System shall be removed from the System except by Act of Congress.

Ninety days after giving public notice in accordance with section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 238, U. S. C. 5:1003) the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each unit of the National Park System named for inclusion in the System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, and administrative installations. A notice of each such designation, together with a map and description of the affected area or areas, shall be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. Each such unit of the National Park System, exclusive of such

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area designated as required for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, and administrative installations, shall become part of the National Wilderness Preservation System when this designation has been made. Designations shall be made not later than January 1, 1966, or within two years after the unit has been added to the System, whichever is later. Should the Secretary fail to make such a designation for any such unit of the National Park System within the time limit specified, that unit shall in its entirety automatically then become a part of the system.

No designation of an area for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, or administrative installations shall modify or affect the application to that area of the provisions of the Act approved August 25, 1916, entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes." (39 Stat. 535, as amended; U. S. C. 16: 1 et seq.) The accommodations and installations in such designated areas shall be incident to the conservation and use and enjoyment of the scenery and the natural and historic objects and flora and fauna of the park or monument in its natural condition.

NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

(c) The System shall include, at the times and in the manner hereinafter provided for, the following national wildlife refuges and ranges: Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Aransas National Wildlife Refuge, Texas; Bogoslof National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Cabeza Prieta Game Range, Arizona; Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge, South Carolina; Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nevada; Delta National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana; Desert Game Range, Nevada; Fort Peck Game Range, Montana; Kenai National Moose Range, Alaska; Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Kofa Game Range, Arizona; Moosehorn National Wildlife Refuge, Maine; Montana National Bison Range, Montana; Nunivak National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Georgia; Red Rock Lakes Migatory Waterfowl Refuge, Montana; Seney National Wildlife Refuge, Michigan; Sheldon National Antelope Refuge, Nevada; Wichita Moutains Wildlife Refuge, Oklahoma.

Additional national wildlife refuges and ranges or areas therein may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior for inclusion in the System. Such designations shall be reported, with maps and descriptions, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. No wildlife refuge or range shall be removed from the System except by Act of Congress.

Ninety days after giving public notice in accordance with section 4, Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 238, U. S. C. 5: 1003) the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each national wildlife refuge and range or area therein named for inclusion in the System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads and buildings and other installations for administation and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife. A notice of each such designation together with a map and description of the affected area or areas shall be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. Each national wildlife refuge and range or area therein named for inclusion in the System, exclusive of such area designated as required for roads and buildings and other installations for administration and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife, shall become part of the National Wilderness Preservation System when this designation has been so made for that national wildlife refuge or range or area therein. Designations shall be made not later than January 1, 1966, or within two years after a refuge or range or area therein has been added to the System, whichever is later. Should the Secretary fail to make such a designation for any such national wildlife refuge or range or area therein within the time limits specified, that refuge or range or area therein shall in its entirety automatically then become a part of the System.

THE INDIANS' WILDERNESS

(d) The System shall include the following roadless areas and wild areas within Indian reservations and such additional roadless and wild areas on Indian reservations as the Secretary of the Interior may designate, but no such area shall be included until the tribe or band within whose reservation it lies, through its tribal council or other duly constituted authority, shall have given its consent to the inclusion of the area within the System: Black Mesa Roadless Area, Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona; Black River Roadless Area, Fort

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Apache and San Carlos Indian Reservations, Arizona; Columbia-San Poil Divide Roadless Area, Colville Indian Reservation, Washington; Fort Charlotte Wild Area, Grand Portage Indian Reservation, Minnesota; Goat Rocks Roadless Area, Yakima Indian Reservation, Washington; Grand Canyon Roadless Area, Hualapai Indian Reservation, Arizona; Grand Portage Wild Area, Grand Portage Indian Reservation, Minnesota; Mesa Verde Roadless Area, Consolidated Ute Indian Reservation, Colorado; Mount Adams Wild Area, Yakima Indian Reservation, Washington; Mount Jefferson Roadless Area, Warm Springs Indian Reservation, Oregon; Mount Thomas Roadless Area, Fort Apache Indian Reservation, Arizona; Mission Range Roadless Area, Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana; Painted Desert Roadless Area, Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona; Rainbow Bridge Roadless Area, Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona; Wind River Mountains Roadless Area, Shoshone Indian Reservation, Wyoming.

Any proposed addition, modification, or elimination of roadless and wild areas within Indian reservations shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act subject to the consent of the several tribes or bands, through their tribal councils or other duly constituted authorities, each with regard to the area or areas within its jurisdiction. Any addition, modification, or elimination shall be reported, with map and description, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. Nothing in this Act shall in any respect abrogate any treaty with any band or tribe of Indians, or in any way modify or otherwise affect existing hunting and fishing rights or privileges.

OTHER UNITS

(e) The System shall also include such units as may be designated within any federally owned or controlled land and/or water by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved. Addition to or modification or elimination of such units shall be in accordance with regulations that shall be established in conformity with the purposes of this Act by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved, and said official or officials shall forward a notice of such addition, modification, or elimination to the Secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council.

ADDITIONS, MODIFICATIONS, AND ELIMINATIONS

(f) Any proposed addition to, modification of, or elimination from the National Wilderness Preservation System otherwise than by Act of Congress, except on Indian reservations, shall upon receipt of notice be reported to Congress within ten days by the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council and shall take effect upon the expiration of the first period of one hundred and twenty calendar days, of continuous session of Congress, following the date on which the report is received by Congress; but only if during this period there has not been passed by either House of Congress a resolution opposing such proposed addition, modification, or elimination. Within any federally owned unit within the National Wilderness Preservation System the acquisition of any privately owned lands is hereby authorized and such sums as the Congress may decide are hereby authorized to be appropriated for such acquisition out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

USE OF THE WILDERNESS

SEC. 3. (a) Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such other purpose or purposes as to preserve also its wilderness character. The National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to the public purposes of recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical uses. All such use shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and with its preservation.

The administration of wilderness, wild, and roadless areas in the national forests as units of the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this

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Act. The administration of the included national parks, national monuments, and wildlife refuges and ranges as units of the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act. The administration of roadless and wild areas within Indian reservations included in the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act subject to the consent of the several tribes or bands, through their tribal councils or other duly constituted authorities, each with regard to the area or areas within its jurisdiction. The administration of any other area added to the System and not otherwise provided for in this section shall be in accordance with such regulations as shall be established by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved. Copies of the regulations established for such administration of any unit or units of the System and copies of any subsequent amendments thereto shall be forwarded, by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, or such other official or officials as shall establish such regulations, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. The Council shall maintain a public file of such regulations but shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any unit in the System nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in this section, and subject to existing private rights (if any), no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to commodity production, to lumbering, prospecting, mining or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by animals in connection with the administration or recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), water management practices involving diversion, impoundment, storage, or the manipulation of plant cover (except as required on national wildlife refuges and ranges for the management of habitat in maintaining wildlife populations), or to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this Act. Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this Act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structure or installation in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this Act.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

(c) The following special provisions are hereby made:

(1) Roads over national forest lands included in the system reserved from the public domain and necessary for ingress and egress to or from privately owned property shall be, and roads over national forest lands otherwise acquired may be, allowed under appropriate conditions determined by the forest supervisor.

(2) Within national forest areas included in the System grazing of domestic livestock and the use of aircraft or motorboats where these practices have already become well established may be permitted to continue subject to such restrictions as the Chief of the Forest Service deems desirable. Such practices shall be recognized as nonconforming use of the area of wilderness involved and shall be terminated whenever this can be effected with equity to, or in agreement with those making such use.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall modify the restrictions and provisions of the Shipstead-Nolan Act, Public Law 539, Seventy-first Congress, second session, July 10, 1930, and the Humphrey-Thye-Blatnik-Andresen Act, Public Law 607, Eighty-fourth Congress, second session, June 22, 1956, as applying to the Superior National Forest or the regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture.

(4) Any existing use authorized or provided for in the Executive order or legislation establishing any national wildlife refuge or range may be continued in accordance with permit granted under such authorization or provision, but any nonconforming use of the areas of wilderness involved shall be terminated whenever this can be effected with equity to, or in agreement with, those making such use.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

SEC. 4. (a) A National Wilderness Preservation Council is hereby created to consist ex officio of the persons at the time designated as the Chief of the

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United States Forest Service, the Director of the National Park Service, the Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and also six citizen members known to be informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness, two of whom shall be named initially for terms of two years, two for terms of four years, and two for terms of six years, by the President. After the expiration of these initial terms, each cititzen member shall be appointed for a six-year term. When initial or subsequent appointments are to be made to this Council any established national organization interested in wilderness preservation may make recommendations to the President regarding candidates, any of whom would be deemed suitable for appointment to the Council. The President shall designate from among its members a chairman, who shall serve for a two-year term. The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution shall be the secretary of the Council and, subject to the Council, shall maintain its headquarters.

(b) The Council shall serve as the repository for, and shall maintain available for public inspection, such maps and official papers regarding the National Wilderness Preservation System as may be filed with it. Upon receipt of a report of a proposed addition, modification, or elimination of an area as required under section 2 of this Act, the secretary of the Council shall report within ten days such proposed action to the Senate and to the House of Representatives. The Council shall serve as a nonexclusive clearinghouse for exchange of information among the agencies administering areas within the System. The Council shall make, sponsor, and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs and conditions and gather and disseminate information, including maps, for the information of the public regarding use and preservation of the areas of wilderness within the System, including information and maps regarding State and other non-Federal areas which the Council shall consider important to wilderness preservation. The Council is directed to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of the President, the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture, and other appropriate officers of the United States Government and to assist in obtaining cooperation in wilderness preservation and use among Federal and State agencies and private agencies and organizations concerned therewith. The Council, through its Chairman, shall annually present to Congress, not later than the first Monday in December, a report on the operations of the Council during the preceding fiscal year and on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System at the close of that fiscal year, including an annotated list of the areas in the System showing their size, location, and administering agency, and shall make such recommendations to Congress as the Council shall deem advisable.

(c) The Council shall meet annually and at such times between annual meetings as the Council shall determine, or upon call of the chairman or any three members. Members of the Council shall serve as such without compensation but shall receive transportation expenses and in addition a per diem payment to be fixed by the Council, not to exceed $25 a day, as reimbursement for expenditures in connection with attending any meeting of the Council. A sum sufficient to pay the necessary clerical and administrative expenses of the Council and its members, not to exceed an annual expenditure of $50,000, and such additional sums as the Congress may decide for carrying out the purposes of the Council, including printing, are hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The Council is authorized to accept private gifts and benefactions to be used to further the purposes of this Act, and such gifts and benefactions shall be deductible from income for Federal tax purposes and shall be exempt from Federal estate tax.

SEC. 5. This Act shall be known by the short title "National Wilderness Preservation Act."

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: This is in reply to your letter of February 15, 1957, requesting the views of this Department on S. 1176, a bill to establish on public lands of the United States a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and adminis-

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tration of the areas within this System by existing Federal agencies, and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increaes the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes.

Although we are sympathetic to the general objective of the bill, we recommend that it not be enacted. We recommend that Congress consider in lieu thereof a substitute bill submitted with this report, which is designed to give statutory recognition to those parts of the objectives of the pending bill which fall solely within the responsibilities of the Department of Agriculture and which generally have been provided for administratively over a long period of years.

S. 1176 would establish a National Wilderness Preservation System to be comprised of certain areas within the national forests, the national parks, the national wildlife refuges and ranges, Indian reservations, and such other areas as shall be designated. The bill would establish as a desirable policy of Congress dedication of a system of wilderness areas, the protection of such areas in perpetuity, and the dissemination of information about them. The bill would include in the National Wilderness Preservation System all of the existing roadless, wild, and wilderness areas in the national forests, and would direct that presently classified primitive areas be reported to the National Wilderness Preservation Council for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System by January 1, 1966, with appropriate boundary modifications as may be made upon reclassification.

Proposed additions, modifications, or eliminations of any national-forest area to, in, or from the National Wilderness Preservation System may be made only after 90 days' public notice, and the holding of a public hearing if requested. If changes are proposed, they shall be submitted to the National Wilderness Preservation Council, which in turn shall submit the recommendation to Congress. After the expiration of 120 calendar days of continuous session of Congress following receipt of the recommendations by the Congress, the recommendations would become effective if there has not been passed by either House a resolution opposing the proposed changes. Acquisition of private lands within the areas included in the National Wilderness Preservation System would be authorized.

Any commodity production, lumbering, prospecting, mining, the removal of mineral deposits including oil and gas, water-management practices involving diversion, manipulation of the plant cover, water impoundment, or reservoir storage, would be prohibited by statute. Roads would be prohibited, except for minimum administration of the acres and for ingress and egress to privately owned property. Motor vehicles, other mechanical transport, delivery of persons or supplies, structures, and installations would be prohibited if in excess of the minimum needed to administer the areas. There would be no prohibition against the use of pack animals in connection with the adminstraton or use of the wilderness. Grazing by other domestic livestock, and use of motorboats and aircraft would be permitted if already well-established practices, but would be classed as nonconforming uses with a directive to terminate when this can be accomplished with equity to, or in agreement with, those making such uses.

A National Wilderness Preservation Council would be created consisting of the Chief of the Forest Service, Director of the National Park Service, Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and six citizen members to be appointed by the President. The duties of the Council would be to serve as a repository for information about the National Wilderness Preservation System, to transmit to the Congress proposed changes in the wilderness boundaries, to serve as a clearinghouse of information about wilderness, to make, sponsor, and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs, to advise with Government official, and to report annually to the Congress.

The Department believes that wilderness is a proper use of the national forests and has steadfastly maintained continuity of policy in this regard for over 30 years. In 1924, the first area for preservation of wilderness in the national forests was administratively established. It comprised a large part of what is now the Gila wilderness area in New Mexico. In 1926, parts of the Superior roadless area in northern Minnesota were given special protection. The first national-forest primitive area was established in 1930 under secretarial regulation. By 1939, there were 73 primitive areas and 2 roadless areas, totaling 14.2 million acres.

In 1939, new secretarial regulations were issued providing for the establishment of wilderness and wild areas in the national forests. The new regulations

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provided for greater stability and protection to the areas established thereunder than did the earlier regulation issued 10 years previously. Wilderness and wild areas meet essentially the same criteria, except that wilderness areas are larger than 100,000 acres and wild areas range from 5,000 to 100,000 acres. Wilderness areas are established by the Secretary of Agriculture whereas the Chief of the Forest Service establishes wild areas.

Since 1939 the Department has managed primitive areas in accordance with the secretarial regulations for wilderness areas, and has been restudying these areas, making boundary adjustments where needed, and reclassifying those areas or parts thereof which are predominantly valuable for wilderness as wilderness or wild areas. About 40 percent of the primitive areas have been reclassified and 9 new areas have been established.

As of March 1 of this year, there were the following wilderness-type areas on the national forests:

	Number	Acreage
Wilderness areas	12	3,[illegible],540
Wild areas	22	787,123
Roadless areas	3	514,[illegible]56
Primitive areas	44	8,274,940
Total	81	13,845,064

The apparent loss of about 400,000 acres in wilderness use of the national forests between 1939 and the present was due to the transfer in 1941 of 432,000 acres of national-forest wilderness area to the King's Canyon National Park by the Congress. Prior to 1939, 206,000 acres of the Olympic primitive area were also transferred by Congress to the Olympic National Park.

The wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas of the national forests include some of the most remote and scenic areas of the Nation. They have unique and special values which have long been recognized by wilderness enthusiasts, and would be recognized by the Congress if the proposed bills were enacted.

But these areas also pose special problems. They are unavailable for mass recreational use, the need for which on the national forests has been growing at a remarkable pace and will continue to grow. The wilderness-type areas on the national forests receive relatively limited use and are available only to those who have sufficient time, money, and physical capacity. The average family which wishes to go to the national forests in the family car for picnicking or a weekend of camping does not have access to those superlative areas. Because of their inaccessibility and lack of roads, wilderness areas are difficult to protect from fire, insects, and disease. If forest pests are not controlled, wilderness areas may serve as source of infection to surrounding national-forest timber. The wilderness areas themselves include valuable timber, forage, water, wildlife, and mineral resources.

Wilderness advocates fear gradual encroachment and attrition of these areas in the future as the population of the country continues to grow, especially in the West, and the economic need for the resources now included in wilderness areas increases manifold. But this encroachment has not happened in the national forests up to the present time. The figures cited above show essentially the same area in wilderness-type use now as nearly 20 years ago. There has been steadfast continuity of wilderness policy and administration in the national forests for many years.

S. 1176 would tend to freeze the status quo with respect to present wilderness-type areas. It would curb the authority of the executive branch by permitting secretarial decisions with respect to wilderness-area boundaries to be overridden by resolution of either House. The bill would establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council which would have no real powers, but which would impose added recordkeeping, paperwork, and expense upon the land-administering agencies. The Secretary of Agriculture would be required to transmit his recommendations for wilderness-area changes through the Council to the Congress. He could not recommend directly to the Congress. The Council also would probably serve as a focal point to bring pressure upon the Congress and the executive agencies.

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By tending to freeze the status quo of existing wilderness-type areas the bill would strike at the heart of the multiple-use policy of national-forest administration. The bill would give a degree of congressional protection to wilderness use of the national forests which is not now enjoyed by any other use. It would tend to hamper free and effective application of administrative judgment which now determines, and should continue to determine, the use or combination of uses to which a particular national-forest area is put. This balancing of conflicting demands, and the weighing of one use priority against another is the key to workable multiple-use management.

The pending bill would prohibit by statute numerous uses in wilderness areas. Other uses would be prohibited subject to certain exceptions. Still other uses would be classed as nonconforming with a directive to the administering agency to terminate those uses when this can be done with equity to the user, or with his agreement. The Department does not agree with the statutory use prohibitions in the pending bill, and proposes a different use classification in its recommended substitute bill.

It is for the above reasons that the Department does not favor the pending bill. Nevertheless, wilderness is a proper use of the national forests and will continue to be. We believe that legislation would be desirable which would give statutory recognition to wilderness use, would define wilderness areas, would specify procedures for their establishment and modification, and would clarify the uses which could be permitted. We see no need for establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System, nor a National Wilderness Preservation Council. We object to provisions in the pending bill that decisions of the Secretary with respect to additions, modifications, or eliminations of wilderness areas may be overridden by resolution of either House.

Consequently, we have prepared a substitute bill which we recommend for the committee's consideration. This draft bill would apply only to the national forests. We have not attempted to prepare legislation covering lands not administered by this Department. The recommended bill would—

1. Declare it to be the policy of Congress to (*a*) administer national forests for multiple use and sustained yield, (*b*) establish an adequate system of wilderness areas, and (*c*) provide for their protection and the dissemination of information about their use.

2. Direct the Secretary of Agriculture to administer the national forests on a multiple-use basis in order to produce a sustained yield of products and services including the establishment and maintenance of wilderness areas.

3. Define "wilderness," include national-forest wilderness and wild areas as wilderness under the act, and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to designate presently classified primitive areas within 10 years as to whether they are predominantly of wilderness value. The bill would also provide that primitive areas not established as wilderness within 15 years of the date of the act would cease to be classified as "primitive."

4. Place the authority to establish or abolish wilderness areas with the President, but provide that the Secretary of Agriculture could modify boundaries if the Secretary by such action did not change the total area of the wilderness by more than one-fourth of its original area. Also would provide that any proposed addition which includes a power or reclamation withdrawal must be approved by the President.

5. Direct the Secretary, prior to the establishment of, or change in, wilderness areas, to obtain the views of other affected Federal agencies, to give public notice, and to hold a public hearing if such is requested.

6. Prohibit resorts, hotels, restaurants, stores, summer homes, organization camps, hunting and fishing lodges, and similar facilities within a wilderness area.

7. Prohibit or limit other facilities or uses in accordance with Secretarial regulation, provided that mining, permanent roads, commercial timber cutting, except to control pest infestations, and reservoirs which require road construction would be prohibited unless the President affirmatively authorized them.

8. Change the names of the Superior roadless areas in the Superior National Forest in Minnesota to the boundary waters canoe area and direct the Secretary to manage them for the general purpose of maintaining the primitive character of the areas, particularly the lakes, streams, and portages. Any modification of the boundary waters canoe area would be accomplished in the same manner as for wilderness areas.

9. Declare the provisions of the proposed act to be within and supplemental to the basic purposes for which the national forests were established.

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The Bureau of the Budget advises that while there is no objection to the submission of this report, that office recognizes that the Congress may not wish to deal with the problems of preservation of national wilderness assets except in a general and uniform statute applicable to all affected agencies.

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

(Transmitted but not signed.)

A BILL To provide for the establishment of wilderness areas on national forest lands, the regulation by the Secretary of Agriculture of their use, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall apply to existing and hereafter acquired national forest lands and may be cited as the National Forest Wilderness Act.

SEC. 2. The Congress recognizes that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement, increased demand for natural resources, and growing mechanization, is destined to occupy and modify most areas within the United States, its Territories, and possessions except those that are set apart for preservation and protection in their natural condition. Such preservation of areas which are predominantly valuable for wilderness is recognized as a desirable policy of the Government of the United States of America which will promote the health, welfare, and happiness of its citizens of present and future generations. Accordingly, it is declared to be the policy of Congress (1) to administer the national forests with the general objectives of multiple use and sustained yield, (2) to establish an adequate system of areas predominantly valuable for wilderness to serve the recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and conservation needs of the people, and (3) to provide for the protection of such areas and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness. Pursuant to this policy the Congress gives sanction to the continued preservation as wilderness of such areas federally owned or controlled that are within national forests.

SEC. 3. In order to carry out this policy the Secretary of Agriculture is directed to administer the national forests on a multiple-use basis so that the resources thereof will be used and developed to produce a sustained yield of products and services, including the establishment and maintenance of wilderness areas, for the benefit of all the people of this and future generations.

SEC. 4. A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where generally the earth and its community of life are not disturbed by man. For the purposes of this Act the term "wilderness" shall include those areas of national forest lands retaining their natural primeval environment and influence, which through their nature are predominantly valuable to serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment by the people in such manner as will leave the areas unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness, and which as hereinafter provided shall be established as, or included within, wilderness. Areas now classified by regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter called Secretary) as wilderness or wild areas are included as wilderness under this Act. The Secretary is authorized and directed to review and within ten years to designate the presently classified primitive areas or portions thereof within the national forests that are predominantly of wilderness value. Primitive areas not established as wilderness within five years of the date on which they are designated as predominantly of wilderness value shall cease to be classified as primitive.

SEC. 5. (a) The President of the United States is authorized as he deems advisable in furtherance of the policy stated in section 2, to establish wildernesses by proclamation or Executive order and in such manner to abolish wildernesses when they are no longer predominantly valuable as such. Modification of wildernesses in furtherance of such policy may be made by the Secretary through adjustments of the boundaries thereof or by additions thereto or eliminations therefrom: *Provided*, That the total area of a wilderness shall not in such manner be changed by more than one-fourth of its original area: *Provided further*, That where a proposed addition includes an existing power or reclamation withdrawal it shall not be effective until approved by the President.

(b) Prior to the establishment, modification or, elimination of any wilderness the Secretary shall (1) obtain from the heads of other affected Federal agencies their views with respect thereto, (2) give notice of such proposed action

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for not less than ninety days (a) by publication in one or more newspapers of general circulation, as he may deem necessary, in the State or Territory wherein the affected land lies or (b) by publicly posting notice thereof at the county seat of each county in which the affected land lies, and (3) if there is demand for a public hearing, cause such a hearing to be held and a full report thereon to be made to the Secretary who shall consider such report and, when Presidential action is required, shall submit the report with his recommendations to the President.

SEC. 6. The preservation of wilderness shall be the paramount purpose of this Act. Resorts, hotels, restaurants, stores, summer homes, organization camps, hunting and fishing lodges, and similar facilities within a wilderness shall be prohibited. Other facilities or uses within a wilderness shall be prohibited or limited in accordance with regulations issued by the Secretary: *Provided*, That prospecting, mining, except on existing valid mining claims, the construction of permanent roads, commercial timber cutting except to control insect and disease infestations, and the establishment or maintenance of reservoirs involving road construction within a wilderness are prohibited unless the President, upon his determination that such use in the specific area will better serve the interests of the United States than will its denial, shall authorize such use.

SEC. 7. The areas heretofore known as the Superior Roadless Areas in the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, shall hereafter be known as the Boundary Waters Canoe Area and shall be managed in accordance with regulations issued by the Secretary in conformity with the general purpose of maintaining, without unnecessary restrictions on other uses including that of timber, the primitive character of the area, particularly in the vicinity of lakes, streams, and portages: *Provided*, That such regulations shall not conflict with the provisions of the Act of July 10, 1930 (46 Stat. 1020), as amended and supplemented, or any other Acts applicable to any portion of such area. Modifications of such area shall be accomplished in the same manner as provided in section 5 with respect to wildernesses.

SEC. 8. The Secretary is authorized to issue regulations for the administration of, and shall administer, wildernesses in accordance with the purposes of this Act; and such purposes are hereby declared to be within and supplemental to but not in interference with the purposes for which national forests are established as set forth in the Act of June 4, 1897 (section 1, 30 Stat. 34, 35; 16 U. S. C. 475, 551).

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C., June 18, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: Your committee has requested a report on S. 1176, to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this system by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes.

Because of our favorable report to your committee with regard to S. 846 for the establishment of a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, and for other reasons stated in this report, we do not recommend enactment of this proposed legislation.

We have examined this proposal in the light of the long experience of this Department in administering many types of Federal reservations and areas. This includes various areas of the national park system that may be referred to as "wilderness" areas. We believe in the preservation of additional areas that qualify for this type of preservation. Because of this fact, we are sympathetic to the basic objective of these bills.

This Department has long been in the forefront of the movement to establish and to preserve in a practical way America's great "wilderness" areas. The national park system that we administer is evidence of this fact. We have been encouraged in these efforts by the Congress of the United States which has enacted many statutes, upon our recommendation, that assure the permanent

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wilderness character of these areas. We are required by Federal statute to administer and maintain the national parks in their natural or "wilderness" condition which is being done to the fullest extent consistent with the public use thereof.

In our opinion, enactment of this proposed legislation in its present form would defeat the purposes for which it is intended. This would result, we believe, from conflicts and dissension that would arise concerning the use of a large portion of the Federal estate that would be included in the proposed "wilderness" system. For example, many of the areas named, such as the wildlife refuges and Indian lands, as hereafter explained, do not qualify, or should not be classified, for particular reasons, as "wilderness" areas. Consequently, the inclusion of such areas in a proposed wilderness preservation system would serve only to bring about controversy and dissatisfaction. We feel that in order to proceed equitably with respect to the selection of particular areas for "wilderness" status, and in order to insure the permanence of that status with respect to each area, a thorough and objective study should first be made of each area suggested for this type of land use.

It was for this reason that we recently recommended to your committee that S. 846 be amended to recognize that phase of outdoor recreation and appreciation which is one of the real benefits that accrue to our Nation as a result of the natural and scenic beauty of these wilderness areas. We indicated that a "survey of this type, if it is to be of lasting value, in our opinion, should be conducted objectively and without preconceived ideas regarding the outcome thereof."

This proposed legislation would involve Federal land management activities that we administer through three separate bureaus of this Department and it would involve certain functions also that are administered by the Department of Agriculture. The object and substantive provisions of the bills to which this report refers are essentially the same. The principal provisions thereof are as follows:

(1) Establishment in section 1, of a national wilderness preservation system, composed of areas retaining their natural primitive environment and influence, to serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment, in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness;

(2) Defines, in setion 1 (c), a wilderness as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails";

(3) Establishes, in section 2 (a), certain "roadless, wild, and wilderness areas" within the national forests as part of the proposed national wilderness preservation system, and authorizes additions thereto pursuant to certain prescribed procedures;

(4) Establishes, in section 2 (b), certain areas of the national park system to be part of the "wilderness" system, and authorizes the addition of other areas to the wilderness system by proclamation of the President;

(5) Establishes, in section 2 (c), certain national wildlife refuges and ranges as areas of the wilderness system, and authorizes the addition of other areas thereto pursuant to certain procedures set forth in the bill;

(6) Establishes, in section 2 (d), certain "roadless and wild areas" on Indian reservations to be a part of the wilderness system, with the consent of the tribal band within whose reservation the property lies, and authorizes additions or modifications in accordance with the procedures set forth in the bill;

(7) Authorizes, in section 2 (e), the inclusion of such units as Congress may designate by statute, and such units as may be designated within federally owned or controlled land or water by the officials authorized to determine the use thereof;

(8) Provides, in section 2 (f), that any proposed addition to, modification of, or elimination from the national wilderness preservation system other than by act of Congress, except on Indian reservations and as otherwise prescribed in the act, shall be reported to Congress by the Secretary of the "National Wilderness Preservation Council" upon receipt of notice; thereafter such change would take effect upon the expiration of the first period of 120 calendar days of continuous session of Congress following the date on which the report is received by Congress, if, during that period, an adverse resolution thereon has not been passed by either House of Congress.

(9) Provides, in section 3 (a), that nothing in the act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park

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or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering the wilderness area shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character thereof;

(10) With certain exemptions, provides, in section 3 (b), that no portion of any area constituting a unit of the system shall be devoted to commodity production, lumbering, prospecting, mining or the removal of mineral deposits, grazing by domestic livestock, water impoundment, or any form of commercial enterprise, except as contemplated by the purposes of the act;

(11) Establishes, in section 4 (a), a National Wilderness Preservation Council.

(12) Provides, in section 4 (b), that the Council shall serve as the repository for, and shall maintain available for public inspection, such maps and official papers regarding the national wilderness preservation system as may be filed with it. The Secretary of the Council would be required to report all proposed additions, modifications, or eliminations relating to areas of the system to the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Council would serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information among the agencies administering areas within the system; also, the Council would make, sponsor, and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs and conditions, and would disseminate information for the use of the public regarding the use and preservation of areas within the system. The Council would be directed to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of the President, the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, and other appropriate officers of the United States Government, and to assist in obtaining cooperation in wilderness preservation. The Council would be required to make an annual report to the Congress.

The chief result of this proposal would be to interpose an additional agency, a National Wilderness Preservation Council, between the Congress and the responsible administrative agency. We note in particular that the Council would exercise no administrative jurisdiction over any unit of the proposed wilderness system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction. Its functions would be to collect and maintain maps and official records, to report any proposed changes in the system to the Congress, to serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information, to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of various public officials, to assist in obtaining cooperation among various land use agencies, to report annually to Congress, and to make such recommendations as the Council may deem advisable. The Council would neither bear the responsibility for the determination of the policy, nor the responsibility for carrying it out.

The activities of the Council would involve cumbersome time consuming and expensive procedures that we believe would not accomplish efficiently the purposes intended.

If this proposed legislation becomes law, under certain provisions of the bill, such as section 2(f), the Congress will be drawn into the day-to-day management of national parks, wildlife refuges and ranges, Indian reservations, national forests, and other Federal lands designated as "wilderness" areas. Costs of administration of these areas would be increased by the necessity of accumulating duplicate sets of official maps and other papers, by the making of surveys by the Council, by the notice and hearings provisions, by the operating costs of the Council, and by the preparation of Council reports. The Council would duplicate the efforts of this Department and the Department of Agriculture on information activities. Such activities on the part of the Council would be unnecessary since they already are being performed adequately by existing agencies.

Perhaps the best method of evaluating this proposed legislation is to analyze its probable effect, if enacted, upon specific types of Federal reservations to which it would apply. By the terms of this bill, a considerable number of each type of reservation to which this bill refers, would be placed in essentially the same pattern of wilderness management. Because the public use and interests in each type of reservation differ, this would be impracticable.

The national parks are probably the only type of reservation that we administer that could be said to fit comfortably into the wilderness category. However, the Congress has long since enacted legislation for protection of the national park system. It is our considered opinion, therefore, that this proposed wilderness legislation would add little, if anything, to the protection, as wilderness areas, that the national park system now enjoys. In fact, the inclusion of the national parks in a general system of wilderness areas—particularly if that system includes areas of lesser significance and importance—will have the effect

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of placing the national parks on a less firm foundation of protection than has been already provided by Federal law.

This proposed legislation would include many of the national wildlife refuges in the proposed wilderness system. In formulating this proposed legislation, there appears to have been a mistaken belief concerning the purposes of the national wildlife refuges and the recognized and established methods for their management. These areas do not fit into the general pattern of wilderness areas for the reason that in order to preserve our wildlife population—the basic purpose of such refuges—it is necessary to manage actively the wildlife refuges for the production of food and the retention of water for our wildlife population. Areas so managed necessarily must disturb the natural or wilderness conditions that exist in these areas, but we find no alternative to this type of management in order to preserve and protect our wildlife population.

Under the provisions of subsection 2 (c) a number of national wildlife refuges and game ranges are listed that would become a part of the national wilderness preservation system except for such parts of those areas which the Secretary of the Interior would designate as required for roads and buildings and other installations for the administration and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife. Under this provision it would be necessary to list substantial parts of refuges to be excluded, such as the Seney, Delta, Wichita, and other wildlife refuges where major areas have been altered by the creation of water impoundments and other development activities, with the net result that little area would remain for dedication to the national wilderness preservation system. For example, there are some 20 large and 50 small water impoundments that have been created on the Wichita refuge for the management of the big-game herds. It is also necessary in the management of areas such as the Kofa, Cabeza Prieta, and desert game ranges to create water reservoirs wherever seeps and springs are discovered. Without such water developments, which usually cannot be anticipated in advance, our program for the preservation of mountain sheep would be a lost cause.

In the absence of an aggressive timber management program on the Seney National Wildlife Refuge, important waterfowl lands would soon be overgrown with timber or noxious vegetative cover. Without a dynamic water control program, marshes and water impoundments would revert to the condition in which they existed prior to the establishment of the project when they were of little, if any, value for migratory birds.

This proposed legislation would apply also to portions of Indian reservations. We believe this would be improper and undesirable for various reasons. These Indian lands are, in effect, private lands of the Indians that are being administered by this Department in trust for the Indians' benefit. This bill does not recognize the rights of individual Indians on allotted lands within the designated Indian roadless and wild areas. Tribal councils are not authorized to consent to actions on allotted lands and the bill makes no provision for consent by the owners of allotments. It is certain that there would be serious and justified objections from Indian allottees to any proposal that would preclude the possibility of commercial enterprises on their lands.

The policy of granting competent Indians full authority to handle their resources through the issuance of patents in fee on allotments is not in agreement with the objectives of this bill. Much of the allotted land within the Indian areas specified by this proposal may be expected to be removed from Federal supervision under this policy. It is the expressed policy of the Congress and of this Department to terminate the Federal Government's trust responsibility for these lands as rapidly as the Indians of each tribe are capable of managing their own affairs. During the remaining period that these lands are held in trust status, therefore, the object of management should be to develop their income-producing capacity to the fullest extent consistent with the principle of sustained yield. This objective is not compatible with the objective of this proposed legislation which is to withdraw the forest from commercial development and retain it in a natural state. In the circumstances, we can only conclude that the Indian lands to which this bill refers would not fit appropriately into the pattern of wilderness management as envisioned by this proposal.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that each type of Federal area or reservation that we have enumerated has been adapted over a period of time to the particular needs and desires of our people. Each serves a definite purpose and the Nation derives many and varied types of benefits from its "estate."

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Notwithstanding these considerations, we are aware of the fact that many devoted conservationists believe that legislation of this type is desirable. We believe the views of these conservationists should be reflected, in a practical way, by an appropriate enactment which we have previously recommended. When reporting upon the bill previously referred to before your committee that would create a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, we indicated our belief that such a commission should review not only public recreation resources but also wilderness areas and the need therefor. Appreciation of such wilderness resources is a form of recreation and we need to know clearly where we are going not only in the general recreation field but also in regard to the existing program for wilderness preservation and the objectives of new programs designed to assure the preservation of wilderness values for future generations.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised us that there would be no objection to the submission of this report to your committee.

Sincerely yours,

HATFIELD CHILSON,
Under Secretary of the Interior.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D. C., June 27, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in reply to your request for the views of the Bureau of the Budget on S. 1176, a bill to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this system by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes.

The Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, in reports to your committee on this bill, have recommended against enactment. This Bureau is in agreement with the arguments against the bill presented in those reports.

Accordingly, the Bureau of the Budget recommends against enactment of S. 1176.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. MERRIAM, *Assistant Director.*

The CHAIRMAN. We have a large number of communications on the measure, which will be included in the record or made available in the committee files.

The first witness this morning is the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, Hubert H. Humphrey.

STATEMENT OF HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am very much pleased to be afforded this opportunity to address myself to Senate bill 1176, the bill which you have so properly described as designed to establish on the public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system.

This bill, Mr. Chairman, has been studied very carefully by a large number of people who are devoted to conservation, to the improvement of our wildlife refuges, to the development of a national policy for the protection of wildernesses, and the preservation of some of our

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native habitat and primeval environment. These are people that look to the future and not just to the present.

Now, I have a rather extensive statement here, Mr. Chairman, but in order to conserve the time of the committee and also permit other witnesses who are not always available, as a member of Congress is, to testify, I am going to abbreviate my oral testimony. However, I should like to ask, if it is agreeable with the chairman and the members of the committee, to have the statement placed in the record in full.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement in full will be carried in the record.

Senator HUMPHREY. And I also have a number of exhibits, to which I will direct my attention in a moment. I would also like to ask, Mr. Chairman, that the exhibits, A through E, be placed as a part of my testimony in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be included as part of your testimony as requested.

Senator HUMPHREY. Now, Mr. Chairman, as I indicated to you a moment ago, this bill before us has had not only wide sponsorship here in the Senate, but it has aroused a very keen interest on the part of citizens and organizations deeply concerned about our national policies of conservation.

There was a conference in Portland, Oreg., on April 8 of last year, the Northwest Wilderness Conference, at which this bill in draft form was gone over in detail and studied by the experts in the field, men and women who have, as I said, given a lifetime of dedication to the development of national conservation policies.

I have the feeling that we are approaching this undertaking of establishing a national wilderness preservation system in just about the nick of time. With a growing population, with tremendous pressures upon land and people, upon both physical and human resources, we need to take constructive measures here in the Congress to protect both the people and the physical resources.

I am convinced that the chance to provide for wilderness preservation without interfering with other programs may not last very long. Therefore, we should act promptly.

One hundred years ago, President James Buchanan, in his inaugural address on March 4, 1857, commented on our financial condition in phrases that recently inspired Mr. George Collins of the National Park Service to describe our natural resources condition in parallel terms. Speaking thus, at the Fifth Annual Conservation Educational Work Conference, out in California, on May 31, 1957, Mr. Collins said:

> Our present natural resources condition is without parallel in history. No nation has ever before from the Babylonians on down to the present, been embarrassed at its slowness in exploiting for the almighty dollar its own natural wealth of wilderness and wildlife. In the century since President Buchanan took office we have only done away with or practically eliminated, among others, the passenger pigeon, the bison, the manatee, the ivory-billed woodpecker, the trumpeter swan, the heath hen, the Audubon big horn of the Black Hills, the Merriam elk, the golden bear of California, the condor, our once vast wilderness reaches in all the river basins, and the great grasslands of our midwestern plains.

These are the things that we have actually exterminated from our great repertoire of natural resources.

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The tantalizing thought of our remaining wilderness and wildlife resources gives birth these days to wild schemes for final subjugation of our remaining natural resources, and begets a race of speculators and jobbers, whose ingenuity is exerted in contriving and promoting expedients to convert promptly all they can of the public's remaining natural wealth of land, water, forests, minerals, fish, and wildlife into money.

This statement is not mine, I want the record to note. It is the statement of Mr. George Collins of the National Park Service.

What Mr. Collins is saying is what we are all, I am sure, somewhat aware to be the truth, that the tremendous pressures for economic gain, the tremendous pressures of population, the tremendous pressures of industrialization, are cutting deeply into our great natural resources—our parks, our forests, our wildlife refuges, our wilderness areas. It really takes the courage of a Spartan and the steadfastness of a Roman to be able to protect these resources. There is always somebody that can show you that if you just leave them open, just let the hand of man get at them, we could convert them into something that would be to our economic well-being. My plea, Mr. Chairman, is simply this: That the spiritual and the emotional and the physical well-being of the American people have to be kept in mind also. With a country that is going to have 225 million people in it by 1975, and no more land—we are not expanding our territory—and with a country that has geared up an economic and social system such as ours, it appears to me to be a wise and prudent policy to take steps now to expend our programs of outdoor recreation, conservation, and wilderness preservation, and to provide adequate protection for our great outdoors and its great natural resources that nature has given to us.

Now, let me hasten to emphasize that the situation which puts us under such a pressing obligation to provide for the wilderness protection which we here propose, does also present us still a very remarkably rich opportunity.

It is indeed fortunate that after the centuries we have spent in developing this continent we do still have some large areas of wilderness. It is doubly fortunate that many of these areas are federally owned and are also included in parks, forests, or refuges, or other kinds of reservations within which the wilderness has so far been preserved in keeping with the purposes of the reservations.

Some 48 or so national parks and monuments have within them unspoiled areas large enough to be called wilderness.

Now, when I say wilderness, I mean to describe the native condition of the area, undeveloped, so to speak, untouched by the hand of man or his mechanical products.

Within the national forests there are some 80 areas that have been designated by the Forest Service for protection as wilderness. Indian reservations contain 15 areas that have been classified as roadless or wild.

Putting all these together, we have 163 or so areas of wilderness that are in Federal ownership or control and that are also inside areas within which wilderness can be preserved consistently with other purposes.

In other words, you do not run into the conflict here that the report of the Interior Department would indicate.

Needless to say, there are conflicts of interest, when you start out on a new program or an expanded program of wilderness preserva-

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tion, because then you have to determine policy. What do you want to do with these great stretches of land? But the conflicts are not irreconcilable. I want to make that clear. There is nothing irreconcilable between a national forest and a wilderness area or between a national park and a wilderness area. As a matter of fact, some of the finest national parks would be better off if larger parts of them were left as wilderness areas, for people to make their way into these parks without all of the so-called advances of modernization and technology.

This wilderness bill has been designed to provide needed protection for the areas that I have described, and in such a way as to be integrated without violence into the land management policies and programs that have already been carefully developed.

This bill is actually based on the assumption that we still can preserve in America an adequate system of wilderness areas without sacrificing other programs. It is based also on a parallel assumption that there will not long be any such areas at all unless we do something now, and do it deliberately, to preserve them as wilderness areas.

In accordance with these assumptions I consider this program both readily feasible and also urgent. It appears to me to be as easy to accomplish as it is important. It will be part of an overall land-management program that encompasses also our other needs. There need be no essential conflict. No area now devoted to any economic purpose, or to any other development program, is withdrawn from its use by this legislation. The proposed legislation rather is indeed based on the understanding that we in America still have the opportunity for preserving wildnerness while at the same time meeting, outside our wilderness reserves, all our needs for commodities and for developed recreation areas.

Could I just say that this represents a part of what we might term a balanced natural resource system? A natural resource system, even one that is dedicated to recreation, must not be just a highly developed mechanized, modernized recreational system. It ought to have many facets to it—native habitat, developed parks, forests, lakes, streams, wildlife refuges, all of these—as a part of a balanced type of recreational and conservation program throughout the Nation. So we are not trying to change the pattern of things, in a sense. What we are trying to do is to preserve what is left of an established pattern.

Now, the proposed legislation, as I pointed out to you, would preserve the wilderness areas that are available.

Our program is based on the cooperative understanding that I have talked about, the relationship of these many different projects each to the others. It is, for example, in no sense in conflict with or in competition with forestry for timber and other economic products. On the contrary, foresters are among those upon whom our wilderness program is in reality dependent for its success.

If ever the American people come to the borders of our wilderness areas with a need for timber that cannot be met elsewhere, then our wilderness areas will be doomed.

Thus is it to the foresters of America, and to their effective programs for sustained yield cutting on their production forests, that we must look for success in wilderness preservation. The forest has

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a way of compelling the forester to be a scientifically trained man and to crop his land, to take care of the forests just as you would take care of any other precious resource.

Now, we recognize this, and we face our program in a spirit of cooperation and with a feeling of dependence on the intelligent foresters of America for support.

Similarly we contemplate cooperation and integration with other enterprises that may likewise be inconsistent within a wilderness and yet thoroughly consistent with the preservation of wilderness as a part of an overall program.

And I want to underscore that we are talking about it as being a part, a facet, a factor, of a total national land policy program.

After long controversy, we recently, for example, found that it was possible to establish an upper Colorado River project that includes a gigantic program for the construction of huge dams and magnificent reservoirs and at the same time provides for the protection of national parks and monuments.

Now, this took quite a scrap, as we all recall, down here, in the Congress. But this has been done. The easiest thing to do of course would have been to just flood anything. You do not have to have much sense to figure that out. Anybody that can build a dam can flood something. But to build a system of dams and reservoirs and preserve a great national monument and park system and at the same time get the maximum utility in terms of economic good out of the control of the waters is rather a statesmanlike act. I am proud to say that the Congress was able to do that. And as such, we have proven that you can have balanced use of your resources without tossing your resources all one way.

Not only in a general or overall sense, but also specifically, with regard to each area involved, this proposal is one that respects the importance of other programs. It is a multiple-purpose wilderness program. Every area included in the proposed national wilderness preservation system is now serving some other purpose, or purposes, consistent with the continued protection of the area as wilderness. Under this legislation, these areas will continue to serve those purposes and they will be administered by the same agencies that handle them now.

The first purpose of this bill is to establish firmly a clearcut national policy for preserving, for both the present and the future, some of what remains of our resource of wilderness.

In line with such a policy the Congress in this proposed measure will give its sanction to the policies and programs of the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and our other Federal conservation agencies under whose wise administration a great resource of wilderness has so far been preserved.

Finally, this measure proposes a way whereby this policy and this sanction can take effect in a practical program.

Of central importance in this program is the establishment of what is to be called our national wilderness preservation system, to be made up of areas of primeval America that are still wilderness and in Federal ownership or control and capable of being kept that way without interfering with other present purposes now being served by these lands.

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The fact should be established that the national wilderness preservation system will be made up of areas that are already, as I said, in Federal ownership. I keep repeating this, because word has gotten out in opposition to this bill that we are contemplating going out here and there and grabbing up lands that belong to somebody else and are really going to upset a whole land-use economy. That is not true at all, and I want to put the nail right through the head of that lie, right now. Because I have read too many editorials and too many articles about this.

Now, in order to provide a focus for the interest in the wilderness character of the diverse areas that will be serving multiple purposes, there will be established by this bill a National Wilderness Preservation Council. The agencies that administer the areas in our wilderness system have various purposes and many interests. Their concerns with wilderness may represent only a small part of the multiple purpose. Our proposed Wilderness Council, therefore, will provide a center, a focal point, for all of the various wilderness interests and interests in the many wilderness values of different kinds of areas.

The Council will not have any administrative jurisdiction over any of these areas.

And I want to say to the Department of the Interior: When I read their report, they talked about how difficult it will be to manage this whole thing. Let me see, here, where they talk about the Council. In their opposition to this bill, they point out that the Council would complicate things. They say:

> The chief result of this proposal would be to interpose an additional agency, a National Wilderness Preservation Council, between the Congress and the responsible administrative agency. We note in particular that the Council would exercise no administrative jurisdiction over any unit of the proposed wilderness system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction. Its functions would be to collect and maintain maps and official records, to report any proposed changes in the system to the Congress, to serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information, to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of various public officials, to assist in obtaining cooperation among various land use agencies, to report annually to Congress, and to make such recommendations as the council may deem advisable. The Council would neither bear the responsibility for the determination of policy, nor the responsibility for carrying it out.

And then they go on to explain what this would be all about.

The agency, the Department, opposes this bill, because it feels that it would be administratively cumbersome. The point that we are trying to make, Mr. Chairman, is that so many agencies in Government already have their hand in or their finger in the wilderness areas. But it is just a small part of their total operation. It is a part of their program that is so insignificant in terms of the economic importance of other programs that inadequate attention is given to the wilderness character of some of the land. What we are saying is: Let's get a unit established here, a Council, that will concentrate the attention of those who are held responsible for the wilderness character of certain areas. Let us give them a place where they can work, where they can exchange information, where they can pool their data, where they can develop policies, so that there will be a voice. It may be the composite of many little voices, but it will be a voice loud enough, when many of them are brought together in a council, to be heard.

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I should like to emphasize again that this proposal is not one for any special use or special privilege legislation. The first and topic sentence of this bill that relates to the uses states it quite clearly:

> Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area * * *

What we are really saying here, Mr. Chairman, is: Do not forget the wilderness. That is what we are saying. We are saying to the Secretary of Interior, to the head of the Forest Service, to the head of the Park Service, "We know you have a lot of work to do. You have tremendous responsibilities. You have great programs. But we would like to remind you day in and day out by act of Congress through a National Wilderness Preservation Council, that we want these wilderness areas protected. We want you to exercise your authority under the law for their preservation. And do not let these interests come on in here and chop down the forests in our few dedicated wildernesses or get a little hungry to get into some more of this public land that has been specially set aside to be protected and preserved for the people."

There is a constant fight up here in Congress to protect what little public land we have left that is worthy of protection. Any time anybody can find something on that public land that looks as if it might yield a dollar, he is up here to get it. And I am here to see that 100 years from now somebody's children may be able to take a canoe and portage up through these forests and commune with nature. Maybe that will be all we have to commune with if we do not change some things that are developing.

Well, Mr. Chairman, I have a summary, and I am going to ask that that entire summary be printed in the record, as I did the other. I believe I have stated my case as forcibly as I can.

I want to say in reference to the exhibits that they are marked. I do not want anyone to think that these exhibits should all be printed. There are certain passages out of the exhibits that I want to have included in the testimony.

Now, exhibit A is a study that was made by the Library of Congress. It is entitled "The Preservation of Wilderness Areas (An Analysis of Opinion on the Problem), by C. Frank Keyser, Regional Economist, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress." I understand that this is out of print, and I am not at all sure, Mr. Chairman, that you will want to have that all printed in your testimony, in your hearings. But I would like to incorporate it by reference.

And may I suggest that you, sir, and the staff, and your colleagues, consider the possibility of having it made a part of your hearings, because a number of people are keenly interested in it and cannot get any more copies of it, because it is no longer available except on special order.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be sure the committee will give consideration to your request on that matter.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much.

(The document, Exhibit A, was included in the hearings as an exhibit to the testimony of Howard Zahniser; see p. 165.)

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The CHAIRMAN. And I want to congratulate you on the very eloquent appeal you have made here this morning.

I am sure that the committee will study with great care your complete statement and your summarization, and I am very hopeful that we will succeed in getting out a bill that will be satisfactory.

Senator HUMPHREY. I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have one other question. I wrote an article for the Living Wilderness, the winter and spring issue, 1956–57, entitled "The Wilderness Bill," which explains in layman's language the purposes behind this bill, and I would like to have that included as part of my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be included as part of your testimony.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you.

I wish I could be here when departmental witnesses testify, Mr. Chairman, but I regret that I cannot. I only want to add this: That it is not difficult to build a case against a bill. You can always point out that a bill is cumbersome, that it is administratively sticky, or that it is expensive. You can always do that. I would ask the departments to concentrate their attention not upon the imperfections of this bill, because this bill has been drawn by people who do not claim to be legislative perfectionists in terms of the design of a bill. What I want the departments to think about is the purpose behind this bill. We do not say that it is a perfect creation or even a halfway perfect creation in terms of legislative language. And therefore I would most respectfully suggest to the Department of the Interior and to the Department of Agriculture that instead of just trying to riddle the bill with their lawyers, they get their conservation people to go over the bill and see how we can make this work. Because I am not at all interested in fighting over each line and each paragraph. I know what we are trying to do. And that is stated right here in the preamble of the bill. And many Members of the Senate want this thing done, but some of the Members have been deeply concerned about some of the legal difficulties that seem to be involved or some of the technical parts of the bill. I think it is fair to say that those groups that are interested in this legislation are interested primarily in doing just one thing—protecting what wilderness areas we have and seeing to it that somebody in the Government protects them and seeing to it that somebody in the Government is as interested in protecting them as some of the people outside of the Government are interested in getting them.

And that is what this committee needs to lay down, in whatever bill it reports out, and I hope it will report out a bill. It needs to say to the administrative agencies, to the executive branches: "Look, we know there is a lot of oil, and people have a right to have oil. But if they go out of their mind, oil won't help them. Oil does not help you very much after you are dead, either."

And if people want to live, they will need some recreational areas in this country.

So if we can get your technicians and the departments to concentrate not upon this kind of stuff, that kind of irritated me, to be blunt about it—I look down here and I see a 12-paragraph indictment of the bill. I suggest most respectfully that somebody in the Department of the Interior should go over this bill and say, "Now look, here is the way it can be improved. We concur in the objectives."

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I am sure they must concur in the objectives. Either that or they are violating the law. Because the objectives are already in existing law. "But here is how we think it could be improved." You do not need people to always tell you what you cannot do. I like can-doers and not can't-doers. The world is filled with can't-doers.

So, if we can get some of these can-do fellows around, we will get a fairly good bill out.

(Senator Humphrey's full statement and the exhibits referred to are as follows:)

FORMAL STATEMENT OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, OF MINNESOTA

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee. I thank you very much for the privilege of introducing this morning the testimony on our proposed wilderness bill. This bill, as I have pointed out before, is a measure designed to make sure that some parts of America may always remain unspoiled and beautiful in their own natural way, untrammeled by man and unmarred by machinery. It is a measure that gives expression to a policy which has long been a reality in the minds and hearts of the American people but has never yet been embodied in legislation. If these hearings which are opening today lead—as I believe they should and trust they will—to the enactment of this congressional charter for wilderness, this occasion will long be looked upon as one with historic significance. After the conference on Northwest wilderness held in Portland, Oreg., in April of last year, when we were developing this wilderness bill in draft form and submitting it for criticism and suggestions—2 months before its first introduction—one of the participants in the conference wrote me a letter and said: "The proposal to establish a national wilderness preservation system, in which your role is so prominent, was presented to us and talked about in great detail at the conference banquet—its first unveiling before the general public. Then, and all the following day," said this letter, "there was something that made us sense that we were participating in an event of special significance." Mr. Chairman, I think we feel that way here today. After a decade of earnest study on the part of organizations and individuals devoted to the public interest in preserving some of the remnants of primeval America that are still within our keeping as citizens, we have been able to formulate a legislative program that will accomplish our preservation purposes without damaging any other public program or sacrificing any other existing interests. The consideration that you, Mr. Chairman, and your colleagues are now so earnestly giving this proposal is a significant contribution to the conservation history of this country, and I do indeed feel it a privilege to be a participant with you on this occasion.

IN THE NICK OF TIME

I have the feeling, that we are approaching this undertaking just in the nick of time. I am convinced that the chance to provide for wilderness preservation without interfering with other programs will not last very long. We should act promptly.

A hundred years ago President James Buchanan in his inaugural address on March 4, 1857, commented on our financial condition in phrases that recently inspired Mr. George Collins, of the National Park Service, to describe our natural-resources condition in parallel terms. Speaking thus at the fifth annual conservation education work conference in Asilomar, Calif., a couple of weeks ago, on May 31, 1957, Mr. Collins said:

"Our present natural resources condition is without parallel in history. No nation has ever before from the Babylonians on down to the present, been embarrassed at its slowness in exploiting for the almighty dollar its own natural wealth of wilderness and wildlife. In the century since President Buchanan took office we have only done away with or practically eliminated, among others, the passenger pigeon, the bison, the manatee, the ivory-billed woodpecker, the trumpeter swan, the heath hen, the Audubon bighorn of the Black Hills, the Merriam elk, the golden bear of California, the condor, our once vast wilderness reaches in all the river basins, and the great grasslands of our midwestern plains. The tantalizing thought of our remaining wilderness and wildlife resources gives birth these days to wild schemes for final subjugation of our remaining natural resources, and begets a race of speculators and jobbers, whose

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ingenuity is exerted in contriving and promoting expedients to convert promptly all they can of the public's remaining natural wealth of land, water, forests, minerals, fish and wildlife into money. The probity of public servants who believe in "God Bless America—and let's save some of it," including the flora and fauna and the wilderness for their intrinsic worth, is all too often made to seem ridiculously oldfashioned. This in itself is a very great evil."

That statement by George Collins, of the National Park Service, strikes me as a challenging description of the circumstances in which some of us feel so strongly impelled to act now. As Mr. Collins concluded his remarks, "It is up to you and me to believe religiously in the conservation of the remnants we have left. That will be a very great cultural blessing to generations as yet unborn."

And the situation becomes constantly more difficult. Those of us in the Congress who are vitally interested in conservation are indeed worried, and with good cause. We see the pressure that is coming, and, as elected representatives, it is our clear duty to do something before all the horses have been driven out of all our barns. There seems to be a crisis every day in the world in which we live, and the only way we are going to change this is by looking ahead and taking timely action.

That is what this wilderness bill proposes to do. Instead of waiting until the crisis has engulfed us, we can, through this legislation, make secure the preservation of these areas that do now, in effect, constitute our national wilderness system—the areas that are now, in fact, handled as wilderness, even though they serve other and consistent purposes also. Doing that now means providing security for what we already have, perpetuating the multiple-purpose programs we now have on those areas, and making sure that multiple purpose on these lands always includes wilderness preservation.

OUR REMARKABLE OPPORTUNITY

Let me hasten to emphasize that the situation which puts us under such a pressing obligation to provide the wilderness protection we here propose does also still present us a remarkably rich opportunity.

It is indeed fortunate that, after the centuries we have spent in developing this continent, we do still have some large areas of wilderness. It is doubly fortunate that many of these areas are federally owned and are also included in parks, forests, or refuges, or other kinds of reservations within which the wilderness has so far been preserved in keeping with the purposes of the reservations.

Some 48 or so national parks and monuments have within them unspoiled areas large enough to be called wilderness. Some 20 or so of the national wildlife refuges and ranges do, too. Within the national forests there are some 80 areas that have been designated by the Forest Service for protection as wilderness. Indian reservations contain 15 areas that have been classified as roadless or wild.

Putting all these together, we have 163 or so areas of wilderness that are in Federal ownership or control and that are also inside areas within which wilderness can be preserved consistently with other purposes, as part of what might be called a multipurpose wilderness-preservation program.

PROTECTION BY LAW NEEDED

At present, however, there are no laws of Congress which protect these areas of wilderness as wilderness.

Even in the national parks and monuments the pressures for roads and nonwilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to destroy the primeval back-country wilderness. In the national forests, the wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas have been set up administratively and could be abolished or greatly reduced by a future Secretary of Agriculture. Wilderness within the national wildlife refuges is in a precarious position because the refuges themselves lack adequate legal protection against pressures for commercial or exploitative encroachments.

In fact, none of our Federal wilderness has the protection which Congress could give by providing for wilderness preservation as a national policy applied to a definite system of areas.

PART OF AN OVERALL PROGRAM

The wilderness bill has been designed to provide this needed protection, and in such a way as to be integrated without violence into the land-management

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policies and programs that have already been so carefully developed. This bill is actually based on the assumption that we still can preserve in America an adequate system of wilderness areas without sacrificing any other program. It is based, also, on a parallel assumption that there will not long be any such areas unless we do deliberately preserve them as wilderness. In accordance with these assumptions, I consider this program both readily feasible and also urgent. It appears to me to be as easy to accomplish as it is important. It will be part of an overall land-management program that encompasses also our other needs. There need be no essential conflict. No area now devoted to any economic purpose, or to any other development program, is withdrawn from its use by this legislation. The proposed legislation, rather, is indeed based on the understanding that we in America still have the opportunity for preserving wilderness while at the same time meeting, outside our wilderness reserves, all our needs for commodities and for developed recreation areas.

Instead of being in conflict with other aspects of our overall program, our wilderness preservation is actually dependent upon them. Upon their success depend our hopes for wilderness.

Our program is based on this cooperative understanding.

It is, for example, in no sense in conflict with, or in competition with, forestry for timber and other economic products. On the contrary, foresters are among those upon whom our wilderness program is, in reality, dependent for its success.

If ever the American people come to the borders of our wilderness area with a need for timber that cannot be met elsewhere, then our wilderness areas will be doomed.

Thus, it is to the foresters of America, and to their effective programs for sustained yield cutting on their production forests, that we must look for success in wilderness preservation.

We recognize this, and we face our program in a spirit of cooperation and with a feeling of dependence on the intelligent foresters of America for support.

Similarly, we contemplate cooperation and integration with other enterprises that may likewise be inconsistent within a wilderness and yet thoroughly consistent with the preservation of wilderness as a part of an overall program.

After long controversy, we recently, for example, found it possible to establish an upper Colorado River project that includes a gigantic program for the construction of huge impoundments and magnificent reservoirs and at the same time provides for the protection of national parks and monuments.

There should be no unavoidable conflict between other projects for the wise development and use of our water or other resources and this wilderness preservation program.

IMPORTANCE OF OTHER PROGRAMS RESPECTED

Not only in a general or overall sense, but also, specifically, with regard to each area involved, this proposal is one that respects the importance of other programs. It is a multiple-purpose wilderness program. Every area included in the proposed national wilderness preservation system is now serving some other purpose, or purposes, consistent with the continued protection of the area as wilderness. Under this legislation, these areas will continue to serve these purposes, and they will be administered by the same agencies that now handle them.

With regard to the 86 wilderness, wild, and roadless areas immediately included and the 44 primitive areas to be added later, the bill has been prepared in accordance with the wilderness policies, programs, and practices of the United States Forest Service, and in admiration for them. The national-forest areas that will be included are those that have been designated by the Forest Service as wilderness, wild, primitive, or roadless, and they will be administered under regulations drawn up in the Forest Service.

This bill will not interfere with, but will perpetuate, the present multiple-purpose administration of these national-forest areas.

The central concept of this measure, I repeat, is that our present areas of wilderness can be preserved within the existing land-management pattern if the preservation purpose is made a matter of fundamental policy.

Rather than upsetting the multiple-purpose program of the Forest Service, for example, this legislation will help prevent the upset that will result if the wilderness areas are not protected from the uses that would destroy them as wilderness.

As to the 48 national parks and monuments included, the bill gives added protection as wilderness for the portions not needed for roads and accommodations,

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and yet sets no limitation on the portions that may be designated for such use, as needed. Park areas will continue to serve park purposes, just as forest areas will continue to serve forest purposes.

The 20 national wildlife refuges and ranges, included—20 out of our total of 264—will continue to serve their wildlife purposes. Some wilderness is essential for the preservation of our native species of wilderness wildlife. This measure, accordingly, will help insure our having a few areas devoted primarily to the preservation of wildlife through the protection of their wilderness environment. Management of habitat in maintaining wildlife populations is not interfered with.

As with parks, as with forests, as with refuges, so with every area included in this system: its wilderness preservation will be an aspect of its management for some other concurrent purpose.

NO SPECIAL-USE PRIVILEGES

This may also be emphasized in the negative, by pointing out that the bill does not establish any special-use privilege nor provide for any special users.

Rather than being concerned with any special use or user, this bill relates instead to the character of the areas involved. Hunting, for example, although it is not mentioned in the bill, will continue to be a major recreation within many national-forest units of the system and will be prohibited in national parks. Wherever there is huntnig, it will be wilderness hunting. That is the force of this measure.

Uses of all the various kinds of lands involved will continue to vary. The common concern is that wilderness conditions will persist, whatever the uses.

A WILDERNESS POLICY

The first purpose of this bill is to establish firmly a clear-cut national policy for preserving, for both the present and the future, some of what remains of our resource of wilderness. In line with such a policy, the Congress in this proposed measure will give its sanction to the policies and programs of the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and our other Federal conservation agencies under whose wise administration a great resource of wilderness has so far been preserved. Finally, this measure proposes a way whereby this policy and this sanction can take effect in a practical program.

THE SYSTEM

Of central importance in this program is the establishment of what is to be called our national wilderness preservation system, to be made up of areas of primeval America that are still wilderness and in Federal ownership or control and capable of being kept that way without interfering with other present purposes now being served by these lands. This will not mean any transfer of areas from one agency of Government to another, nor any change of jurisdiction. No new land-administering agency will be created.

The fact should be emphasized that this national wilderness preservation system will be made up of areas that are already in Federal ownership or control and are already within parks, forests, refuges, or reservations.

Each such area will remain as at present, park, forest, or refuge, as it is now administered. It will continue to serve the multiple purposes it now serves and under the jurisdiction of the same agency that now protects it. The difference will lie in the fact that from now on the agency having jurisdiction over any area within this system will have the sanction and encouragement of Congress and the legal responsibility for preserving the area's wilderness character. It will have the responsibility for seeing that other purposes continue to be served in such a way as to prevent damage to the wilderness.

Each such area will thus come under special protection as part of the Nation's still unspoiled heritage of the primeval.

THE COUNCIL

In order to provide a focus for the interest in the wilderness character of the diverse areas that will be serving multiple purposes there will be established by this measure a National Wilderness Preservation Council. The agencies that administer the areas in our wilderness system have various purposes and many interests. Their concerns with wilderness may represent only one phase of

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multiple purposes. Our proposed Wilderness Council, therefore, will provide a center for all the various wilderness interests, the interests in the many wilderness values of different kinds of areas.

The Council will not have any administrative jurisdiction over any of these areas, nor over any of the agencies that do have jurisdiction. It will provide a repository for the files that pertain to the national wilderness preservation system and will serve as a gatherer and disseminator of information regarding wilderness preservation and use. It will make an annual report to Congress. The Council will be made up of the administrators handling areas of wilderness within the system, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution (who will maintain headquarters and be secretary), and representative citizens.

In administering national park areas of wilderness, the National Park Service will continue to think of their administration for the recreational use and enjoyment of the people. In administering national forest areas, the Forest Service will continue to be concerned with the multiple-purpose program it now operates with prime concern for the protection of watersheds and preservation of forests. The Fish and Wildlife Service will continue to administer the areas of wilderness within its jurisdiction as areas for wildlife, areas that may have no legitimate use at all for the kind of recreation that is the principal activity in a national park, for example.

The various units of the national wilderness preservation system, though protected as wilderness, will thus be managed for various purposes. Within the National Wilderness Preservation Council, the heads of the various administering agencies and representative citizens will bring to a wilderness-preservation focus all the various and appropriate interests.

PROPER USE

Besides giving expression to a national policy, providing for the establishment of a wilderness preservation system, and creating a National Wilderness Preservation Council, this bill also describes and provides for the proper use of the areas of wilderness it is designed to preserve.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize again that this proposal is not one for any "special-use" or "special-privilege" legislation.

The first and topic sentence of the section of this bill that relates to uses of the areas within this system expresses a key concept in this proposal. It states firmly that "nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the national wilderness preservation system shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such purpose or purposes as to preserve also its wilderness character."

Under this proposal, for example, the parts of the national forests involved would continue under the same kind of administration they now have. Grazing permits, for instance, could be continued as at present. The basic multiple purposes of the national forests would be maintained. These purposes are defined as watershed protection and forest preservation. Giving these areas a permanence as wilderness will thus not interfere with the multiple purposes they now serve but will actually help to realize the dominant use of the forests for water conservation.

National parks, national wildlife refuges, and any other areas would also, as already pointed out, continue to serve their own distinctive purposes.

No use privileges of any kind will be created by this proposed law. The only added responsibility of each administering agency will be to see that the areas in the system under its jurisdiction remain wilderness—as they now are. I reiterate, this bill deals only with preserving wilderness as such in connection with various other land uses and does not create any "special privilege," or provide for any special users.

Existing uses and privileges are respected in this bill, and private rights are protected. It is true that no mining or prospecting will be permitted except where it is already in existence and represents a private right. Otherwise, or perhaps I should say, even so, this is not essentially a reform measure but rather a measure to insure the preservation of a status quo which fortunately includes a great resource of wilderness.

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SUMMARY

Briefly stated, in summary:

1. The system would include special areas (80) inside the national forests, but not the entire forest; present uses in these areas of national forests would be continued, except that mining would be prohibited unless already established.

2. The system would include certain of the areas in the national park system (48), and certain portions of these would be designated for roads and accommodations that make them accessible. No limitations are set on these designations.

3. The system would include certain of the wildlife refuges and ranges (20), and would not interfere with the management of habitat in maintaining wildlife populations.

4. The system would include certain of the roadless and wild areas on Indians' reservations (15), but only with their consent.

5. The National Wilderness Preservation Council will not have any administrative jurisdiction over any of the agencies that do have jurisdiction over these areas.

6. Provision is made for orderly additions, reductions, or eliminations of areas under safeguards, upon the recommendations of the administrators themselves.

Our civilization moves fast. Our population pressures are growing. The time when we still have the opportunity to provide for the preservation of wilderness without having to interfere with other programs will not be with us long. I urge prompt and sympathetic consideration of this bill.

This is a far-reaching, carefully thought out proposal. It deserves and requires the consideration of all who are concerned with the values that we place on our wilderness. Many of its details are concerned with the central effort to provide for wilderness preservation without disruption of the status quo. Particularly, I have invited the sympathetc consideration of this bill by administrators within our Federal conservation bureaus. I trust the bill, as it is now clarified and revised, will receive the concerted support of the administrators and other conservationists who are so deeply interested in wilderness.

At the 1954 annual meeting of the Society of American Foresters, Dr. James P. Gilligan, from the forestry department of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, speaking on wilderness preservation, commented as follows:

"Wilderness supporters have been chiefly defense minded, rushing to prevent developments that may have been carefully drawn and justified. The majority of areas now called wilderness exist because recreational or industrial development have not, as yet, been economically feasible. If there were well-defined purposes and plans for a national wilderness system which could generate common support, the wilderness movement might well be irrepressible. As it is, the disagreement among wilderness proponents is a highly important deterrent to wilderness preservation in this country."

Here is a bill which I trust can "generate common support" and firmly establish a sound wilderness preservation policy and program.

MATTER FOR THE RECORD

Mr. Chairman, this occasion today is in a sense a culmination to date of events that began on June 4, 1948, when the Honorable Raymond H. Burke of Ohio, then chairman of the Subcommittee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources, requested the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, to undertake a study that was issued in September 8, 1949, as a committee print with the title "The Preservation of Wilderness Areas (An Analysis of Opinion on the Problem) by C. Frank Keyser, regional economist, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress." Only a few copies of this report were printed and none are now available. Because of the basic importance of this study and the value of the factual information which it includes, I would like to suggest that it be incorporated at this point in the record of these hearings, and I am glad to append for this purpose one of the very few now available.

I would also like to have printed at this point as a part of my own testimony on this occasion the following:

The Need for Wilderness Areas, being remarks that I made in the Senate on February 29, 1956, including selections from correspondence which I had then received (exhibit B).

Wilderness Preservation, being remarks that I made in the Senate on June 7, 1956, together with supplementary statements and correspondence I then submitted—omitting, however, the text of the bill S. 4013 there included and omitting also certain portions of my remarks which I have indicated and which deal with matters I have already discussed here today (exhibit C).

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The Wilderness Bill, being remarks by the junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Neuberger, and myself, including material then submitted in supplementing these remarks but once again omitting as indicated the text of the Wilderness bill, S. 1176, and certain portions of my remarks dealing with matters I have discussed here today (exhibit D).

This includes a compilation of excerpts from letters to the Honorable John P. Saylor regarding the wilderness bill, which it was my privilege to present. Along with this I should like also to include in the record at this point the remarks made in the House of Representatives on July 12, 1956, by Representative Saylor, entitled "Saving America's Wilderness," a copy of which I have here for this purpose (exhibit E).

(The exhibits referred to are as follows:)

EXHIBIT B

[From the Congressional Record]

THE NEED FOR WILDERNESS AREAS

Speech of Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota in the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, February 29, 1956

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it was my privilege to receive unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Congressional Record for June 1, 1955, a significant address on The Need for Wilderness Areas, by Mr. Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the the Wilderness Society and editor of the Living Wilderness. Mr. Zahniser had delivered his address at the National Citizen's Planning Conference on Parks and Open Spaces for the American People, in Washington, D. C., on May 24, 1955.

In asking for this consent, I said:

"Mr. Zahniser not only pointed out the practical needs for areas of wilderness for recreational and other purposes; he also discussed the underlying philosophy, and proposed the establishment of a national wilderness preservation system."

Such a system, it was suggested, would be made up of areas already within our Federal estate that are appropriate for the purpose. No changes in jurisdiction would be involved. No new land-administering agency would be created. Areas within the system—areas already under some kind of Federal administration and still wilderness in character—would be designated, with congressional approval, by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Secretary of the Interior, or by Executive order, with the provision that removal of an area from the system would be effected by Congress. The agency administering an area designated as a unit in the national wilderness preservation system would simply be charged with the responsibility of preserving its wilderness character.

NO CHANGE IN JURISDICTION

The wildernesses in the national forests, for example, would continue under the protection of the Forest Service but with the guaranty of perpetuity that Congress can give. National park and monument areas would continue under the National Park Service. National wildlife refuges to be included would continue to be administered by the Fish and Wildlife Service as wildlife refuges, but without the developments and installations that destroy wildernesses. So it would be with any other kinds of land in our proposed wilderness system. Each area would continue to serve its peculiar purpose in the program of its particular administering agency, but every agency would be charged with the responsibility of preserving the wilderness character of any such area in its custody.

A Wilderness Preservation Commission modeled in part after our Migratory Bird Conservation Commission would assist in the establishment and administration of the system and in the gathering and dissemination of information for the public, coordinating the common interests and activities of the various agencies. With a minimum of administrative time and expense and with only slight modification of our present land-management policies we would thus see affirmed our national policy to preserve for all time some areas of our pristine American wilderness.

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The interest and response to this proposal from every part of the country have been remarkable. Few seem to doubt the underlying philosophy, or to dispute the practical need. Letters have been received from people in all walks of life—lay people and professional people, educators, physicians, scientists, conservationists—people with a deep concern to preserve their heritage of the magnificent, almost untouched, natural areas in our national parks and monuments, our national forests and wildlife refuges.

Mr. President, excerpts from letters responding to this wilderness proposal have been collected by the Council of Conservationists. Conscious of the special interest which I know this subject has for many Members of the Congress, I ask unanimous consent that these collected excerpts be inserted at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WILDERNESS AS A RELIEF FROM TENSIONS

Elizabeth B. White, M. D., of Spokane, Wash., writes:

"As a physician I see the need for people to get out * * * commune with nature. A great many of my patients are improved in mind and spirit after spending * * * a vacation in one of our vacation spots here in (the State of) Washington. They seem to gain a perspective that is not obtainable in the rush and humdrum of a business world. * * * We need wilderness areas. Let's establish a system whereby they will always be preserved and properly controlled."

Conservation of the human being is one of the prime objectives to be obtained in the conservation of wilderness—a conviction expressed by a research worker, Burgess W. Heacox, of Essex, Calif. Mr. Heacox writes:

"I have come to realize the significance of conservation practices and their importance for our continued welfare. Through my present work I am beginning to realize the importance of another aspect of conservation—conservation of the human being. This may sound a bit nebulous, but of what importance is the conservation of natural resources without a comprehensive program aimed at providing man with outdoor recreational opportunities. The opportunity to lose himself in a relaxing and peaceful environment, to reestablish his relationship with all the world of nature, perhaps even to instill a little humility as he realizes his comparative insignificance. Nowhere have I seen ths expressed more adequately than in the paper by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of The Wilderness Society, titled 'The Need for Wilderness Areas' as inserted by Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, in the Congressional Record, 84th Congress, 1st session, on June 1, 1955.

"Speaking for myself and friends," Mr. Heacox continues, "we wholeheartedly endorse Mr. Zahniser's positive program (p. 7, The Need for Wilderness Areas) to secure the preservation of wilderness as a national policy—within the framework and jurisdiction of existing agencies."

RECREATIONAL AND ESTHETIC

These wilderness areas are essential to the American way of life, in the opinion of another research leader, John J. Craighead, of the cooperative wildlife research unit at the University of Montana. Mr. Craighead writes as follows:

"More and more we are beginning to recognize the need for preserving large areas of wild lands for recreational and esthetic purposes. As you well know, we have in the Northwest some of the finest and largest of these so-called wild areas (wilderness and primitive areas). As the population density in the Northwest continues to grow, decisions eventually will have to be made as to the best use of these lands in the general economy of the region. Many of us believe that these wild lands are essential to the American way of life, and in fact are becoming increasingly necessary as population density and its accompanying tensions build up.

"I am very much in favor of a bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system that would affirm a national policy to preserve such lands," Mr. Craighead continues. "Should such a system be established in cooperation with the Federal land administering agencies and conservation organizations, a provision that the removal of an area from the system can be effected only by Congress would be a tremendous step forward."

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The desire for the consummation of national wilderness protection, with a recognition for the healing qualities of large wild areas, transcends political subdivisions. K. W. Hodgdon, assistant chief of the State game division, Augusta, Maine, writes:

"While we in Maine have several large tracts of relative wilderness areas and are fortunate in having been given the Baxter State Park area, I can well understand the concern of other States for the preservation of certain areas as wilderness areas to be set aside for the enjoyment of the future generation. I believe that we should not be blinded by our good fortune, and therefore should help in any way possible to establish a policy which would provide for such areas throughout the Nation which could be preserved against future exploitation. In the rush of today's business matters, such areas provide a mental relief as well as much enjoyment to those who have access to them. They could very well play an important role in the physical well-being of our people."

Another citizen, Paul J. Linsley, of Whittier, Calif., speaks for the serene influences of wild nature "as a most vital essential in this era of restlessness approaching hysteria."

"Such a bill if passed," writes John C. Asbury, Doniphan, Mo., "would be of great benefit to the general public as a whole, providing relaxation and recreational values for the present and future generations of our people."

WILDERNESS FOR SPIRITUAL VALUES

The ministry of wild nature in its far reaches, to the soul, is touched upon by the eminent Suffragan Bishop of Connecticut, Robert McConnell Hatch, who writes:

"We have made an excellent start toward preserving a portion of our natural heritage for the recreational and spiritual benefit of our future citizenry. More needs to be done, in order to safeguard permanently certain of our remaining wild and primitive areas in a world that is becoming increasingly mechanized."

Again Bishop Hatch writes: "I hope that this program can be enacted before it is too late. * * * It is both practical and positive, and it contains the best hope that I know of for preserving our remaining wilderness."

"I pray," Bishop Hatch writes, "that Congress will act on your proposals."

The spiritual need is recognized also by Mrs. Helen M. Hiller, Mattapoisett, Mass.:

"These unspoiled places are of historical, scientific, and educational value but most of all spiritual. There is peace and relaxation. As Lois Crisler says in the Christian Century, no one can walk in the forest without a feeling of awe and pleasure. This is what saved Leo Tolstoy in his generation and ours.

"We have lost much of our virgin forests," Mrs. Hiller continues. "In 1907 there were 469 million acres. The annual burn has been 20 to 30 million acres, much of it the result of logging operations. Now there are 44,600,000 acres. The logging interests are determined to get more. They are working especially hard just now on the Olympic National Park. They want 225,000 acres. They have lengthy articles with many pictures in big magazines trying to win the public. We want the wilderness areas preserved for future generations by the maximum possible degree of security but is there any guaranteed security? The Indians thought they were safe when the Indian Reorganization Act was passed in 1934. Now it has been violated by an emancipation law and they may lose everything. Any law can be repealed or bypassed."

The intangible need is expressed also in a letter from Dave Gaskill, of Albuquerque, N. Mex.:

"I felt a deep kinship with your presentation; a difficult subject at best, dealing in large part with intangibles—intrinsic qualities that are generally out of the realm of majority experience—and often, I think, not well understood or even perceived in the sense desired. Wilderness values are something we must experience for ourselves. It is indeed sad that such universal values are so frequently unrecognized or overshadowed by practical, transitory demands.

"In particular, I am reminded of Europeans (mountaineers and such) whom I have met in our western high country and canyon lands, who, above all else, are deeply stirred by this quality of wildness, something fresh and delightfully new to their senses."

On this aspect I shall quote from another letter. It was written to Mr. Zahniser by Laurie Whitlock, of Arlington Heights, Mass., who said:

"Your address entitled 'The Need for Wilderness Areas' which was reprinted in the Congressional Record, touched me deeply as I know it must have touched thousands of others.

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"You spoke so directly and challengingly to the very finest of innate human understanding. * * *

"Would that it had been reprinted in every newspaper in the country."

SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL VALUES IN WILDERNESS

Next a scientist comments:

"As a professional mycologist and plant pathologist, I recognize especially the scientific values that will accrue if Congress brings into existence such a system," writes Francis W. Holmes, of Amherst, Mass. Of the recreational values, he writes:

"These values far transcend the commercialized view of nature that is often all that remains in developed natural areas. Far from threatening our national park system with invasions and bloodlettings, we should be bolstering and enlarging it for our larger population and also creating a parallel national wilderness system."

John F. Wanamaker, assistant professor of biology, at the College of Liberal Arts, in Elgin, Ill., writes:

"I took steps as soon as I read the report to write my Congressman."

The need for permanent wilderness preservation as a national policy, persists throughout all of these letters that were received from correspondents who were moved to write by Mr. Zahniser's address.

A scientist, philosopher, artist, writer, and biologist of note, the distinguished president and director of The Wilderness Society, Dr. Olaus J. Murie, writes as a private citizen from Moose, Wyo.:

"Mr. Zahniser does not advocate a new department, but suggests that administration of these various areas remain in the care of the agencies in which they now reside. * * * We here in Wyoming are proud of the beauty of these recreational areas, and they mean a lot to us as people, but also, I would add, economically. Anything that you can do in Congress to further these ends I am sure will be acclaimed by the people of this State as well as by conservationists throughout the United States."

The president of Philadelphia Conservationists, Inc., Allston Jenkins, of Philadelphia, writes on behalf of his organization:

"I heartily endorse the idea of a national policy of wilderness preservation. Coordination and cooperation are vitally essential in saving our wild natural areas from misuse. At present there are often conflicting policies between various Federal agencies and departments. Federal legislation to correct this deplorable situation is badly needed.

"We have a priceless asset in our wilderness lands. They have cost us nothing. The value of what they give us cannot be reckoned. We should immediately take steps to recognize their worth by a strong national policy of preservation."

"With the rapidly increasing population in the United States and the greatly increasing appreciation and need of natural areas," writes Mrs. A. R. Laskey, from Nashville, Tenn., "we need protection for our national parks, national monuments, and wildlife refuges from infringement on their boundaries and natural grandeur."

Miss Ada Fuller Crowley, Englewood, N. J., writes:

"Some definite national policy must be set up."

"As lifelong users of the wilderness areas," writes Miss Evelyn B. Bull, Pasadena, Calif., "we strongly recommend the preservation of wilderness as a national policy, using existing agencies."

T. N. Anderson, of Eustis, Fla., editor of Fun, Facts, 'n' Fishing, writes:

"Every year we who are interested in conservation fight a losing battle against commercial interests who wish to capitalize on all or parts of our now existing State and national forest lands. A Wilderness Preservation Commission would possibly help us to assure the future of land being left in a wild state."

PROTECT WILDERNESS CHARACTER

Wilderness areas must be carefully protected from the changes that would damage the characteristics which make wilderness the prized resource it is—a prized possession of all the people. This is a thought that many of these correspondents stress. Don Illeits, of Los Angeles, Calif., write, for example, that he has "for many years been an advocate of and an ardent supporter for the inclusion of additional wilderness areas in various sections of the United States," and he emphasizes the need for "wilderness areas, to be left exactly as they are now, without additional roads nor any improvements whatever except mainte-

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nance of trails, etc." Mr. Bleitz adds: "If, during the next session of Congress, legislation is introduced to form additional areas I should like to urge your support of such legislation."

When the destruction of a wilderness begins, irrevocable change also begins. Its value historically as a living museum, as a source of continuity from our past, through the present, to the future, is extinguished by man-made alterations.

H. M. B. Weicksel, Renovo, Pa., writes:

"Because I live in a small town in the middle of one of the largest areas of wild land east of the Mississippi, I can see some of the desirable features of providing for the future some unspoiled tracts.

"Man has put his stamp on the vast majority of our outdoors, and all too often it has resulted in anything but beauty.

"It is quite likely that many of our citizens will be unable to appreciate unspoiled nature. Many will see only lumber in a tree or potential electric power in a stream and will picture to themselves the wealth in mineral resources lying beneath the surface.

"We apparently were not satisfied until we had destroyed the heath hen, the grayling, the eastern buffalo, and elk. We have just about done the same for the plains buffalo, the whooping crane, and the trumpeter swan. Must we add to the sordid record the last of the unspoiled wilderness?

"Not far from my home considerable areas have been ripped up by strip miners in pursuit of comparatively cheap coal and clay while thousands of deep miners are out of work. What were once productive farms or timberlands are now desolate wastes. Farms that might have produced for centuries are ruined for a few thousand quick dollars.

"The same thing can conceivably happen to our last remaining wilderness areas. If for no other reason than sentiment let's use every effort to preserve them as nature made them."

Douglas B. Wade, editor and educational director with the South Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, Columbia, S. C., comments:

"It was a genuine pleasure to receive from you a copy of Howard Zahniser's wonderful essay, The Need for Wilderness Areas, which was printed in the Congressional Record.

"Believe me when I say that it gives one a good feeling to realize that some of you folks in Congress see clearly in this matter of wilderness preservation. Personally I consider an understanding of the wilderness problem basic to an understanding of the entire conservation picture. In your own State the Quetico-Superior country is much to the point. I have been in that part of our State. My home State is Wisconsin."

The "proposal to secure congressional recognition for such areas is very significant and should have the backing of various conservation organizations throughout the country," writes Paul W. Thompson, chairman of the Michigan Natural Areas Council, Birmingham, Mich.

A private citizen, Miss Irene Koslan, Bronx, N. Y., writes:

"It was with great pleasure that I read this paper. * * * It * * * presents the problem from every vital point of view * * * its philosophy (is) of such basic importance to the people of our land."

How universal is this sense, this need for wilderness preservation. Mrs. Robert R. Usher, of Tully, N. Y., relates this to experience nearer home.

"At present there has been much discussion in various parts of the country—including our own New York State—our preservation of national wilderness areas, parks, etc. I have just read from the Congressional Record, The Need for Wilderness Areas, remarks of Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey quoting an address by Howard Zahniser, the executive secretary of The Wilderness Society.

"We hope that a bill may soon be drawn up to establish a national wilderness preservation system, with the joint cooperation of the Federal land-administering agencies and conservation organizations.

"We would like to see the bill include certain important provisions, such as: It should affirm the national policy to preserve such a wilderness system.

"It should define the proper uses of areas within the system and provide protection from misuse.

"The bill should list areas included and provide for additions by executive order or as recommended by Secretary of Agriculture or Secretary of the Interior and also provide that no area could be removed without approval by Congress."

On the editorial page of the Christian Science Monitor, issue of November 3, 1955, in a letter to the editor, Rose K. Gidley, of Palo Alto, Calif., discusses the

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importance of preserving the wilderness, and stresses what the wilderness does for mankind individually and, so, collectively. She writes as follows:

"To quote Robert Marshall, one of the world's foremost conservationists, 'it is difficult to overestimate the importance adventure assumes in the longings of innumerable vigorous people. Lack of opportunity to satisfy such longings undoubtedly is responsible for much unhappiness, for a considerable portion of the crime which is so often committed as a means of self-expression, and * * * even for war.' He (Robert Marshall) also continues to point out that the demand of the wilderness brings out a person's resourcefulness, is ideal relaxation, and stimulates esthetically all the senses which a man has. Further he points out that the wilderness brings 'to many human beings the most perfect experience of all the earth.'

"Are these not more important than all the political maneuverings and ax grindings that seem to accompany the so-called development of the wilderness?"

IMMEDIATE ACTION NEEDED

William Musig, of Lapeer, Mich., writes:

"I enjoyed reading Mr. Howard Zahniser's paper, particularly the chapter The Wilderness and Human Realities. The whole text illustrated explicitly the finest resort one can turn to in his most despondent and hopeless hour, for solitude and comfort, and to regain composure.

"It was my fate to experience the agitated harshness of a big city when inflicted early in youth with an eye injury and later on severe eyestrain because of occupation, with frightful consequences of becoming a total nervous wreck and making life an enduring misery. It was when I bought some wilderness land (it was wilderness to me—a mere scrub farm, where I was prepared to grub for a living as a last resort) that I discovered the healing powers of nature—ever so slow but sure. That was 16 years ago and now at 40 I possess perfect health except for limited occular capacity.

"During those years it grew upon me to devote all my energy and time to preserve and develop this beautiful wooded lake farm for those who seek sanctuary. It is not wilderness by exact description, but enough for those with a sense of appreciation and imagination.

"It is gratifying to know this cause is toward a national policy. With an already overindustrialized Nation and all forms of business merging into colossal pyramids, cold and calculating, characteristically dwarfing more and more insignificant man, is it not possible for man to counteract these smothering forces to ground himself by the many natural resource organizations and start climbing these colossal granite structures like a clinging vine to give it life and beauty? Imaginative as it is, there is room for individualism to make the most of this opportunity in promoting natural resource conservation by constructive objectives."

Mrs. Eddie W. Wilson, of Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"As a citizen deeply concerned regarding the preservation of our wilderness areas—national parks and forests, State parks and forests, and our other heritages of the out-of-doors—and realizing the recreational, educational, historical, scientific, and inspirational values of these areas, I wish to tell you how greatly pleased I am with the paper presented by Howard Zahniser, May 24, 1955. I rejoice that this paper is now a part of the Congressional Record.

"I feel that Mr. Zahniser's statements on the need for wilderness areas and his assertion that wilderness needs are interrelated are true, indeed. And, finally, I feel that his detailed proposal for a national preservation system housed in a bill which thus provides for the joint cooperation of the Federal land-administering agencies and conservation organizations is very necessary and worthy of passage at the earliest possible time.

"Here I am reminded of the late President Theodore Roosevelt's plea at the Grand Canyon, Ariz., on May 6, 1903: 'Leave it (the canyon),' he urged, 'as it is. You cannot improve on it. What you can do is to keep it for your children, your children's children, and for all who come after you.'

"May necessary and immediate action be taken to keep our wonderful wilderness areas exactly as they are."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, let me say, in concluding my remarks on the subject today, that in the very near future I hope to introduce a bill which will establish a wilderness-preservation system, thus embodying in legislative form this imaginative proposal which has already attracted such widespread support.

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EXHIBIT C

[From the Congressional Record]

WILDERNESS PRESERVATION

Speech of Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota in the Senate of the United States Thursday, June 7, 1956

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Neuberger], the Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith], the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from New York [Mr. Lehman], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Duff], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas], the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Laird], and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 4018) to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this system by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Humphrey (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I do this in accordance with the remarks I made to the Senate on February 29, 1956. At that time I placed in the Congressional Record a selection of comments that had been received regarding such a proposed wilderness preservation system from people in many walks of life—lay people and professional people, educators, physicians, scientists, conservationists—people with a deep concern to preserve their heritage of the magnificent, almost untouched, natural areas in our national parks and monuments, our national forests and wildlife refuges. Since then, additional comments urging the need to preserve wilderness have been received. The proposal of which I then spoke has now been given bill form, preliminary drafts have been referred to interested and competent persons, and I am now happy to be able to join with a number of my colleagues in introducing in the Senate this measure that gives expression to a policy which has long been a reality in the minds and hearts of the American people but has never yet been embodied in legislation.

COMMENT ON THE PROPOSED NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM—A SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT

When a draft of the wilderness preservation bill was presented at a conference held in Portland, Oreg., by the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs on April 7, 1956, the conservationists present felt that a historic step was being taken. I was greatly encouraged to received the following telegram from the federation's president, Dr. Karl Onthank, of Eugene, Oreg.:

"PORTLAND, OREG., *April 8, 1956.*

"The Honorable HUBERT HUMPHREY,
"*Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:*

"The Conference on Northwest Wilderness, in session in Portland, Oreg., has heard the proposed national wilderness preservation bill outlined and discussed and has responded with enthusiasm to the opportunity it presents for a historic step in American conservation.

"Your initiative in bringing about the formulation of this bill has been warmly commended, and we all wish to express our appreciation of your leadership in bringing it to the attention of Congress. We eagerly await the introduction of the bill and opportunity to support you in working for its enactment.

"As president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, which has sponsored this conference, I am also writing a letter in support of the proposed measure to the Senators of the Western States where the federation's 31 organizations with a total membership of more than 25,000 have been working for years toward the opportunity that you have now helped so greatly to create.

"KARL ONTHANK,
"*President, Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.*"

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David R. Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club, who was present at that Portland conference, when this wilderness system was discussed, said: "There was something that made us sense that we were participating in an event of special significance." Mr. Brower wrote as follows, on the letterhead of the Sierra Club from its headquarters at 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco, Calif.:

"April 11, 1956.

"The Honorable HUBERT HUMPHREY,
"*Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: I write you as a constituent, believing that I am in a way a constituent of any Member of Congress who acts in behalf of a national wilderness preservation system. I believe a great many citizens from all over the country must feel the same way. I saw much evidence of this at the Conference on Northwest Wilderness, just held in Portland, and attended by conservationists from Oregon, Washington, California, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Maryland, Virginia, and British Columbia—more than 200 all told, and I am not sure that I am calling the roll of all the States represented.

"The proposal to establish a national wilderness preservation system, in which your role is so prominent, was presented to us and talked about in great detail at the conference banquet—its first unveiling before the general public. Then, and all the following day, there was something that made us sense that we were participating in an event of special significance. There were some of the elements of the famous Yellowstone campfire where the idea took form of preserving, for a noble public purpose, national parks for all the people. We were reminded of other conservation milestones—the setting aside of the reserves that became the national forests; the creation of and protection of a national park system by the 1916 act.

"The Sierra Club helped establish the national forests, and it was on a Sierra Club outing in the wilderness country around Mount Rainier that Steve Mather formulated the idea of a national park service.

"We take special pleasure in the wilderness bill because it constitutes a step toward which our organization, together with many other groups and individual conservationists, has been working so long. The four biennial wilderness conferences we sponsored were all moving in that direction. The enclosed copy of the proceedings of the fourth conference tells something of this effort, and how broad the interest has been. The people who value the things that make America beautiful will be ever grateful for what you are doing to translate these plans into actual legislation.

"In this national wilderness system, under whatever jurisdiction the various elements will be, we are confident that the future will see one of the finest examples of multiple use of land without using up its wilderness resource. The system will provide the best possible protection of all-important watershed. It will constitute the best of outdoor laboratories, that need never depreciate, for scientific study of the natural equilibrium between all forms of life and the land. It will be a sanctuary for man himself, who needs periodic renewing such as wilderness recreation can give. This wilderness system will be and will remain what we might call the national gallery of primeval art, the carefully guarded treasure of the finest natural scenes left in America.

"We thank you for your leadership and offer you our support in creating and strengthening the national wilderness preservation system. You have our gratitude, and as the proposal becomes widely known, we are sure that others mindful of the permanent public good will share the enthusiasm we have. I'm confident that you'll have posterity's gratitude, too.

"Sincerely yours,

"DAVID R. BROWER,
"*Executive Director.*"

The president of the Sierra Club, Dr. Alexander Hildebrand, of 738 South Bright Street, Whittier, Calif., had earlier expressed endorsement of the club. On April 6, 1956, he had wired:

"The Sierra Club strongly endorses the objectives of this bill. We have no criticisms or suggestions at this time but will let you know if any arise after more detailed study. The Sierra Club has sponsored four biennial wilderness conferences which have urged the form of wilderness protection which appears to be skillfully embodied in this bill. We appreciate your role in furthering it."

The president of the National Parks Association, Mr. Sigurd F. Olson, from his headquarters in Ely, Minn., had also commended this proposal, saying he

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feels strongly that this is the last chance to preserve the wilderness on this continent. Later, on May 10, 1956, at its annual meeting, the National Parks Association adopted a formal resolution saying:

"The preservation of wilderness areas to perpetuate unspoiled examples of the natural American landscape is one of the most essential requirements for the continued well-being of the American people. While several agencies are administering lands under their jurisdiction under excellent policies that protect the wilderness resources, the board of trustees of the National Parks Association believes it desirable that the integrity of such reservations, and the importance of the wilderness concept as an attribute of fundamental American culture, should be given congressional recognition. The board is in sympathy with the purpose of suggestions that have been formulated to achieve this objective, and urges that they be submitted to the people and their representatives in Congress for thoughtful consideration."

The full text of Mr. Olson's letter was as follows:

"ELY, MINN., *April 3, 1956.*

"Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
"*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR HUBERT: I was glad to get your letter asking my opinion of the bill you plan on introducing to establish a national wilderness preservation system. I have worked closely with Howard Zahniser and others for some time on this measure and feel that in view of the mounting pressures of population, commercialization, and industrial expansion, that the only way to assure future generations that there will be any wilderness left for them to enjoy is to give such areas congressional sanction now.

"To be sure, wilderness has been given protection in the national parks, national forests, and wildlife refuges, but such protection has never been actually spelled out. In all the services concerned there has been a sincere desire to protect the wilderness character of the regions entrusted to them but this has largely been because of a concept of administrators enforced by departmental policy. While a splendid job has been done in many areas, it seems to me that it would have been much easier to hold the line, had the issues been clear. The national wilderness preservation system bill will clarify the complex problems constantly arising through giving congressional approval of the wilderness concept.

"In short the bill will give approval to policies the services have inaugurated and have fought for against tremendous odds for a long time. It will enable the departments to say:

" 'Now for the first time, the preservation of wilderness has assumed the stature of a congressional mandate. Above political or industrial pressures, it is no longer subject to the vagaries of administrative change. Now we have the strength and assurance that what we had planned is the will of the people and with that knowledge can look far ahead.'

"I feel strongly that this is the last chance to preserve the wilderness on this continent for we are on the verge of an era where the pressures to destroy or change it will become greater than anything we have ever experienced. All of us concerned are appreciative of your great interest and you can be assured of our support.

"Regards,

"Sincerely yours,

"SIGURD F. OLSON."

A noted photographer and outdoorsman of the Far West, Mr. C. Edward Graves, of Carmel, Calif., the western representative of the National Park Association—has also expressed appreciation of this proposal to establish a national wilderness system. On May 28, 1956, he wrote as follows:

"The Honorable HUBERT HUMPHREY,
"*Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: I should like to express to you my sincere appreciation of your sponsorship of the proposal to establish a national wilderness system. There is no question but that we need to protect our fast vanishing wilderness by law. There is equally no question but that the proposal will meet with opposition from commercial groups who are continually professing to be afraid of 'locking up' our natural resources. Personally I should welcome a showdown fight on the subject and I am glad to know that you are willing to back us up.

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"Population pressure to build roads and develop every last bit of our rapidly receding frontier is hard to resist. We need a weapon such as your bill, if it becomes law, will give us. Think, for instance, of what will happen to our wilderness, when in perhaps 50 years from now, certainly within the lifetime of the oncoming generation, people will own helicopters or flying saucers as commonly as they now own automobiles. We shall certainly need legal protection, well tested by efforts to overthrow it, in order to maintain the small amount of wilderness that we have so far been able to save.

"I am glad that there are legislators with the vision to see this, and I am delighted that you are willing to take a position of leadership in this group.

"Very sincerely,

"C. EDWARD GRAVES,
"*Western Representative, National Parks Association.*"

The president of the Wilderness Society, Dr. Olaus J. Murie, wrote as follows from his headquarters in Moose, Wyo.:

"MOOSE, WYO., *May 3, 1956.*

"Hon. HUBERT HUMPHREY,
"*Senate Office Building,*
"*Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: Needless to say I am much interested in your bill to give congressional backing to the growing popular interest in our wilderness places. I grew up in your State, Minnesota, and I remember so vividly how we youngsters gloried in the woodlands along the Red River near Moorhead. Our country was new then, and I can remember some pieces of original unbroken prairie, where the prairie chickens used to boom, and we saw the red foxes. And about 4 miles south of Moorhead was a piece of woods that we young people knew as the wilderness, where we used to camp and fish for catfish and goldeyes.

"It would take more than the skill of a poet to put into words what that life meant to us, as we went barefoot and carefree, and enjoyed the 'freedom of the wilderness,' to use a term that perhaps characterizes our way of life. I am certain that those earlier days have left in our lives certain influences and memories that have helped to mellow our later years.

"More recently those circumstances, those opportunities, have gone, in much of our country. But people are trying to retain some of the frontier beauty of our country, for the satisfactions that are inherent in such environment. Sportsmen of our country, seeing the habitat for much of our wildlife disappearing, joined with other like-minded people, and over the years have succeeded in establishing a system of national wildlife refuges. This proved to have a more widespread importance than was at first anticipated, for now in many of those refuges are bits of wilderness that contribute to those satisfactions that we as youngsters enjoyed on so large a scale.

"We have our national parks, now visited by millions who have in them that racial, nostalgic craving for nature's beauty in the out of doors. We also have certain wilderness areas on our national forests, and on the Indian reservations there are some. These last seem all the more appropriate, since they appear to be an expression of the original world of those first Americans, who came to this continent and found it good.

"These are the areas we Americans cherish. But unfortunately, circumstances arise when other considerations take our attention so that we forget for the moment these higher aspirations. We have had to defend these areas against some of the commercial drives of some of us. And especially, those earnest people throughout our country who strive to keep alive our deep and worthy human impulses, must defend the quality of our use of these areas.

"Therefore, Senator Humphrey, we come to the important mechanics of the kind of government we have set up in the United States. These wilderness areas, of several kinds, are the product of the thinking of people. In our form of government there is one ultimate resource the people have, where they are directly represented, and that is Congress. Those of us who have been interested in our America have had amicable cooperation with many of the administrative agencies. We have reached the high point where we now are, through such close cooperation. But we have come up against situations in which the immediate administrator found himself helpless and without voice. And we people, on the outside, have found ourselves floundering and doing the best we can to defend these areas and their policies.

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"We have a Government based on checks and balances. We believe that such an important question, involving the kind of place we people shall continue to live in and enjoy, should have the sanction of Congress. We do not ask any changes in the actual administration of these areas. But we cannot anticipate what may occur in future years, and we would like to have a place to go in the last resort, our Congress.

"These are some of the thoughts I have on the wilderness bill you are introducing. Needless to say, you will have the well wishes of people from all parts of our country, and I am sure that people in other countries also will be much interested in the outcome.

"Sincerely,

"OLAUS J. MURIE, *President*."

The president of the Izaak Walton League of America, Mr. L. H. Dunten, wrote as follows from the league's headquarters at 31 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.:

"APRIL 4, 1956.

"Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
"*Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

"MY DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of March 29 with reference to a proposed bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system, permit me to thank you in behalf of the league for permitting us to see a draft of this act. As you realize, the time permitted to analyze the act is quite limited as you wanted a reply by April 10. Consequently, I have not been able to submit it to technical people in the league.

"From my examination of the bill, I believe that it is completely in line with Izaak Walton League policies. Personally, I should like to see the act completely abolish grazing in any of the wilderness areas.

"With reference to section 4, my feeling is that the language is not strong enough to prohibit the exploitation of wilderness areas under the guise of prospecting.

"Most sincerely yours,

"L. H. DUNTEN, *President*."

(The bill's provisions regarding prospecting have been strengthened, as Mr. Dunten suggested, but no attempt has been made to "completely abolish grazing.")

Concluding his opening address at the North American Wildlife Conference in New Orleans, La., on March 5, 1956, Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute, described this bill as then "in preparation" and as "of interest to many groups." He said: "This bill may well represent a tremendous advance forward both for those who are interested in wilderness recreation and for those who are interested in wilderness wildlife and its values."

The comment of the press has likewise been an encouragement. Some weeks ago, in the Detroit (Mich.) Free Press for April 1, 1956, Jack Van Coevering, devoted his Woods and Waters column to a discussion of our proposed national wilderness system. Mr. Van Coevering, one of our foremost outdoor writers, wrote as follows:

"Beginning with grade school, people are taught that the wilderness is something to be conquered. The pioneers did it. That's how they built this country.

"Now that the wilderness is almost gone, a change of sentiment is creeping across the Nation. If we lose the last remnants of wilderness, people are saying, we will lose certain values that our civilization needs.

"As a result of this realization, groups interested in saving remnants of wilderness are ready to introduce a bill in Congress to create a national wilderness system.

"This bill will not set up new bureaus of bureaucrats. It will simply establish a commission (something like the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission) under whose guidance wilderness areas may be established and protected.

" 'This may represent a tremendous advance both for those who are interested in wilderness recreation and wilderness wildlife,' said Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute.

"The effort to save the last bits of wilderness before it is too late is typical of the way we do things.

"In this State, we have a few acres of pine forests as museum pieces of the past.

"We make a great to-do about saving trumpeter swans when they are about to perish. We begin worrying about prairie chickens when they are on the skids.

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When it seems as though roadbuilders and developers will take over the last big tract of wilderness, we begin to act. We prize these 'pieces of long ago.' We do not want to lose them.

"There is something downright practical about the desires of many people to save the wilderness, too. It is still the best environment for physical adventure.

"In a wilderness a person cannot buy transportation or services. He must provide his own.

"This, if nothing else, gives not only opportunity to develop self-reliance but also to brush off any false sense of self-sufficiency. These seemingly opposite facets of character are essential if we are to develop well-rounded qualities of leadership.

"Probably the most profound values of wilderness are educational. In the wilderness are opportunities for gaining true understanding of our past, ourselves, and our world.

" 'Only against a perspective of wilderness can we enjoy the conveniences and liberties of our urbanized, mechanized, industrialized civilization, and yet not sacrifice an awareness of our human existence as spiritual creatures nurtured and sustained by and from the great community of life that comprises the wilderness,' is the way Howard Zahniser, executive secretary for the Wilderness Society, said it.

"Objectives of wilderness devotees, as set forth in the bill to come before Congress, are twofold:

"1. To preserve an adequate system of wilderness areas.

"2. To allow nothing to alter the wilderness character of the preserves.

"This will set aside wilderness areas in our national parks, national forests, Indian reservations, wildlife refuges, even in State parks and other areas that are already being protected in a way to safeguard wilderness."

The Sunday Journal, of Portland, Oreg., on April 15, 1956, commended this proposal in its leading editorial and also devoted its cartoon that day to this same subject. The editorial, entitled "Value of Wilderness," was as follows:

"Outdoor recreationists in the United States include a breed of men and women who love on occasion to escape the sight and sound of civilization and all its comforts.

"In relation to the total, their number is not large, but it is growing—and so is their influence.

"They are concerned that steps be taken to preserve for all time certain wilderness areas which are now units of national parks and monuments, national forests, wildlife refuges, and Indian reservations.

"Their efforts have found their way into a bill presented to Congress by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, which has bipartisan backing, to establish a national wilderness preservation system.

"The legislation would not create a new land administrative agency, nor call for any changes in jurisdictions. It would simply charge the agency administering an area designated as a unit of the system with preserving its wilderness character. It would give congressional sanction to keeping unchanged existing wilderness areas, thus guaranteeing them against encroachments of a commercial nature.

"Senator Humphrey's bill is the culmination of a campaign born a year ago last May in a paper delivered at a Washington, D. C., conference by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, a headline speaker, incidentally, at the Portland conference last weekend of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.

"Zahniser's presentation of his wilderness philosophy was like a stone tossed into a pool. It has been gaining converts ever since. And the proposed legislation which it inspired won the unqualified endorsement of the federation meeting here, representing 31 organizations with more than 25,000 members in Western States.

" 'Out of the wilderness has come the substances of our culture,' says Zahniser, 'and with a living wilderness we shall have also a vibrant vital culture—an enduring civilization of healthy, happy people who renew themselves in contact with the earth.'

"Like Zahniser and his cohorts, we believe there is value in having places where man can get away from all the reminders of his workaday life. At present, areas of this character are not guaranteed their borders will not be violated by the markings of civilization. Passage of the proposed legislation will give them this guaranty."

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The reference to Mr. Howard Zahniser's paper delivered in May of 1955 is to the address which I had the privilege of inserting in the Congressional Record on June 1, 1955, an address entitled "The Need for Wilderness' delivered by Mr. Zahniser at the National Citizens' Planning Conference on Parks and Open Spaces for the American People, in Washington, D. C., on May 24, 1955. The Oregon Journal's editorial reference to this address as being "like a stone tossed into a pool" suggested a cartoon to the artist Bonelli. For the paper's editorial page cartoon on April 15, he drew a beautiful wilderness scene, tall evergreens beside an unspoiled lake. On the surface of the deep pool of the lake the widening circles that follow the tossing of a stone are drawn and labeled: Increasing demands to preserve certain wilderness areas perpetually free of commercial encroachment.

Two weeks later, on Sunday, April 29, 1956, the New York Times, in an editorial entitled "Man Needs Nature," added the weight of its endorsement. The Times called attention to the fact that "Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, in cooperation with the Council of Conservationists and some other leading conservation groups, has been working on a bill that would give duly designated wilderness areas the permanent legal protection that would safeguard them for the enjoyment of future generations of Americans, who will need unspoiled natural areas even more keenly than their forefathers do today." The Times commended "the desirability of establishing on a statutory basis a national wilderness preservation system." Said this editorial:

"As our urban, mechanized society spreads itself with increasing speed and destructiveness across the land, the human need for preserving contact with natural areas, with living, wild, and growing things, becomes more explicit and more pervasive. As natural areas rapidly diminish, the battle to keep the best of the remaining ones intact grows more intense."

Later, an article by John B. Oakes, entitled "Wilderness Areas," appeared in the New York Times conservation department for Sunday, May 13, 1956, as follows:

"WILDERNESS AREAS

"Civilized Americans are becoming increasingly conscious of a paradox that affects us all: our mechanistic society is rapidly destroying every vestige of primitive and unspoiled nature, while we daily realize with ever greater force the need for maintaining contact with the natural community. While we are pushing the frontiers of nature further and further back, we are at the same time being starved for contact with nature, a basic need of the human animal. This isn't just a question of city folk seeking outdoor recreation, or enjoying spectacular scenery, or breathing unpoisoned air. It goes much deeper; it springs from the inextricable relationship of man with nature, a relationship that even the most insensitive and complex civilization can never dissipate. Man needs nature; he may within limits control it, but to destroy it is to begin the destruction of man himself. We cannot live on a sterile planet, nor would we want to.

"TO PRESERVE THE WILDS

"A conservationist philosophy such as this could not fail to be sympathetic with the movement, spearheaded particularly by the Wilderness Society, to establish permanent legal protection for such remaining unspoiled wilderness areas as this country still possesses. Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota—who has the superb Quetico-Superior wilderness area in his own State—is sponsoring a bill that would set up a national wilderness preservation system, largely out of lands already contained in our national parks, forests, Indian reservations, wildlife preserves, etc., that are already under jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The relatively few wilderness areas that are already so designated by administrative order would be expanded and merged into a vast system of rigidly protected natural preserves. The idea is certainly worth exploring—if what is left of our country in a natural state is worth saving, as many of us believe it is."

The Conservation News, published by the National Wildlife Federation, contained in its May 1, 1956, issue an article entitled "Senator Humphrey Drafts Wilderness Bill," which effectively introduced this subject as follows:

"No outdoorsman needs to be reminded that wilderness is a rapidly disappearing thing in America. Places where a man may get himself lost in the woods, hunt without fear of plugging a friend, fish without hooking a buddy, hike without dodging automobiles, or camp beyond earshot of roaring trucks, are becoming increasingly hard to find.

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"The special value of wilderness is difficult to define, but it is nonetheless real to those who know it. It is an intangible thing sorely missed by a certain stripe of man and deeply needed by many others for whom it unfortunately is often an unknown hidden hunger—especially important in these days when the pressures of everyday living cause queues at the prescription counters for equinol.

"Probably all who go hunting and fishing feel the need for wilderness to a greater or less degree. So do hikers and mountain climbers and the youth groups to whom adventure in the outdoors is so important. In fact, nearly all Americans have some interest in the wilderness because of their outdoor backgrounds and its prominent part in our history."

Commenting that fortunately there still remain some large areas of wilderness, the article then pointed out:

"Some 50 or so national parks and monuments have within them unspoiled areas large enough to be called wilderness. Some 20 or so of the national wildlife refuges do, too. Within the natonal forests there are some 80 areas that have been designated by the Forest Service for protection as wilderness. Indian reservations contain 15 areas that have been classified as roadless or wild areas.

"Putting all these 165 or so areas together, out of more than 2¼ billion acres in our total land area (of which 741 million acres are federally owned), we have a total of about 55 million acres of wilderness in Federal ownership or control. They are parts of public lands within which wilderness can be preserved consistently with other purposes, as part of what might be called a multipurpose wilderness preservation program."

The National Wildlife Federation article emphasized the need for legislation as follows:

"At present, however, there are no laws of Congress that protect these areas of wilderness as wilderness. Even in the national parks the pressures for roads and nonwilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to invade the primeval back country. In the national forests the wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas have been set up administratively and could be abolished or greatly reduced by a future Secretary of Agriculture. Wilderness within the national wildlife refuges is in a precarious position because the refuges themselves lack adequate legal protection against pressures for commercial or exploitative encroachments. In fact, none of these areas has the protection that Congress could give by providing for wilderness preservation as a national policy applied to a definite system of areas."

Then summarizing the proposals of this bill, the article said:

"This system would be made up of the areas of primeval America that are still wilderness and in Federal ownership and capable of being kept that way without interfering with other purposes now being served by these lands. The areas to be included are named in the bill. These areas would continue to be administered by the existing Federal agencies that now handle them. Uses now being made of the areas would be permitted to continue, but the administering agencies would be charged with responsibility to protect the areas as wilderness. There would be no new overhead or coordinating agency created, but there would be a commission to serve as a clearinghouse for information and a repository for the maps and official papers having to do with the system."

After pointing out the bill's purpose to protect all wilderness from mining, the article said that "otherwise the bill is not a reform measure" and continued:

"The grazing now permitted on national forest wilderness, for example, could continue; special uses now permitted on some refuges would also not be interfered with. National parks would remain inviolate as to mining, grazing, or other such uses. The Secretary of the Interior would designate the parts of each park and monument needed for roads and visitor accommodations, and then the rest of each park would be preserved as wilderness. The bill thus proposes to take the wilderness now suitable for the purpose and provide for its permanent protection under congressional sanction."

The article concludes as follows:

"Proponents of the Humphrey bill have emphasized that the proposal is not special-use or special-privilege legislation.

"National forest areas involved, they point out, would continue to be administered under the present Forest Service regulations (which provide, for example, for grazing permits), and these areas also would continue to serve the basic purposes of the national forests. These purposes are defined by law as watershed protection and forest preservation. Setting these areas aside as wilderness, it is explained, will thus not interfere with the multiple purposes they now serve

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but will actually help to realize the dominant use of the national forests for water conservation.

"National parks, national wildlife refuges, and any other areas would also continue to serve their own distinctive purposes. No special-use privileges of any kind would be created by the proposed law. The only added responsibility of each administering agency would be for seeing that the designated wilderness under its jurisdiction remain wilderness.

"The title of the bill describes it as 'for the permanent good of the whole people' and the enacting clause says that the National Wilderness Preservation System is 'to serve the public purpose of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use and enjoyment by the people.'

"The section of the bill dealing with uses says that nothing within the act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose for which any of the lands involved were originally set aside, 'except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall in its administration for whatever other purpose be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area.'

" "The areas within this system,' says the bill, 'shall be devoted to the public purpose of recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical uses and all such use shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and its preservation.'

"The executive committee of the Council of Conservationists, which is active in support of Senator Humphrey's proposal, includes David R. Brower of San Francisco, Ira N. Gabrielson and Howard Zahniser of Washington, D. C., Carl O. Gustafson and Fred Smith of New York, and Joseph W. Penfold of Denver. Gabrielson and Zahniser are also chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources which also has espoused the wilderness bill as one of its positive projects."

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I want to express my appreciation to the distinguished Senator from Minnesota for his introduction of this bill. I feel privileged to be listed as a cosponsor of the measure. The Senator from Minnesota will be interested to learn that he is introducing this bill at an extremely appropriate day. This morning, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I am a member, one of the most illustrious women in our land testified in favor of a resolution that would commemorate the First Governors Conference on Conservation, which was called at the White House nearly half a century ago by President Theodore Roosevelt.

This very outstanding woman in the life of our country is Mrs. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, the widow of Gifford Pinchot, the founder of the United States Forest Service, and perhaps the greatest conservationist produced by our country in modern times, if not, indeed, in the entire history of the United States. I think if Gifford Pinchot were here today, he would be a cosponsor of the bill of the Senator from Minnesota. I recall with pleasure standing in the company of Mrs. Pinchot at LaWisWis Forest Camp in the Pacific Northwest, when the great Gifford Pinchot National Forest was dedicated some years ago to the memory of her late husband. The dedication, as I recall, was supervised by Lyle F. Watts, one of my distinguished Oregon constituents, who then was Chief Forester of the United States. Mr. Watts, incidentally, was a protege in the Forest Service of Gifford Pinchot.

Unfortunately, no country has used up its natural resources in so short a time and as quickly as has the United States of America. Only a century and a half have gone by since Lewis and Clark crossed our continent. They were the first Americans to reach the Pacific coast and fly our flag beside the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Yet in that century and a half, the people of this country, oftentimes recklessly, wantonly, and profligately, have made terrible inroads on our natural resources.

When Lewis and Clark crossed the country, there were around 60 million bison on the American plains. When Theodore Roosevelt and others formed the American Bison Society, shortly after the turn of the century, they had a difficult time finding six or eight hundred bison scattered over this vast country which could be used to breed a few captive herds, so our boys and girls could in the future see what bison looked like.

Passenger pigeons once were so numerous that their flights darkened the skies and broke the branches of trees. There is not a single passenger pigeon left. No matter how long mankind remains here on this planet, there never

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will be another passenger pigeon. The last one died, I believe, in the Cincinnati Zoological Gardens in 1914.

Yet, despite these lessons which have come down to us from very recent history, we still continue to make mistakes. Right at this very hour, as the Senator from Minnesota stands here, having completed the introduction of the bill, oil drilling and gas leasing are taking place on lands which were set aside for nesting and breeding for the flights of migratory fowl, which take place between the Canadian Arctic and the birds' winter homes in the Caribbean and South America. Therefore, we have relatively few resources left from which to set aside a wilderness reservation system, such as the Senator from Minnesota and his cosponsors are now proposing.

I believe that if such legislation is not proposed today or in the immediate future it will be too late; that there will not be left the great upland solitudes and the great forests and the timbered lake areas, such as there are in the State of the Senator from Minnesota, as to which the bill can be put into operation.

Actually, it is almost the 11th hour so far as the wilderness system in our country is concerned. It seems to me that the Senator from Minnesota has rendered a distinct public service by working with various conservation groups, such as the Wilderness Society and others, to develop and formulate legislation such as this. I want him to know that I consider myself very highly privileged to work in the ranks with him, and under his guidance, toward this great goal.

The senior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Morse, said this is a Teddy Roosevelt fight. I think it is not only a Teddy Roosevelt fight, but also is a fight for the things that enlightened Americans in our generation must stand for, if we are to fulfill our obligation to the next generation of Americans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record an introduction I wrote to a pamphlet entitled "Conserving Our Great Outdoors," which was published under the auspices of the Tamiment Institute, of New York, as a public service. The pamphlet was written by me in an effort to acquaint the American people with the need for the type of conservation principles which are embodied in the bill introduced today by the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Humphrey.

There being no objection, the introduction to the pamphlet was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"When I am at my desk in the Senate Office Building, I look out on a world of concrete, steel, and asphalt. Massive temples of government dominate the horizon. Torrents of traffic pour along the streets. Civilization has crowded nature into the distant background. When I take a train to New York from Washington, I ride for over 200 miles through a continuous avenue of factories, switching yards, crowded tenement districts, and warehouses. This is where we have paved the ground, clouded the air with soot and smoke, and breached rivers and lakes with our wharves and gravel fills.

"Yet, there comes a time when the teeming spectacle mercifully fades, and a totally different vision appears. I may be looking at a squat blast furnace where hundreds of men are employed, but my thoughts flee to the mile-deep canyons where the Salmon and Snake Rivers unite in a cavernous union. My wife and I are trudging with knapsacks to Heaven's Gate Lookout, which commands this majestic panorama. Butterflies dot the mountain sky, and lodgepole pines sway in the breeze from out of the twin chasms. We are alone, many miles from the nearest neighbors. The mule deer foraging on the steep slopes are safe. In this secluded heart of Idaho's Nez Perce National Forest, mighty ridges split the clear air like the humps of a gigantic camel cavalry. Lightheartedly, we cook our supper of eastern brook trout and fried potatoes in a grove below the frowning ramparts of He-Devil Peak.

"Or we are on the twisting Lolo Trail, where Lewis and Clark nearly starved to death 150 years earlier. We stand beside three jumbled rock cairns in a waving meadow of white bear-grass. These are relics of the first westbound Americans, yet the cairns still dot the high divide above the rumbling Lochsa Fork of the Clearwater River. The rush of civilization has passed them by. Reading from the explorers' famous journals, we try to build our campfire exactly where the ashes of some bleak bivouac must have lain on that original trek. When Maurine puts on her bathing suit and frolics beneath an icy waterfall, we wonder if it was in this brook that Lewis and Clark filled the rusty iron kettle which boiled a scraggly timberwolf that was their only food. And did the mournful howl from beyond the fire's flickering circle last night come from some remote descendant of that historic beast?

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"Perhaps, in my reverie, I am off to the north, on the unfortified boundary between British Columbia and the State of Washington. I am walking along the corridor of spruce and Douglas-fir which marks the international border. Snow powders the needle boughs and branches. Mount Baker hovers like a domed citadel in the sky. At my side is redheaded John Piper, staff sergeant in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who shares my pride in the dark shawl of evergreen forests sprawling across the frontier. If only such magnificent trees might endure forever.

"I am at the spray-spattered foot of the hissing column of water known as Yosemite Falls, with a friend named Adlai Stevenson. We do not speak, for no human voice is stentorian enough to be heard above this thunder. But why words, after all? Can mankind have any except a single thought amid the sublime grandeur of a waterfall half a mile in height? What is the mystery of the Creator's infinite wonders, which dwarf and shame the works of mankind? * * * And would be musings of my companion be different from those of another friend, the late Haldane (Buzz) Holmstrom, when he and I stood on the north rim of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and looked down into that abyss, which only Holmstrom ever had traversed alone by boat?

"FIFTY MILLION CAR OWNERS CAN'T STAY HOME

"Public life often can be a sort of prison, so my visits to these beautiful places today are rare, indeed. Yet it reassures me to know that they continue to exist—that, somewhere, the sparkling Lochsa foams toward the sea with the same lilting resonance and over the same mossy rocks as when Capt. Meriwether Lewis called it Kooskooskee, the river which flows fast and clear.

"I know that millions of Americans feel likewise. They gain both security and comfort from the fact that a segment of the old original wilderness has been saved. The whole continent has not yet been tilled, paved, or settled. Some of these people may never see the real wilderness; their sentiments are purely vicarious. But they are aware of it, nevertheless—just as Mount Everest and K-2 inspire pride among people in remote parts of India.

"Still, the attention to our own outdoors becomes less intangible and more direct with each passing day. Americans now own more than 50 million motor-cars. Bryce Canyon and Mount Hood are just beyond everybody's radiator cap. The call of the open road is heard in millions of apartments and bungalows. In the past, much of our travel was dependent upon common carriers like trains and buses; an extra ticket had to be bought for each member of the family. But, in an automobile, the same fuel and monthly downpayments transport father, mother, children, and in-laws—perhaps even the family dog or cat. Widespread ownership of automobiles has widened the vista and the travel radius of every American household.

"The pressure on our recreational resources was never so great, and this is but the beginning. If we do not spare these resources—nay, expand and also improve them—we shall find that eventually our families have no place to go, despite finer and faster automobiles and more leisure time.

"Maurine and I sat with my mother at the hearthfire of a quaint little lodge in the fairylike Yoho Valley of British Columbia. Our companions, whom we had met a few hours earlier beside the roaring Yoho River, were a refugee doctor from Europe and his pretty blond wife. 'At the start,' said the doctor, 'we went to many of your national parks and national forests. But now they are so very crowded—how you say it? Like Coney Island, maybe. Thus, we turn to Canada, where it is not yet elbow to elbow in the most wonderful places to see.'

"When we came down out of the uplands on a Canadian Pacific train, an item in the press told us that Canada's Minister of Resources had rejected flatly a request that the mining of a great lode of uranium be permitted inside the borders of Banff National Park. The park was reserved for recreation, said the Minister, and that ended the matter. Yet Canada has far more of its area devoted to outdoor pastimes than has the United States, particularly when comparative populations are considered. Are we letting commercialism and exploitation rob us of our chance for unfettered enjoyment under the blue heavens and the stars?"

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, as I conclude, I merely wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to the junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Neuberger, for his cosponsorship of this measure and for his very enlightened and thoughtful remarks relative to the bill which has been introduced today.

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I think every Member of this body recognizes in the junior Senator from Oregon one of the foremost conservationists in the land. His writings prior to his coming to the Senate gained him national recognition and fame. His intimate knowledge of the great natural resources of the United States and of what has been happening to them has been heralded many times by universities and conservation groups and by the American press and journals.

So, Mr. President, in introducing this bill, I am merely acting as the catalyst, so to speak. In bringing this matter to the attention of Congress, I have had the advice and counsel of both the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] and the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Neuberger]. I consider myself very fortunate to be able to work with these two fine Senators, who have placed the principles of sound conservation at the top of their public service, as priority items not only for the Americans of today, but for generations yet unborn.

During the delivery of Mr. Humphrey's speech:

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I may say that it is a great honor to join the Senator from Minnesota as a cosponsor of the bill. I have the suspicion that as we introduce the bill today its full implications will not immediately catch the imagination of the American people. In my judgment, the Senator from Minnesota is adding another great foundation stone to his record of public service in the Senate. Once again he is demonstrating that one of the responsibilities of statesmanship is the duty to look ahead to the needs and the benefits and the problems of future generations of Americans.

Sometimes I feel that in our day, the mad race to make money, the mad race to feed the economic appetites of the people, is causing us to forget to protect the greater values.

The Senator from Minnesota is talking about one of those greater values, which are essential to human happiness. I say that because if we, in our generation, do not do the kind of conservation job the Senator is calling for in the bill he is introducing, of which I am honored to be a cosponsor, the history of our generation as it will be written by future generations of American boys and girls would not make pleasant reading for any of us if we could return from our graves.

Although many people do not seem to realize it, it is clear that one of the great issues, one of the great problems confronting us, is the fulfilling of our trusteeship over the natural resources God has given us.

EXHIBIT D

[From the Congressional Record]

THE WILDERNESS BILL

Remarks of Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, and Hon. Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon, in the Senate of the United States, Monday, February 11, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, the junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Neuberger, the Senator from Maine, Mrs. Smith, the senior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Morse, the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Douglas, the Senator from South Dakota, Mr. Mundt, the Senator from Montana, Mr. Murray, the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. Wiley, the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Clark, the Senator from Ohio, Mr. Lausche, and the Senators from Washington, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Magnuson, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system.

Mr. President, this 85th Congress has a remarkable opportunity to establish sound and enduring policies that will assure Americans a continuing enjoyment of the outdoor recreation that has always meant so much to us.

A few days ago we welcomed the introduction by the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. Anderson, of a bill to provide for a careful and thorough study of all our outdoor recreation needs and resources and to establish for this purpose a national outdoor recreation resources review commission. I commend the Senator and his cosponsors, the senior Senator from Montana, Mr. Murray, the senior Senator from Utah, Mr. Watkins, the senior Senator from Wyoming,

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Mr. Barrett, the junior Senator from California, Mr. Kuchel, the Senators from Oregon, Mr. Neuberger and Mr. Morse, the Senators from Colorado, Mr. Allott and Mr. Carroll, and the Senator from South Dakota, Mr. Mundt, for their leadership in advancing this legislation, and I offer them hearty and eager support.

I note with special interest that four Senators are cosponsors of both this recreation bill and the wilderness bill.

I agree with Senator Anderson's comment that the proposed outdoor recreation resources review will be "instrumental in helping to preserve a fine, long-standing American tradition—the healthful and alluring appeal of the great outdoors." It is as a contribution to this objective that I now urge further the establishment of our national wilderness preservation system, as provided in this wilderness bill, a measure that deals with areas that already have been dedicated in one way or another to protection through programs that are thoroughly consistent with their preservation as wilderness.

These areas of wilderness will play an important role in the total outdoor recreation program which I hope to to see developed as a result of the proposed outdoor recreation resources review. But while we are conducting the inventory which that review requires and developing the recommendations on which the program it envisions can be based, I am sure we should not delay in establishing firmly our policies for preserving our remaining areas of wilderness. I therefore urge this wilderness bill as another essential measure in what I hope will be the successful legislative program of this Congress for establishing a sound and effective national policy for outdoor recreation and conservation.

Those of us in the Congress who are vitally interested in conservation are worried, and I think with good cause. We see the pressure that is coming, and as elected representatives it is our clear duty to do something before the horse is out of the barn. There seems to be a crisis every day in the world in which we live, and the only way we are going to change this is by looking ahead and taking timely action.

That is what in this wilderness bill I propose we do. Instead of waiting until the crisis has engulfed us, I propose that we make secure the preservation of those areas that do now in fact constitute our national wilderness system—the areas that are now in fact being handled as wilderness, even though they serve other and consistent purposes also. Doing that now means providing security for what we already have, perpetuating the multiple-purpose programs we now have on these areas, and making sure that multiple purpose on these lands always includes wilderness preservation.

Mr. President, here is a measure designed to make sure that some parts of America may always remain unspoiled and beautiful in their own natural way, untrammeled by man and unmarred by machinery. It is a measure that gives expression to a policy which has long been a reality in the minds and hearts of the American people but has never yet been embodied in legislation.

THE NEED FOR WILDERNESS

Nearly 2 years ago, on June 1, 1955, it was my privilege to receive unanimous consent to insert in the Congressional Record an address on the Need for Wilderness which had been delivered at the National Citizens Planning Conference on Parks and Open Spaces for the American People here in Washington, D. C., on May 24, 1955. In this address, as I then pointed out, the executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, Mr. Howard Zahniser, had not only discussed our various needs for areas of wilderness and the underlying philosophy for their appreciation. He also had proposed a practical program for preserving a system of such areas without sacrificing any other program or enterprise—and doing this as a part of existing Federal land-management programs, through the existing agencies.

When this address and my remarks regarding it were reprinted from the Congressional Record and distributed to interested groups there was a remarkable response from all parts of the country. There was apparent a great inspired hope that, with a minimum of administrative time and expense and with only slight modification of our present land-management policies, we could see affirmed a national policy to preserve for all time some areas of our pristine American wilderness.

Conscious of the special interest which this prospect held for many Members of Congress, I spoke of these developments in the Senate almost a year ago

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now—on February 29, 1956—and presented a compilation of excerpts from the many letters which had been received.

At the same time I had urged the interested conservation leaders to cooperate with me in the development of this proposal in bill form. As a result, through the cooperation of a number of conservation leaders and organizations, I was able to introduce this wilderness bill in the Senate last June 7 (1956) with the cosponsorship of nine of my esteemed colleagues of both parties, from Maine to California.

On the occasion of this introduction I also presented statements in support of the proposal from the interested conservation organizations and leaders and a number of editorials and newspaper columns commenting on it. These are in the Congressional Record for June 7, 1956.

In an effort to obtain the widest possible consideration of this proposal and to benefit from every possible suggestion, reprints of my own explanatory remarks in introducing the bill and comments by my colleagues, the Senators from Oregon, were widely distributed during the past summer, including the full text of the bill and the statements regarding it to which I have referred. The response once again was most encouraging, and the various suggestions received have led to improvements, corrections, and clarifications in the bill.

When the Honorable John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, introduced a companion bill in the House of Representatives and spoke with great force and eloquence in that chamber on July 12, 1956, reprints of his remarks also were obtained and distributed, including likewise the full text of the bill. Many letters in support of this measure have been received from all parts of the country, and Representative Saylor has had excerpts from them prepared in a compilation which he has kindly made available to me on this occasion. I thank him for this. With Mr. Saylor's approval, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that collected excerpts from these letters may be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1 on p. 55.)

THE EFFECT ON EXECUTIVE AGENCIES

Mr. President, I emphasize and reiterate some of these explanations because of misunderstandings, or misinterpretations, that have been brought to my attention. Among these have also been claims that this legislation would put in the hands of Congress the administration of the areas involved, including a charge that the legislation would (and I quote) "cede to Congress final and permanent authority." Intrigued by this charge and interested to know what the Legislative Reference Service in the Library of Congress might comment on these points, I addressed an inquiry to that service. In response to this request, Mr. John P. Earner, of the American Law Division, prepared a report in which he expressed the opinion:

"The legislation gives sanction to the policies and programs developed by the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and other Federal conservation agencies under whose administration the existing resource of wilderness has so far been preserved.

"The effect of this bill," as interpreted by Mr. Earner, "will be to bring into a single system for the purpose of insuring their continued preservation as wilderness, the various federally owned areas designated as wilderness by the departmental heads or by Executive order. In no instance will the jurisdiction of a single area be transferred from one agency to another. Areas controlled, for example, by the Forest Service will continue to be managed by that agency. Furthermore, it will be the Forest Service under the Secretary of Agriculture that determines the precise area of the unit of its wilderness land to be included in the wilderness preservation system. And it will be solely the responsibility of the Forest Service under law to preserve the wilderness character of that area. No wilderness area of the Forest Service thus made a part of the wilderness preservation system may be modified or removed from the system except by action of the Secretary of Agriculture which has not been disapproved by Congress. In a similar manner lands under the jurisdiction of other executive agencies may be affected by this legislation."

Mr. Earner stated categorically: "The notion that enactment of this legislation would take from the executive branch of the Government and give to

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Congress a power to dictate all matters concerning wilderness areas is simply not true."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report by Mr. John P. Karner, of the American Law Division of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, on "A bill to authorize a national wilderness preservation system," dated December 4, 1956, be printed in the record at this point.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"REPORT ON S. 4013, 84TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, A BILL TO AUTHORIZE A NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

"(Prepared at the request of the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, by John P. Karner, American Law Division, December 4, 1956.)

"It is the purpose of the national wilderness preservation bill to establish by act of Congress a clear-cut national policy for preserving for both the present and the future, some of what remains of our resource of wilderness. No act of Congress does this at present.

"The legislation gives sanction to the policies and programs developed by the Forest Service, the National Park Service and other Federal conservation agencies under whose administration the existing resource of wilderness has so far been preserved.

"The effect of this bill will be to bring into a single system, for the purpose of insuring their continued preservation as wilderness, the various federally owned areas designed as wilderness by the departmental heads or by Executive order. In no instance will the jurisdiction of a single area be transferred from one agency to another. Areas controlled, for example, by the Forest Service will continue to be managed by that agency. Furthermore, it will be the Forest Service under the Secretary of Agriculture that determines the precise area of the unit of its wilderness land to be included in the wilderness preservation system. And it will be solely the responsibility of the Forest Service under law to preserve the wilderness character of that area. No wilderness area of the Forest Service thus made a part of the Wilderness preservation system may be modified or removed from the system except by action of the Secretary of Agriculture which has not been disapproved by Congress. In a similar manner lands under the jurisdiction of other executive agencies may be affected by this legislation.

"The notion that enactment of this legislation would take from the executive branch of the Government and give to Congress a power to dictate all matters concerning wilderness areas is simply not true. This legislation would give to Congress nothing Congress has not had since the Constitution was adopted:

" 'The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting * * * property belonging to the United States' (Constitution, art. IV, sec. 3, cl. 2).

"This has never been a power of the Executive. Any exercise of the power by departmental heads has been by virtue of authority delegated by the Congress.

"By the act of 1897, as amended (33 Stat. 628), Congress granted to the Secretary of Agriculture the power to manage and regulate the national forests. There has never been any question raised about the ownership and control of the Federal timber, of the protection of vegetation within the national forests. They are functions inherent in the act of 1897.

"Court decisions resulting from national forest grazing regulation violations have affirmed the constitutionality of this congressional delegation of administrative power (*U. S. v. Grimaud* (220 U. S. 506); *Light v. U. S.* (220 U. S. 523)).

"There is no explicit congressional recognition of recreation and wilderness reservations as a major purpose of Forest Service administration. Timber, water, and forage are uniformly accepted as national forest resources by law, court decisions, executive office directives, and regulations. Recreation, however, has only been proclaimed a fourth major forest use by Forest Service administrative regulations with occasional approval by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"There has been infrequent legislative acknowledgment that recreation is a legitimate forest use, but only for isolated areas or special situations. No broad provision for national forest recreation, of which wilderness reservations are a part, has been made by Congress.

"Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to rent or lease national forest areas near mineral springs for erection of sanitariums or hotels open for public health or pleasure (act of February 28, 1899, 30 Stat. 908; U. S. C. 16: 495).

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"Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to secure and protect for all time the big trees known as Sequoia Washingtoniana in the Calaveras Bigtree National Forest (act of February 18, 1909, 35 Stat. 626; U. S. C. 16: 494).

"The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to grant permits for the construction of homes, resorts, and stores in the national forests needed for recreation and public convenience (act of March 4, 1915, 38 Stat. 1101; U. S. C. 16: 497).

"Congress authorized the President to designate certain national forest lands as refuges for the protection of game, birds, or fish (acts of August 11, 1916, 39 Stat. 476, amended June 25, 1948, 62 Stat. 869; U. S. C. 16: 683; and March 10, 1934, 48 Stat. 400; U. S. C. 16: 694).

"The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to set aside 5,000 acres within the Angeles National Forest of California for camping purposes, and such lands shall not be subject to mining laws (act of February 24, 1925, 43 Stat. 969).

"Certain national forest lands in northern Minnesota were withdrawn from entry or appropriation under the public land laws for the express purpose of conserving the natural beauty of lake and stream shorelines for recreational use. Limitations are placed on logging near the shorelines, and water levels and adjacent features in this region were to be preserved in an unmodified state of nature (Shipstead-Nolan Act, July 10, 1930, 46 Stat. 1020; U. S. C. 16: 577, 577 (a), (b)).

"The Thye-Blatnik Act gave congressional recognition to the unique qualities and natural features of the remaining wilderness canoe country on national forest lands in Minnesota, and gave authority to the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire private lands where such might impair wilderness values (act of June 22, 1948, 62 Stat. 568; U. S. C. 16: 577 (c)).

"In view of the varied delegations of congressional power to deal with public lands, there can be no legal question of the right of Congress to enact legislation which promises the preservation of large areas in undeveloped condition on any Federal lands."

THE BILL DESCRIBED SECTION BY SECTION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I should like finally to describe the bill section by section and to urge upon all interested the fact that the bill speaks plainly its own purposes and intentions. Many of the questions that have so far been raised with regard to it have been settled, I have noted, when the questioners have read the proposed measure.

The bill comprises five sections which may be described as follows:

The opening section defines the term "wilderness" both in the abstract and as used specifically in this bill and, recognizing the hazards to wilderness in the midst of our civilization, declares it to be a desirable policy for our health, welfare, and happiness to preserve wilderness as an enduring resource for the benefit of present and future generations. Accordingly, the continued preservation of federally owned areas of wilderness is given congressional sanction, and a national wilderness preservation system is established to "serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment by the people."

Section 2 names the areas that will constitute the system, and makes provisions regarding additions, modifications, or eliminations. It takes cognizance also of the fact that within certain of the units of this system there are needs for designating portions of the areas to be used for roads and certain other installations that are exceptions within wilderness. Section 2 comprises 6 subsections.

NATIONAL FOREST WILDERNESS

Subsection (a) designates 36 areas within the national forest to become units of the national wilderness preservation system. These are not entire national forests; they are special areas inside the forests. The Forest Service has found them to have highest value as wilderness and has already designated them as wilderness, wild, or roadless areas. In addition, there are 44 areas now classified as "primitive" that are earmarked to be included in this system when the Forest Service has carried out its plans to reclassify them as either "wilderness" or "wild" areas. A 10-year period is provided for this reclassification program. Including all these primitive areas which are to be added eventually, this system will have included special areas within some 80 of the 149 national forests. Out of the 181 million acres in our national forests some 14 million acres will be in this system. As at present, the administration of the national forest areas will be in accordance with regulations by the Secretary of Agriculture. This bill, either in section 2 or in section 3, makes provisions that in

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effect give sanction to and continue the present regulations that have been so ably developed by the Forest Service for the sound administration and protection of wilderness. An additional safeguard against an undesirable elimination of any wilderness is provided in that, after completing the process for such action as now provided by Department regulations, such proposed action will have to be reported to Congress, where for 120 days it is subject to disapproval. Additional areas may be designated by the Secretary of Agriculture, and such additions must also be reported to Congress, and for 120 days be subject to disapproval by either the Senate or the House of Representatives.

WILDERNESS IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

Subsection (b) of section 2 designates 48 out of the 181 areas in the national park system as units of the national wilderness preservation system, 26 of which are national parks, 20 are monuments, 1 is a recreational area, and 1 is a memorial park. Our national parks and many of our national monuments include within them our superbly beautiful pristine areas of wilderness. The chief threats to their preservation as such, under existing legislation, come from prospects for the extension of roads and the intrusion of recreation developments, perfectly good in themselves, that nevertheless are out of place in wilderness.

Unless provision is made to protect the primeval with the parks, eventually the developments may take over.

This process may be gradual, but, nevertheless, it is a prospect against which we can now set guards with no sacrifice. There are other places for the development of our recreation facilities that require roads and other conveniences. Our parks are reservoirs of wilderness.

It is true, however, that certain portions of the parks must be used for the roads and accommodations that make them accessible and hospitable. Accordingly this bill provides for the designation of such portions for this purpose. A 10-year period is provided for the several designations, and the provisions of this law will not take effect for any park or monument until the designations have been made.

The National Park Service, under its so-called Mission 66, is undertaking to provide systematically during the next 10 years for the proper and economical development of the roads and accommodations within the parks and monuments.

The designations of the areas provided for in this bill can thus be made, park by park, as the plans for Mission 66 materialize.

Provision will in this way be made for the proper handling of developed areas but also for the protection, without development, of our wilderness in the back country.

If ever additional areas are needed for developments, they can be designated, but only after a public notice that will give all concerned an opportunity to weigh the importance of diminishing the area of wilderness.

In any case, wilderness preservation becomes a congressional policy in the specified national parks and monuments. The primeval back country receives an added protection. At the same time, this bill takes care to point out that within the areas designated for developments the present protection afforded by the National Park Act of 1916 is not affected.

Additions of national parks and national monuments to the wilderness system could be made by the Congress or the President. Only Congress could remove a park or monument from the system.

WILDLIFE REFUGES

Subsection (c) of section 2 designates 13 national wildlife refuges and 7 ranges as parts of this system.

As with national park system areas, provision is here made for designation by the Secretary of the Interior of areas that are required for roads and installations inconsistent with wilderness. In this instance these are required for administration of the refuge or range for wildlife.

Refuges or ranges could be added to the system by the Secretary of the Interior, subject to congressional disapproval within 120 days. Only Congress could remove a refuge or range from the system.

THE INDIANS' WILDERNESS

Subsection (d) of section 2 designates 12 roadless areas and 3 wild areas within Indian reservations as possible units in the national wilderness preser-

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vation system, but no such area will actually become a part of the system unless its inclusion is approved by the Indians. The consent of the Indians is also required for the regulations by the Secretary of the Interior that are to govern the administration, addition, modification, or elimination of areas.

This subsection is so drawn as to give the Indians the privilege of having included in this system their areas that have been classified as roadless or wild, but the principle of doing nothing with regard to Indian lands without Indian consent has been observed. Care is taken also to say that no Indian treaty is abrogated nor any hunting or fishing rights affected.

Subsection (e) of section 2 recognizes that Congress may designate additional areas within the wilderness system and also provides for the designation of such areas within any federally owned or controlled areas by appropriate officials.

Subsection (f) of section 2 provides for reports to Congress of certain additions, modifications, or eliminations, and it also authorizes the acquisition of any privately owned lands within units of this system.

Throughout section 2 provisions are made for reports to be made to the National Wilderness Preservation Council that will be established by section 4 and will be the repository for files pertaining to this system.

USE OF THE WILDERNESS

Section 3 specifies the proper uses of areas within the system and the practices that are to be excluded. It includes special provisions with regard to existing "nonconforming" uses of areas of wilderness included in the system.

At the outset this section says that nothing shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose for which any of the lands involved were set aside, except that the "wilderness character" of the area is to be preserved.

Each administering agency is to administer the areas in the wilderness system for such other purposes as are appropriate but do this in such a way as to preserve the wilderness.

The system will be devoted to public purposes that are summarized as recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservational, and historical. All use will be in harmony with the wilderness environment and its preservation.

This section provides that the administration of the areas in the wilderness System shall be in accordance with regulations to be adopted by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Secretary of the Interior, as the case may be, or by such other official or officials responsible for the lands and waters involved. This section also states categorically that the Wilderness Preservation Council provided for in section 4 "shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any unit in the system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction."

Special provision is made for the protection of existing rights and privileges of any areas involved. Grazing within the national forest areas is provided for as at present, and existing uses authorized or provided for in refuges are also permitted. The termination of nonconforming uses is provided for whenever this is agreeable to those making the uses.

With one main exception, this bill thus proposes, not reform, but such security for what we have so far preserved as we can achieve without disrupting our present administrative and other practices.

The exception to which I refer has to do with mining. It relates primarily to the areas within the national forests.

Spokesmen for the United States Forest Service, as well as other conservationists, have long and insistently warned that a prime threat to the preservation of wilderness within the national forests comes from the prospect of mining. After careful thought it seems unwise to propose wilderness legislation that does not deal with this threat in these national forest areas.

Accordingly, this bill provides that there shall be no mining—although, of course, existing private rights are protected in this case as in all others.

A WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

Section 4 would create a National Wilderness Preservation Council to serve as a focus for the various interests in wilderness represented in the system, to provide an information clearinghouse and a headquarters for the records relating to the System as such, and to provide a medium through which information regarding wilderness and its use and preservation may be gathered and made available.

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The Council will have no administrative jurisdiction over the areas of wilderness within the system, nor over any of the agencies that will continue to have such jurisdiction. The council will not even have any coordinating responsibilities with regard to the administration of these areas. It will comprise administrators and citizens, will represent our special and distinctive interest in our wilderness resource as wilderness, and will make annual reports to Congress regarding the system.

The Council will include the heads of the bureaus that administer areas within the System—Forest Service, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Indian Affairs Bureau—and also the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Six citizen members will complete the 11-member Council.

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will be the secretary of the Council, and will maintain its files and provide its headquarters. This arrangement will help make clear that the Council is not responsible for any area or agency administration. Involved with no land areas within the system, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will not be concerned with any interagency administrative problems regarding such area. Selection of this official as secretary of the Council further emphasizes the function of the Council as an information focus and a repository of records. It likewise will serve to bring to attention the scientific interest in wilderness preservation and the values of wilderness areas as living museums.

Section 4 provides that the members of the Council shall serve in this capacity without compensation, but receive transportation expenses and a per diem for attendance at meetings of the Council. Provision is made for the expenses of the Council.

Section 5 specifies a name: "National Wilderness Preservation Act."

EXHIBIT 1

"Compilation of Excerpts from Letters to the Honorable John P. Saylor Regarding the Wilderness Bill

FROM EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS

"James Munro, associate professor at the University of Oregon School of Law, Eugene, Oreg., writes:

" 'The general purpose of this bill is most constructive and helpful. For years we have needed legislation which would give greater protection to wilderness country. This bill would accomplish this purpose and, in addition, would provide an orderly procedure for the expansion of wilderness. In my opinion this Nation will need in the future not less, but more of these areas, where, in the words of the bill * * * "the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails." '

"Robert E. Gregg, of the department of biology, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo., writes:

" 'Wilderness areas and all natural features are so delicately balanced that the least interference by man inevitably modifies them and in many instances destroys them beyond recovery.'

"Dr. Gregg emphasizes that the spiral of rapidly rising populations is creating pressures which can be harmful to the integrity of wilderness, and he writes that this is of great concern to biologists and ecologists as well as to other persons. In speaking of the pressures upon the national parks, Dr. Gregg feels that a national wilderness preservation system would 'unquestionably * * * strengthen the hands of the administrative personnel whose job of guarding the values of the parks now all but overwhelms them.'

"From other scientists and educators have come such expressions as these—

"Armin K. Lobeck, professor emeritus of geology, Columbia University: 'There is no time to be lost in alerting this Nation to the need of preserving wilderness areas and of establishing new ones while it is still possible to do so.'

"Tom McKnight, assistant professor, department of geography, University of California, Los Angeles: 'I firmly believe that this legislation, if passed, will prove to be one of the 2 or 3 most significant conservation measures in the history of the United States. For my grandchildren and their grandchildren, I thank you.'

"In addition to the above, expressions of approval have come from the following educators and scientists: S. C. Dellinger, head, department of zoology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Henry I. Kohn, M. D., radiological laboratory, Uni-

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versity of California, San Francisco; John H. Cover, director, College of Business and Public Administration, University of Maryland, College Park; Leroy B. Nydegger, associate professor of biology, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa; George C. Wheeler, department of biology, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks; William F. Kimes, assistant superintendent in charge of business, Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, Calif.; Lloyd A. Rider, conservation chairman, New York Association of Biology Teachers.

FROM CONSERVATION ADMINISTRATORS

"Unsolicited letters of approval have been received from the following State conservation administrators: Paul D. Dalke, leader, Idaho Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit; Henry H. Brown, New Mexico Game and Fish Commission; I. T. Quinn, executive director, Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries; C. Eric Reppun, president, Board of Agriculture and Forestry, Territory of Hawaii.

"Seth Gordon, director of the California Department of Fish and Game writes: 'We have read your proposed wilderness bill and feel it is a real step forward in the conservation of the wild lands remaining in the Nation. Rest assured that we are heartily behind your program.'

"Dave Gaskill, geologist, writes:

" 'Establishment of a national wilderness preservation system is an almost desperately needed measure if we are to preserve the remnants of our country's pristine beauty from man's inexorable campaign to subvert every wild spot on earth * * *

" 'This bill defines a need, and offers basic legislation, with legal responsibility for preserving these values. I agree that the chief threats of wilderness in our parks is from road extensions and so-called recreational developments; the latter of which is rapidly bringing our national parks into competition with amusement parks everywhere while offering the possibility of nobler Coney Islands wth scenic backdrops.'

FROM SPIRITUAL LEADERS

"Rev. Arthur W. Brandt, St. Catherine's Rectory, Quarryville, Pa., writes: 'I hope it [the measure] will go far toward saving America's wilderness. I know you realize the magnitude of your undertaking.'

"Robert McConnell Hatch, Suffragan Bishop of Connecticut: 'I am familiar with the provisions of the bill, and I feel that they have been worked out with an acute awareness of all the needs that are involved in this matter. I feel that it is a wonderfully good bill, and I greatly hope that it will be enacted. The cause of wilderness preservation is very dear to my heart.'

"Mrs. James M. Evans, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America: 'It is a bill important to the future of our country and to future generations.'

"Prof. Otto A. Piper, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.: 'A rather extended trip through our country, during the summer months, has convinced me both of the wonderful treasures we possess in our wilderness, and the serious threat that advancing civilization and military demands make on those areas.

" 'All who think in terms of coming generations, and not only of the actual, or imaginary, needs of the present day, do hope sincerely that the new Congress will enact your bill.'

FROM PHYSICIANS AND PSYCHIATRISTS

"Robert C. Murphy, Jr., M. D., Waverly, Pa.: 'I think the preservation of islands of beauty in our scarred and plundered planet is as important as life itself.'

"William C. Menninger, M. D., Topeka, Kans., 'I'm deeply interested and concerned about the preservation of our wilderness system and all that implies in our forests, national parks, wildlife refuges and ranges, and our Indian reservation areas. I just wish there were many more of them.'

"Sidney F. Thomas, M. D., Palo Alto Medical Clinic, Palo Alto, Calif.: 'The need for this is apparent, especially here on the west coast where intrusions by roads and industry are diminishing the effect of many of the wilderness areas.'

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"In addition, commendatory letters have come from Harold E. Crowe, M. D., Los Angeles, Calif.; Karl Menninger, M. D., Topeka, Kans.; James C. White, M. D., Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston; Eugene R. Grether, M. D., Alexandria, Va.

FROM CONSERVATION LEADERS

"Fairfield Osborn, president of the New York Zoological Society, writes: 'Please allow me to express our warm approval of the wilderness bill.'

"Mrs. Neil Haig, trustee and conservation chairman, Seattle Audubon Society, Seattle, Wash.: 'We heartily endorse the efforts of the nonpartisan sponsorship in this matter. We favor this legislation and trust that it will receive the approval of the new Congress as much as it is meeting the approval of the public.'

"Mrs. C. Reed Cary, chairman of conservation reports, Conservation Council of Eastern Pennsylvania:

"'After careful reading of your excellent preamble and the proposed bill itself, I think you have avoided every possible objection the AFA [American Forestry Association] could have and I sincerely hope they will join with all lovers of wilderness areas in writing this magnificent bill into law.'

"Letters of support have also been received from Mrs. Lelloy Clark, chairman, national parks committee, the Garden Club of America; Mrs. Arthur A. Dugdale, conservation chairman, the Garden Club of Virginia; Harold Kruse, president, Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin; Clifton R. Merritt, chairman, wilderness and refuge committee, Flathead Wildlife, Inc., Kalispell, Mont.; Joel H. Hildebrand, past president, Sierra Club, Berkeley, Calif.; Gerald R. Hunter, vice president, region III, Georgia Conservation League; Maurice Broun, board of directors, Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association; Allston Jenkins, president, Philadelphia Conservationists, Inc.; and many others.

"Philip Hyde, a distinguished photographer and wilderness traveler, writes:

"'One of the things that concerns me a great deal is the continuing threat to wilderness areas from mining. I note that you are a member of the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining, so you may have some ideas on this. I do not deny the great need for strategic materials, and the great good that the mining industry has sometimes done for the country—but I have too often been made painfully aware of the great damage that mining can do. A few miles from my home are acres and acres of fine silt piles, tailings from a now defunct copper mine. In many parts of the county in which I reside are the unsightly traces of mining debris, and so often the story is one in which a mining group came in, on Federal land, that is, yours and my land, did whatever they pleased in the way of destroying timber, wrecking streams, tearing up topsoil, and otherwise creating havoc with the natural scene that they found. More often than not, they never found what they were looking for, or found it in such minute quantities that they abandoned the mess, and left for other parts, to repeat the process, leaving nature to repair the damage their wantonness caused.

"'If this were a thing of the past, I should be saddened at the evidence of such frontier negligence, but go my way, secure in the belief that it could not happen in these enlightened days. But, it is certainly not a thing of the past. It goes on apace today, and this is where my concern mounts: It happens far too frequently in dedicated wilderness areas. This summer, I was privileged to visit an area of the Washington Cascades that contains some of the Nation's most superlative mountain scenery. This is an area now up for reclassification by the Forest Service, and about which you may have heard: the Glacier Peak Limited Area. Here, in the heart of this fine area, which has a tremendous value as wilderness because of its close proximity to the population centers of the Puget Sound region, mining operations are busily tearing up a large area on a ridge, from which one of the finest views of Glacier Peak is obtained. In an area of some square miles, timber has been wantonly cut, trash and debris scattered, mining tailings abound, and the scene generally resembles more the scene of a battle than the scene of a benevolent industry about its daily work. Some of this land is patented, from old mining claims, some of the debris is undoubtedly from older operations. But the new operation seems to be doing its best to maintain the standards of former years.

"It is my understanding that it was still not decided whether there was enough ore here, of a high enough grade to make it economical to take out. We can only hope there isn't. In any event, it is evidently a marginal operation. The big question is, Can we afford to have a marginal mining operation in the heart

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of a superb wilderness area, whose recreational value should easily exceed whatever mineral value that is present?

"In the same area, a little farther along the trail, we camped beside a beautiful lake whose morning-still surface shimmeringly mirrors the glacier-clad slopes of Glacier Peak which rises across the deep Suiattle River canyon from the lake. That night we encountered a prospector, just coming over the ridge above the lake, who told us of his asbestos claim on a ridge far into the hinterlands of the north. He opined that his claim wouldn't be much good if he had to carry the stuff out on burros, as he was prospecting. But he was confident that the Government would build him an access road up this 'inaccessible' canyon, and make it easy for him. How much asbestos he might get out is anybody's guess. Would it be worth the cost of the road? Quite probably not. Would it be worth the irreparable loss of the large segment of the wilderness that the road would cut and destroy? How much asbestos for several dozens of square miles of wilderness? How critical a mineral is asbestos? How short is it in supply?—as short in supply as wilderness? I think not. But his chances of getting his road may be better than the chances of over a million people in the Seattle area seeing this area without a road, in its pristine natural state."

FROM OUTDOOR GROUPS

Al Jenkins, president, Billings Rod and Gun Club, Billings, Mont., writes:

"We have gone on record endorsing your bill and will help in every way possible to make it become a reality. Our club is made up of 1,500 spirited people who are interested in conservation of natural resources, hunting, fishing, and outdoor recreation. Many members are intensely interested in wilderness preservation for its invaluable primitive aspects and for preserving diminishing species of fish and wildlife that are making their last stand against the advance of civilization and man.

"Educational, scientific, and spiritual value must not be overlooked when evaluating wilderness. When roads, mechanical vehicles, or exploitation takes place, these God-made wonders lose most of their value. The United States covers such vast and varied areas that we believe the few million acres set aside as wilderness would not affect the economy of our Nation or its people where esthetic values are an issue. The President of our country and all the thinking people of today are concerned with our young people and what the future might hold for them. Is it possible to have a strong Nation or good Government without healthy, strong, and spirited people to guide its destinies and to protect our heritage and culture so dear to all of us? Clear thinking and great energy have made our Nation the envy of the world. Wilderness played a part in the beginning and is more essential than ever today for the part it will play in the future of our country. What we have today was preserved for us by men of great vision, always keeping in mind the needs of our people."

Tom Deckert, vice president, Montana Wildlife Federation:

"The people of the State of Montana, where well over half of its population might be classified as outdoor people, are tremendously interested in assisting in every way possible to make this excellent bill become a reality. We are very sincere in our belief that wilderness is a valuable natural resource that belongs to the people, and that its preservation for educational, scientific, and recreational use, along with restoration and propagation of fish and wildlife, is part of a balanced conservation program essential in the survival of a healthy, strong, spirited people so necessary if our civilized culture is to survive and our Nation be kept strong.

"We take special pleasure in the wilderness bill because it constitutes a step toward which our organization, together with many other groups and individual conservationists, has been working for so long. The people who value the things that make America beautiful will be ever grateful for what is being done to make wilderness preservation a reality."

Robert K. Koonce, president, Otero County Wildlife Association, Alamogordo, N. Mex.:

"The wilderness bill is the only hope for protecting wildernesses from commercial, military, and similar attrition which, at the present rate, is rapidly destroying them.

"Two local situations will illustrate.

"Northeast of here the Sierra Blanca (12,003) is the southernmost alpine, out-of-timberline peak in the United States. Rising from desert, it supports 6 of the 7 world life zones, from Sonoran Desert to Arctic-Alpine. A Forest Service

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wild area established several years ago should have preserved some of its ecological and recreational value.

"Today the resort town of Ruidoso invades and grows in the area, with roads instead of trails, stables, and nightclubs instead of trees and pure mountain streams. The Forest Service is in retreat, relocating the wild area on the opposite mountain slopes.

"Possibly the most unique natural attraction of all, the snowy gypsum dunes of White Sands National Monument originate in Lake Lucero to the west. Theoretically a written agreement between the Secretaries of War and Interior protects the monument from inroads. Nevertheless, roads, powerlines, and installations have been built in the Lake Lucero portion, harmful in themselves but also inviting such depredation as pillaging of the spectacular crystal beds. In addition, a general military campaign of harassment is obviously aimed at taking over the entire monument when opportune. Anyone doubting this has only to remember the military attempt to make a private hunting preserve of newly acquired land here, a case with which you are doubtless familiar.

"Multiply these examples across the land and it is obvious that present administrative practices are unequal to the task of conserving our wildernesses intact, and that congressional action is the only reasonable long-range hope.

"Once we have lost the few lands remaining in their virgin, natural condition we will have lost values forever irreplaceable; and we will then have people walking around who are spiritually and therefore mentally and physically sick, wondering what is wrong with themselves and the world."

Robert J. Redinger, secretary, North Rocky Mountain Sportsmen's Association:

"By order of the membership of this organization, I am writing you concerning your wilderness bill.

"Our membership, at the regular meeting of November 20, 1956, has voted unanimously to go on record in support of this bill. You are to be congratulated for your sponsorship of this legislation. We feel that this bill is the best thus far, toward the assurance that we will always have a system of wilderness areas in this country."

Letters of approval from other outdoor groups include: J. A. Canade, secretary, Rock Tavern Rod and Gun Club, Maybrook, N. Y.; Don Maxwell, field director, Bird Club of Westfield, N. J.; R. O. Doolittle, public relations secretary, Peoria Rod and Gun Club, Peoria, Ariz.; A. W. Black, secretary, Albuquerque Game Protective Association, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Marion Alman, chairman, National Conservation Committee, American Bowhunters Association, Louisville, Ky.; Oscar Hawksley, national conservation chairman, American White Water Affiliation, Warrensburg, Mo.; Walter S. Atwood, Green Mountain Club, Palisades Park, N. J.

FROM MEN OF LAW

United States Circuit Judge Albert Branson Maris states his personal feeling as follows: "I have read with a great deal of interest your speech delivered in the House on July 12 last in support of the bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system. Your speech is unanswerable and I am enthusiastically in accord with it. I have also read the text of the bill with some care and it seems to me to be well designed to carry out the objective of preserving the wilderness areas now owned by the Federal Government with the minimum interference with the control of those areas by the various agencies presently having them in charge. I assume that this is as far as we could have hoped to go at the present time. The machinery of the system can, of course, be further developed as experience dictates but the basic thing is to establish as law the principle that these wilderness areas are to be preserved intact and this your bill will certainly do."

Harvey Broome, attorney, Knoxville, Tenn. (and vice president of the Wilderness Society): "It is warming indeed to find such interest and understanding of wilderness needs in Congress. Future generations will always be in debt to Representatives like yourself [Mr. Saylor], and Mr. Metcalf, of Montana, and to Senators Humphrey, Kuchel, Neuberger, and others for your courageous and unstinting work on behalf of basic conservation legislation."

Robert Brown, attorney, St. Joseph, Mo.: "The least I can do is to express my thanks and to tell you that I am very much interested in the proposed legislation; that I think it is well considered and well drawn; and that I sincerely hope it is enacted into law."

Other attorneys who have written to declare their approval include: Bruce Bowler, Boise, Idaho; K. B. Steinmetz, Knoxville, Tenn.; V. J. Muench, Green Bay, Wis.; Arthur Roberts, Duluth, Minn.

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Herbert J. Powell, architect, Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"I wish to strongly endorse this bill. It has been my practice for many years to take walking trips through our High Sierra country and I know many people who enjoy this activity.

"We know, that once these wilderness areas are developed, it is impossible to ever again recapture that character which made them so attractive to a large body of Americans who enjoy a chance to get away from the pressures of civilization.

"It is my hope that the 85th Congress will adopt this measure and I wish to commend you for your activity in its behalf."

David S. Wood, councilman, city of Sierra Madre, Calif., writes: "I feel strongly that this is a wise and necessary step in national land use planning. I have found from personal experience that visits to wilderness areas from time to time are an invaluable aid in maintaining a balanced perspective toward life in our modern and complex society. Physical separation of one's person from the surroundings of the machine age render it considerably simpler to view that age and society with its complex (and fascinating) problems from an objective and detached point of view. I believe that such a process of standing off and looking at life from a distance, so to speak, is of the utmost value to the individual at appropriate intervals."

FROM PUBLISHERS AND WRITERS

George X. Sand, president, Florida Outdoor Writers Association, Deerfield Beach, Fla.:

"Since I happen to be president of the Florida Outdoor Writers Association, a statewide group of some 180 magazine, newspaper, radio, and TV writers, and programists, I am taking the liberty of recommending your proposed legislation to them for favorable consideration.

"You are to be complimented for making known the startling fact we have no legal assurance from Congress that our wilderness areas cannot be further exploited."

William Hard, roving editor, the Reader's Digest: "Much applause for your splendid contribution to wilderness preservation."

Louis Mecker, literary editor, the Kansas City Star: "I hope nothing will interfere to mitigate your efforts in this splendid cause."

William B. Edwards, technical editor, Guns Magazine, Skokie, Ill.: "May I commend you on the approach and ideas contained in your plea for wilderness preservation by enactment of Federal legislation 'in perpetuity.' As I sit here looking out on the brick bungalow jungle of Greater Chicago, I remember even more vividly the peace and the sense of freedom which came to me in those infrequent moments when, on trips to national parks and other areas, I had been in the wilderness. * * * In the wilderness man can touch the bedrock of human existence, and regain a point of view from which one can only look upward. This, from our present supposedly high spot on the scale of evolution, is important. It may give the man who is so occupied with material progress a revaluation of where we are going, but knowing from what we have come."

Among other writers who have written in to encourage this bill are outdoor columnists John Willard, Helena, Mont., and Ralph A Fisher, Sr., Phoenix, Ariz.

FROM BUSINESSMEN

Mortimer R. Proctor, president, Vermont Marble Co., Proctor, Vt.:

"I only wish to say that that is a subject very close to my heart and has been for many years. It almost seems like a sacrilege to see the way civilization is intruding on our wilderness areas.

"For many years I have hunted and fished and it is a sad aspect of changing times to see this most valuable asset for the happiness, wealth, and welfare of our people gradually destroyed."

Walter A. Schmidt, president, Western Precipitation Corp., Los Angeles, Calif., writes in approval, as do John R. Elliott, R. S. Elliott Arms Co., Kansas City, Mo.: C. F. Erwin, Erwin's Drugstore, Harbor Springs, Mich.; Oscar Houston, 99 John Street, New York, N. Y.

Michael Frome, department of public relations, American Automobile Association, writes: "This is a matter that merits definite interest and study."

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THE FAMILY INTEREST

R. P. MacIntosh, Alameda, Calif.: "I and my family pack into one of these areas in the High Sierra each summer. We know the values of these areas and we are in full support of your excellent work. Please continue for the benefit of all those Americans who enjoy the out of doors."

Mr. and Mrs. S. F. Nicol and Louise, Jim, Rob, and Lori, Stratford, Conn.: "It is difficult to express my feelings on this subject. I thank God there are men of foresight and courage to go ahead with this bill. I cannot believe that it will not pass. It is too important—too vital—to our generation—to future generations."

Mrs. Cornelius James Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.: "How people 100 years from now will bless you when they can leave their crowded cities to go to the wilderness you have preserved for them. I feel personally grateful as well as grateful for my children and grandchidren."

John Taylor, New York, N. Y.: "My wife and I deeply appreciate receiving information of such hope toward preserving those wonderful areas which mean so much to us and to some of our friends. Each year we go on a trip into a great peaceful area because as you have said there is a 'deep need for areas of solitude and quiet, for areas of wilderness where life has not yet given way to machinery.' Each trip helps us to adjust ourselves out of our pressures by impressing on us something much, much greater than we."

Henry S. Chafee, Providence, R. I.: "We who live in the East know that most of the national parks are in the West, and since we have lost so much of our own wilder areas, we are particularly interested in the preservation of such extensive tracts of land. Mrs. Chafee and I have visited a great many of the national parks and wilderness areas. We do not want them encroached upon so that our children and grandchildren may similarly enjoy them and obtain the peace of mind which comes from visits to them."

Warren E. Fisher, Glendale, Mo.: "I am deeply interested in seeing to it that areas of wilderness are set aside and protected so that our children and all that come after us may have a place where they can become en rapport with Mother Nature and her creatures.

"We need it, too, as a place where we can meditate in peaceful quiet away from the tensions of our hectic everyday life that the spiritual man may be unfolded.

"I had the pleasure in 1954 of making a 10-day canoe trip through the Quetico Superior National Forest under auspices of the Forestry Association. It will never be forgotten; the call of the loons, the angelic song of the hermit thrush and the sad, sweet song of the white-throated sparrow can still be heard when I sit quietly alone."

Mr. and Mrs. Allan B. Ross, Haddonfield, N. J.: "We have been particularly concerned over the uranium-mining activities of which we had firsthand opportunity to observe recently in some of the Western States. It is our sincere hope that the national wilderness preservation bill will bring better control over this vicious exploitation.

"Another of our hopes has been that much of the roadbuilding programs within all our public lands will be cut to a bare minimum for reasons well known to every true conservationist."

Kathe B. Leidke, West Englewood, N. J.: "Our family has read (your bill) with interest and we are proud and happy that you and others in our legislative branch of Government have taken up the matter with vigor and skill. We hope that a good law, to preserve the beauty and wilderness in parts of our country, will be passed in the 85th Congress."

REMARKS BY SENATOR NEUBERGER

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, few Members of the Senate in our time have demonstrated so keen an interest in the preservation of natural resources as has the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Humphrey].

I am pleased again to be associated with him in the introduction and sponsorship of this bill which seeks to protect the relatively few outdoor solitudes left within the borders of our country. I think I can speak with some experience when I say that these upland fastnesses are the heritage of future generations of Americans quite as much as any other part of our legacy. It has been the privilege of my wife and me to camp and hike in some of these wilderness areas. There are a number in my State—some of the finest, in fact. Had some earlier generation permitted such fastnesses to be looted and wiped

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away, we would never have experienced this marvelous adventure. Surely we owe to the people who will come after us quite as much as our own predecessors have been obligated to us.

Mr. President, the urgent need for some form of congressional action to safeguard these scenic realms has just been indicated by a decision of the Department of Agriculture to remove from the Three Sisters wilderness area of Oregon some 53,000 acres of majestic forest canyons and ridges, as well as of supremely important botanical content. I ask that two telegrams which I have just received from Oregon conservationists appear at this point in the Record, for they highlight the importance of providing some congressional protection for our career foresters from the pressure and leverage of their political superiors, regardless of which party those superiors may represent.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *February 11, 1957.*

Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We understand wilderness bill is to be reintroduced soon with your cosponsorship. Recent decision regarding the Three Sisters shows how imperative is need for firmer protection of our wild lands. Our full support is with you.

AL SCHMITZ.

EUGENE, OREG., *February 11, 1957.*

Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Pleased to learn that Senator Humphrey reintroducing wilderness-preservation bill Monday with your support. You can cite Three Sisters wilderness decision as evidence such legislation urgently needed. Eugene Register-Guard has strong editorial today saying wilderness boundaries now much too easily changed by administrative fiat alone and that Humphrey bill providing Wilderness system and requiring congressional sanction for boundary change should be reintroduced. Appreciate your good work.

KARL ONTHANK,
President, Federation Western Outdoor Clubs.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Let me state by way of explanation that these cogent messages are from Dr. Karl W. Onthank, of Eugene, Oreg., president of the Western Federation of Outdoor Clubs, and from Al Schmitz, of Portland, Oreg., one of the leaders in the famous Sierra Club.

I am not assailing, or attacking, or criticizing anyone in the Forest Service or in the Department of Agriculture for the Three Sisters decision. What I am saying is this: Such a decision is virtually for eternity. Once these 53,000 virgin acres have been logged—even under selective-cutting conditions which are supervised so carefully by the Forest Service—they never, through all the epochs of time can duplicate their original primeval state. So final a verdict, Mr. President, ought to be reviewed by the Congress of the United States and it should not be merely within the fiat of an executive agency. The Congress, after all, is the supreme policymaking agency of the American people, to whom these national-forest solitudes actually belong.

That is what the bill offered by the Senator from Minnesota Mr. Humphrey, and some of the rest of us is all about. That is why its introduction today is so pertinent and timely, because it was only 4 days ago that the determination of the executive arm of Government to eliminate 53,000 virgin acres from the Three Sisters wilderness area was announced. And let me explain that the addition of some less unique and extraordinary acreage elsewhere in the Cascade Range does not constitute adequate atonement or compensatory action.

Mr. President, some sincere and conscientious outdoor enthusiasts have had a few reservations about the bill being introduced. I would be less than candid if I did not confess such a fact. Many of these enthusiasts have had highly favorable relations with the staffs of the Forest Service and the Park Service over the years, and they would naturally hesitate to see any of the authority of these splendid career officials reduced.

One person to express such doubts has been a close personal friend of mine and a brilliant individual, Mrs. Martha Ann Platt, of the Mazamas, which is Oregon's great mountain-climbing club. Mrs. Platt, on December 20, 1956, addressed such a letter to me. I, in turn, submitted her communication to Mr.

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Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, which has played a pioneer role in helping to draft and revise the legislation being submitted to the Senate today.

I believe that further background and information about this bill will be provided for Senators if the letter from Mrs. Platt, as well as Mr. Zahniser's very complete and thorough reply, dated January 30, 1957, are made a part of the record at this point. I ask unanimous consent that this be done.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"MAZAMAS ROOF STUDIOS,
"*Portland, Oreg., December 20, 1956.*

"Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER,
"*Portland, Oreg.*

"DEAR SENATOR: I did regret, at such a delightful tea party at your house, making a discordant note concerning the wilderness bill because I am heartily in favor of its principle that we need such congressional protection for our wilderness areas. But this bill is controversial and will be strongly opposed by mining, grazing, and waterpower interests. However, the opposition I am concerned about is that from the agencies themselves, and we might be in the peculiar and uncomfortable position of opposing those whom we are trying to help. Since some of their objections may be sound, I think we should take a long, hard look at what the bill encompasses.

"I'll begin first with the Indian lands. Has there been a thorough check to determine their classification under the old treaties and the probable attitude of the tribal councils for this new status? I know some lands in reservations have been set aside for wilderness purposes, so there is not only awareness but appropriate action for this need. However, I am wondering if elimination of grazing and timber cutting would be compatible with the Indian economy; more than that, I am wondering if we are not tampering with a people's prior rights and way of life. I hope I am wrong but I understood that neither the Bureau of Indian Affairs, nor representatives of the tribal council, had been consulted about this bill. If so, this could be a serious oversight, as I think we must be truly and honestly considerate of Indian rights and feelings. There must be no cause for misinterpreting our motives by the opponents of this bill, nor in our attempts to provide an improved status for Indian lands.

"Concerning refuge lands, there is that no-grazing stipulation again. In some wildlife refuges such as the Malheur and Red Rocks, controlled grazing greatly improves the feeding and nesting areas for waterfowl. Impoundment of water in dams and reservoirs is part of the management program and probably could be continued under existing authority, but I would want assurance of this. Certainly, I can't see the compatibility of oil drilling and mining with wildlife protection and think prohibitive legislation for these practices is urgently needed.

"Both the Park Service and Forest Service would be expected to protest and I think their objections should be learned and studied carefully. I have high regard for the program of the Park Service and the philosophy that has guided it, and I have confidence in its personnel, and am grateful for the degree of congressional protection it enjoys. This bill would not increase its protection but rather be a check on the administrative freedom now exercised. I think the Service has real concern that a wilderness bill with less protection might be passed which would weaken the strong position the Park Service now has. However, the bill would prevent a Director or Secretary of the Interior from unusual or unfortunate courses of action, if such should ever arise.

"The Forest Service would benefit from freedom from mining and power dams in the wilderness areas. However, there will be opposition from these interests, and also from the Service itself when serious curtailment of staff is involved and loss of administrative flexibility.

"I heartily agree with Mr. Lyle Watts that there should be a conference between the department heads and the sponsors of this wilderness bill to determine areas of disagreement and any defects in the bill itself. If objections continue, we should know about them so that we may make our proper defense. This bill will have to have support beyond the ranks of the conservationists. The average citizen will expect or understand minor differences between Congress and bureaus, but he will be suspicious and negative if they are fundamental or important.

"A lot of the strength of the conservationists has been their selfless interest—no economic benefits accruing to them as the result of their support.

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This bill may bring cries of 'special legislation to lock up the wilderness for a few users.' Certainly, wilderness can never be justified on the basis of use, but rather must be defined as the creation of a special kind of permanent, unspoiled, natural treasury for all to own, to see, or to enjoy vicariously. Few of us would ever be privileged to visit all the national parks, or refuges or wilderness areas, but we glory in our ownership and delight in the experiences we do achieve. And it is a good feeling to know that others in different parts of our country are sharing our excitement and pleasure in our natural treasures, and that we can work together to make their heritage more permanent.

"Very best wishes for a wonderful year.

"Sincerely,

"MARTHA ANN PLATT.

"THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY,
"*Washington, D. C., January 30, 1957.*

"The Honorable RICHARD NEUBERGER,
"*United States Senate,*
"*Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR DICK: I am glad to comment on the questions that Mrs. Martha Ann Platt has raised regarding the wilderness bill, as you request,and would enjoy discussing them with you further if you should so desire. These are excellent and important questions, representing a keen interest in wilderness preservation, and they lead to an expectation of excellent cooperation from Mrs. Platt. I trust that these comments are helpful to this end.

"For your convenience I am enclosing a copy of the bill as reintroduced in the House this year, with changes made during the summer and fall as a result of comments received. I am using for this purpose Mr. Metcalf's H. R. 1960 and am making my references to it.

"INDIAN LANDS

"Mrs. Platt begins 'first with the Indian lands,' asking as to the consideration given Indian rights and feelings in the preparation of the bill.

"The answer, in brief, is that the bill has been prepared in accordance with a deep interest in the rights of the Indians and in their right of consent. We trust that the Indians recognize that this bill when enacted into law will give them the privilege of having their areas (roadless and wild) included in the System if they so wish—but not unless they do so indicate.

"The bill in section 2 (d), lines 5 to 8 on page 15, provides that no area shall be included 'until the tribe or band within whose reservation it lies, through its tribal council or other duly constituted authority, shall have given its consent to the inclusion of the area within the System.'

"In this same subsection, lines 6 to 13 on page 16, it is provided that additions, modifications, and eliminations shall similarly be subject to the Indians' consent.

"Section 3 (a) provides that any Indian areas included in the System will be administered in accordance with regulations adopted subject to the Indians' consent.

"Section 2 (d) in lines 15 to 18 on page 16 provides further than 'nothing in this act shall in any respect abrogate any treaty with any band or tribe of Indians, or in any way modify or otherwise affect existing hunting and fishing rights or privileges.'

"The bill as regards Indian lands was drafted in cooperation with the Washington representatives (and attorneys) of the Association of American Indian Affairs. It provides for inclusion of the Indian lands if the Indians so desire. The bill recognizes the wild and roadless areas that have already been designated but gives legal recognition to the Indians' right of consent with regard to them.

"WILDLIFE AREAS

"As regards the wildlife refuges and ranges and the controlled grazing to which Mrs. Platt refers, the bill provides in section 3 (c) (4), lines 13 to 19 on page 21, that 'any existing use authorized or provided for in the Executive order or legislation establishing any national wildlife refuge or range may be continued in accordance with permit granted.' This provision was drafter after informal consultation with, and with help from, the Fish and Wildlife Service. It covers the grazing on Red Rock Lakes to which Mrs. Platt refers specifically.

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The other refuge to which she specifically refers, Malheur, is not included in the bill. In fact, Malheur (which I admire greatly and have enjoyed visiting and writing about) can represent those excellent refuges which are such because of the way in which men have 'developed' them as refuges—valuable but not primeval.'

"Only 20 of the 264 refuges and ranges are included in the wilderness system—only those in which wilderness preservation as a management policy is appropriate. The areas so managed now, and proper for inclusion, were determined in informal consultation with the Fish and Wildlife Service.

"NATIONAL PARKS AND MONUMENTS

"As to the national parks and monuments the bill gives added protection as wilderness for the portion not needed for roads, accommodations, etc., and yet sets no limitation on the portion that may be designated for such use. Other than requiring that such a designation be made deliberately and that the primeval back country be recognized as wilderness the bill includes no 'check on the administrative freedom now exercised.' In connection with mission 66 every park is being studied for development needs. The designations called for in the wilderness bill can be made at the same time.

"The national park system areas were included in accordance with an overwhelming consensus of conservation leaders concerned with wilderness and in accordance with a modus operandi suggested some years ago at a Sierra Club wilderness conference by a park superintendent.

"As early draft of the bill was taken to the National Park Service and changes were made to meet criticisms made. As Mrs. Platt suggests, intensive efforts have been made to ascertain any National Park Service objections. As understood these have been carefully studied, but we have not yet obtained the concurrence and cooperation of the National Park Service leadership, and we are still working on this.

"A special statement recently prepared on the subject of National Park Service areas in the wilderness system is as follows:

" 'The national parks and monuments containing areas of wilderness should be included in the proposed national wilderness preservation system both for the sake of making the system complete and for the sake of making more secure the preservation of the wilderness back country of the park system itself.

" 'Existing legislation does not insure the preservation of areas within the parks and monuments as wilderness. Under the existing legislation all the roads and buildings now in the parks and monuments have been constructed, and more and more could be built. There is nothing in our legislation now to protect future administrators from mounting pressures to use more and more of the back country for developments that would destroy them as wilderness.

" 'The proposed wilderness bill would provide protection by making wilderness preservation a paramount congressional purpose.

" 'Yet the bill deals realistically with the needs for accommodations. It gives authority to designate for this purpose whatever areas are needed. It places no limit on the size of such areas. It includes nothing that would prevent designation or additional areas if determined to be needed. And it provides for the application of the new law over a period of time which makes it possible for the administrators to designate the development areas at the same time that they make the plans for Mission 66.

" 'Including the national park system makes complete a wilderness system that is seen as an effective means of preserving our various kinds of primeval areas and doing this in a feasible way at this late date in our land management history.

" 'The essence of this proposal is the certain continuation of wilderness preservation, where appropriate, along with the objectives in managing lands for other purposes, also, and doing this without interfering with the status quo, without changing jurisdiction over the areas, and without creating any new land-management agency.

" 'Parks continue to be for the use and enjoyment of the people, wildlife refuges for the protection and increase of wildlife, forests for the multiple purpose administration that includes watershed protection and various other uses on various areas—each and all of these in consistence (as they now are) with preserving the areas as wilderness.

" 'Including the superb wilderness of the national park system is essential to the completeness of any such program.

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" 'To bring these varying interests to focus and to provide a central repository for files and records and a source of information—but not to supervise in any way or to coordinate in any way the administration of any areas or any agencies—there is proposed a National Wilderness Preservation Council. The Director of the National Park Service and the heads of the other land-management agencies administering areas in the wilderness system would be members of this Council along with citizens appointed by the President. The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution would be a member also and would be the Council's secretary. This emphasizes the character and purpose of the Council and places the Council's headquarters outside those of any agency concerned with land administration.

" 'This proposed legislation provides a new and further opportunity for extending the influence of the national park principle and for developing further the cooperation and leadership of the National Park Service in helping to preserve our heritage of wilderness.'

"NATIONAL FOREST AREAS

"As regards the wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas within the national forests this bill has been prepared after many consultations with the Forest Service. It has been prepared in accordance with the wilderness policies, programs, and practices of the Forest Service and is designed to strengthen the forest administrators' hands in carrying out these policies and programs.

"There is no 'curtailment of staff' involved and no loss of administrative flexibility.

"The areas included are those that have been designated as wilderness by the Forest Service, and the bill provides that these areas shall be administered under regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture, which means Forest Service as at present.

"The bill does provide for elimination of mining in the areas included in the system. This is something that Forest Service spokesmen have been emphasizing. The bill in this respect was strengthened in the way suggested by Lyle Watts when he reviewed a draft of the bill during the Northwest Wilderness Conference in Portland last April.

"With the exception of this mining prohibition, the bill includes no reforms, and even here the bill protects any existing private rights. Grazing, for example, is permitted to continue on national forest areas as at present (sec. 3 (c) (2), lines 22, p. 20, and following).

"The Forest Service would file reports with the council established, but the bill provides explicitly (sec. 3 (a), lines 17 to 19 on p. 19) that the council shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any area or agency. The head of the Forest Service would be a member of the council.

"This bill would not interfere with but would perpetuate the present multiple-purpose administration of the wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas in the national forests. Its central concept is that our present areas of wilderness can be preserved within the existing land-management pattern if this preservation purpose is made a matter of fundamental policy. Thus the effect of the legislation is not to upset the present multiple-use program of the Forest Service but rather to prevent the upset in this program that will result if the wilderness areas are not protected from the uses that would destroy them as wilderness.

"EFFECT ON EXECUTIVE AGENCIES

"At the request of Senator Humphrey the Legislative Reference Service made a study of this bill and prepared a report which included comments that seem pertinent in connection with Mrs. Platt's interest in cooperation with the administrative agencies. Said this report:

" 'The legislation gives sanction to the policies and programs developed by the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and other Federal conservation agencies under whose administration the existing resource of wilderness has so far been preserved.

" 'The effect of this bill will be to bring into a single system, for the purpose of insuring their continued preservation as wilderness, the various federally owned areas designated as wilderness by the departmental heads or by Executive order. In no instance will be jurisdiction of a single area be transferred from one agency to another. Areas controlled, for example, by the Forest Service will continue to be managed by that agency. Furthermore, it will be the Forest

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Service under the Secretary of Agriculture that determines the precise area of the units of its wilderness land to be included in the wilderness preservation system. And it will be solely the responsibility of the Forest Service under law to preserve the wilderness character of that area. No wilderness area of the Forest Service thus made a part of the wilderness preservation system may be modified or removed from the system except by action of the Secretary of Agriculture which has not been disapproved by Congress. In a similar manner lands under the jurisdiction of other executive agencies may be affected by this legislation.'

"These observations of the Legislative Reference Service are, of course, what might be expected, for the basic intention of this legislative proposal has been to accomplish wilderness preservation without disrupting any other program and to do this through existing agencies and in the ways developed by these several agencies.

"The purpose thus is rather simple; namely, to accomplish wilderness preservation without disturbing the status quo.

"It is the status quo that is somewhat complex, thus making the legislation seem complicated until its true purpose and the actual situation are recognized.

"THE WILDERNESS COUNCIL

"Special comment in this connection seems called for with regard to the proposed National Wilderness Preservation Council. This is not a superagency. It has been misinterpreted as such by some opponents of the measure, and in earlier drafts was misunderstood by some supporters of the bill. The Council, however, was not so conceived, and efforts have been made to clarify and make more explicit its true nature and purpose.

"The name, for example, has been changed to Council from Commission in order to avoid implying such authority.

"A sentence has been added to the bill in section 3 (a)—lines 17 to 19 on page 19—providing explicit that the Council 'shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any limit in the system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction.'

"Section 4—which makes provision for the Council—has been painstakingly examined and clarified to make as certain as possible that the true character of the Council is expressed. Much help in this has come from your office, including the careful study and cooperation of Hans A. Linde.

"The Council, as it is conceived in this legislation, is, in fact, a corollary of the basic purpose of preserving a wilderness system through the independent operations of the various executive agencies, each agency handling its own areas of wilderness in its own way and in keeping with its own other purposes. As a center of information and a nonexclusive clearinghouse, the Council provides an essential focus for such a system, but in doing so is actually a device for making unnecessary any superagency whatever.

"OPPOSITION TO THE BILL

"Mrs. Platt's fear that 'this bill is controversial and will be strongly opposed by mining, grazing, and waterpower interests' seems well founded on the basis of some expressions so far, as does her concern about opposition from the executive agencies involved.

"Regarding the latter it has been the purpose of this letter to indicate the degree to which possible opposition of the executive agencies would seem to have been met and obviated by the provisions of the bill. As further comments are received from the agencies, continued effort will be made to clarify and correct the bill.

"If the opposition proves to be directed against the establishment by Congress of wilderness preservation, on the land, this bill can hardly be expected to meet it, but my confident expectation is that agreement actually can be reached. I have strong hopes for the cooperation of these agencies, and am working toward it.

"We also are hopeful for, and in quest of, cooperation from other interests.

"Grazing interests are not damaged by this legislation. No area now available for logging is included. Waterpower interests could possibly be affected only to the extent that there cannot be found any alternative to a project that might be located within a wilderness. Our success in resolving the Echo Park controversy gives hope for an understanding that in general we can accomplish

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our waterpower purposes within an overall program that can also include wilderness preservation. Even the mining interests can realize that the areas involved that are now available to them are relatively small.

"Our objective is not to fight these other interests but to work out a way of preserving a system of wilderness areas without sacrificing other purposes. We need further educational and cooperative work to this end, but I am sure we need not be dismayed.

"The key concept in the program proposed in this bill is that of wilderness preservation as a part of other programs and as an important aspect of our culture, along with and dependent on other interests, including the economic. When this concept is understood and when we have succeeded in perfecting its expression I am confident that opposition wil lbe much less than might now be assumed.

"We recognize, for example, that wilderness preservation can be realized only if we have successful forestry outside the wilderness to provide us our needed forest products. It is thus the efficient lumberman who makes possible our enduring opportunity to preserve wilderness. As lumbermen realize that this is our concept and that we are all working together for a total land management that meets all needs, and as this understanding becomes clearer to all, I am confident that we shall reach the agreement necessary to enact the legislation.

"We are not trying to urge the bill so hard and fast that it cannot be understood by all who are involved. We wish to encourage careful discussion of it. Hearings we hope will be held this June in Washington and perhaps be followed during the summer with hearings in the field. By the second session of this Congress we should thus have a sound basis for putting the legislation in form for enactment, with the benefit of the comments and suggestions of all who are concerned.

"THIS IS LEGISLATION FOR ALL—NOT 'SPECIAL INTEREST'

"Mrs. Platt very effectively emphasizes that wilderness is a permanent, unspoiled, natural treasure for all to own, to see or enjoy vicariously. She thus expresses the philosophy of this proposed legislation and provides us with an answer to the cries she mentions of special legislation to lock up the wilderness for a few users. She deals thus with one of the most subtly damaging of the misinterpretations of the bill that have been used against it, but one that is bound to be corrected as the bill is understood.

"As indicated repeatedly in this letter, the wilderness bill has been designed throughout in recognition of the multiple uses of our areas of wilderness. It does not provide for any special users of the wilderness whatever. Its concern is with preserving the character of the areas as wilderness while they serve various other purposes also.

"It may accurately be described as a multiple-use wilderness bill.

"Mrs. Platt and the rest of us, I am sure, can continue to defend this purpose with the confidence that in so doing we are motivated by the same selfless interest which she recognizes as the source of a lot of the strength of the conservationists.

"The title of this bill labels it as for the permanent good of the whole people.

"Section 1 states its purpose as to secure a wilderness resource for the American people and provides that the areas shall serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment by the people.

"Section 3 (a) specifies clearly, lines 2 to 9, page 18, that nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area.

"And these specific provisions are explicit statements of a principle and objective that are implicit throughout the bill. Wilderness preservation under this act will be accomplished along with other uses of the areas involved and as part of an overall land-management program and policy.

"CONCLUSION

"I trust that you will excuse the length of this letter and recognize that it is so because of the opportunity that Mrs. Platt's thoughtful and sympathetic com-

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ment affords to provide an explanation of problems that are of interest to many others also. I note in Mrs. Platt's letter of January 7 to you that she has also sent copies of her letter to other members of the Oregon delegation in Congress, to Senator Humphrey, and to Representative John Saylor, who likewise has called the letter to my special attention. In her transmittal note to Representative Saylor, Mrs. Platt writes that her letter addressed to you 'expresses my approval of the bill but indicates my concern about agency opposition to it.' For the benefit of our cooperators and supporters, I have accordingly attempted in this commentary to interpret the bill in the light of the opposition to which Mrs. Platt has referred. I trust that it proves helpful.

"Finally, may I say that I share also with Martha Ann Platt the appreciation of you which she expresses so enthusiastically in her letter of January 7. It is a great pleasure to be privileged to work along with you on these probems and a great encouragement to know of your championship of wilderness preservation.

"With all good regards,

"Sincerely yours,

"HOWARD ZAHNISER,
"*Executive Secretary and Editor.*"

Mr. NEUBERGER. In conclusion, Mr. President, let me make three very brief points of my own. They are these:

First. This bill in no way reflects on the wonderful career services which now are in charge of wildernes areas and similar outdoor realms, but it actually seeks to safeguard these splendid men and women from undue political pressure, no matter what the source.

Second. This bill recognizes the ultimate authority of the Congress in matters as important as America's comparatively small remaining supply of wilderness domain.

Third. The bill recognizes that wildlife, waterfowl, migratory fisheries, and similar resources require outdoor fastnesses and solitudes in which to survive, and that these must be safeguarded by some form of legislative shield.

Mr. President, once again I state that it is a pleasure to stand shoulder to shoulder with my warm friend, the Senator from Minnesota, in so worthy and historic a cause. Natural resources come this way but once. When gone, they can never be adequately replaced—whether they be resources of minerals, scenery, or a species of wildlife.

EXHIBIT E

[From the Congressional Record]

SAVING AMERICA'S WILDERNESS

Speech of Hon. John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, July 12, 1956

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on June 11, 1956, I introduced a bill that, when enacted into law, will go a long way toward making sure that we Americans will always have some of our country unspoiled as it was when the Creator made it available to us.

This is H. R. 11703, a bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the entire populace.

It provides also for the protection and administration of the areas within this system by existing Federal agencies, and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people. Furthermore, the bill establishes a National Wilderness Preservation Council that will assist in realizing the purposes of the bill.

This bill is the culmination to date of a long and significant series of developments, and I want to make sure that its provisions and the events that led up to it are understood by all who are concerned with our American conservation programs.

OUR PEOPLE WANT THE WILDERNESS PRESERVED

Mr. Speaker, the people in western Pennsylvania whom I have the privilege of representing in Congress, like those in all other regions of our country, are deeply interested in our American wilderness. They know that it was out of the wilderness that our pioneers developed this country.

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My people are proud of this Nation, proud of its great cities, its magnificent stretches of well-traveled highways, the railroads that link us together as a Nation, the marvelous airplanes that span the whole continental sweep of our skies in only a few hours, and proud of the industry and labor that in our American way has made it possible for us to inhabit this continent so comfortably and with such excellent opportunities for enjoying the cultural advantages of modern American civilization.

But, Mr. Speaker, the people of western Pennsylvania, the people of all America, love the land which gave us these advantages and made it possible for us to realize our great freedoms—not only our freedom from fear and want but also those other great fredoms of religion, of the press, of speech that have come to a people so richly endowed with natural resources and thereby blessed with independence.

So wherever there still remain unspoiled areas of our original wilderness we look on the land with special pride, and we are glad that not all of America has been used up. Some of it is still as God made it, although many of us may have to go a long way to find the unspoiled back country.

We want to know that there will always be these areas of wilderness remaining unspoiled, not only for ourselves, but for our children, and their children, on and on into the future.

That is the explanation, Mr. Speaker, of the great protest which arose against the Echo Park Dam when there was an attempt to build it in one of these areas of scenic wild beauty.

In the past four sessions of Congress, I have represented the people of the 22d District of Pennsylvania and indeed the people of all America, in a strong determination that no such structure should needlessly be placed in any of our sanctuaries of wilderness. Few at first were the voices that I heard in support of this determination, but when the American people understood the issues at stake in the Echo Park controversy, I began to receive letters of encouragement from citizens in all part of our land, as well as a demand from some of my own constituents for the preservation of Echo Park.

Near the close of the 83d Congress the Speaker of the House told reporters that Congressmen had received more protests against the Echo Park Dam than letters on any other subject, and when the 84th Congress finally passed the Colorado bill, it was without the Echo Park Dam but with a declaration that no dam or reservoir under the act should be constructed within any national park or monument.

It had been demonstrated that the American people favor the protection of such areas.

Of course, we want these areas, Mr. Speaker. We want them not only as examples of our once unbroken wilderness. We want them because we are an outdoor people. We want to know that there always will be parks and forests and fishing streams and hunting grounds for Americans to enjoy.

We know that such places throughout most of the country are getting fewer and fewer. Places where you can camp beyond the roar of traffic, hike without dodging automobiles, fish without hooking a buddy, or hunt without being afraid of being shot are getting harder and harder to find. And as these privileges become less plentiful, we suddenly realize that we want them very much.

Some of us have been thinking about this very seriously for quite a while now, and we are convinced that we have one good answer in this present bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system.

WE NEED THE WILDERNESS

Mr. Speaker, we want the wilderness; we deeply need it in many ways.

We need the physical strength and the stamina that men and women know when they face the wilderness on their own. The frontier—the wilderness—was one of the things which encouraged immigrants to become good Americans and inspired Katherine Lee Bates to call America herself beautiful for those pioneer—

> ". . . pilgrim feet,
> Whose stern impassioned stress
> A thoroughfare for freedom beat
> Across the wilderness!"

In a century and a half after this Nation was established the whole continental frontier had been mastered. The United States was established from Atlantic to Pacific, and the sons of those hardy pioneers with their inherited

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strength were transforming America's natural resources into the greatest national prosperity the world has ever known.

This is a century of great prowess for us, Mr. Speaker, and a century of decision, too. Shall we, exploiting all our resources, reduce also every last bit of our wilderness to roadsides of easy access and areas of convenience, and ourselves soften into an easygoing people deteriorating in luxury and ripening for the hardy conquerors of another century?

I hope not, Mr. Speaker, and in our preservation of wilderness and our encouragement of the hardy recreation that puts a man or a woman or a red-blooded child on his own in the face of primitive hardships we can help meet this need for maintaining a nation of strong, healthy citizens.

As the magazine Newsweek reported on September 26, 1955, in an article entitled "Are We Becoming Soft?" many of us, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower, are concerned with this question. And as Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the Director of Selective Service, is there quoted, I, too, Mr. Speaker, believe that "we are not inherently a nation of softies, but it's a harder fight for us to stay fit than for a lot of less privileged people."

As General Hershey observes, "Our kids are all right, but autos, innerspring mattresses, and regulated heating make it tougher for us to stay fit." I agree with General Hershey when he says, "We've got to stay vigorous and still enjoy our luxury," and I suggest that our wilderness areas give us our best chance to do this.

The stress and strain of our crowded, fast-moving, highly mechanized, and raucously noisy civilization create another great need for wilderness—a deep need for areas of solitude and quiet, for areas of wilderness where life has not yet given way to machinery.

This is a need for relief for jaded minds and tense nerves, a need for the restoration of peace and the reassurance of sanity. It is a need that for many people can best be met beyond the end of the road, away from the ring of the telephone, where electric lights cannot lengthen the strains of the day, but rather where early sleep rests a man to wake at dawn and know the inspiration of the sunrise as well as the colors of sunset.

Yet it is not only for these physical and mental needs that we seek to preserve the wilderness. It is not only for enjoyment and not only for much-needed relief from the stress and strain of our civilized living that we need the wilderness. We have also a deep and fundamental need.

As the Living Wilderness commented editorially in its autumn 1955 issue:

"Deep down at the base of all our needs for wilderness is a profound, a fundamental need—a need that is not only recreational and spiritual but also educational and scientific, and withal essential to a true understanding of ourselves, our culture, our own natures, and our place in nature.

"This need is for areas of the earth within which we stand without our mechanisms that make us immediate masters over our environment—areas of wild nature in which we sense ourselves to be, what we are, dependent members of an interdependent community of living creatures that together derive their existence from the sun."

In other words, in the wilderness we can get our bearings. We can keep from getting blinded in our great human success to the fact that we are part of the life of this planet, and we would do well to keep our perspectives and keep in touch with some of the basic facts of life.

And so it is that I agree with this editorial in The Living Wilderness:

"In addition to our needs for urban and suburban spaces, in addition to the need for a countryside of rural loveliness, a landscape of beauty for our living, and in addition to the needs for parkways and well-developed areas for all kinds of outdoor recreation—in addition to all these—there is in our planning a need also to secure the preservation of some areas that are so managed as to be left unmanaged—areas that are undeveloped by man's mechanical tools and in every way unmodified by his civilization. These are the areas of wilderness that still live on in our national parks, national forests, State parks and forests, and indeed in various other categories of land likewise."

WE STILL HAVE WILDERNESS

Mr. Speaker, that leads me on to a third point: We want wilderness; we deeply need the wilderness; and fortunately, we have the wilderness, still in our possession, still living.

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It is easy for some of us to regret the passing of the frontier and the development of so much of our wild country—especially in our Eastern and Central States where we have realized too late the value of saving areas of wilderness.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, we must appreciate the fact that after so many centuries of our civilization on this continent we do have still remaining so many and such extensive areas of wilderness, and so many of them in public ownership.

It is true that much of the country that is still wilderness may not be subject to preservation because it is in private ownership or is already included in some program that calls for its development. But the notable fact is that after centuries of civilized exploitation America does still have many large areas of its original wilderness that may still be preserved—if action is prompt and definite.

These are the areas that are in public ownership and are already devoted to preservation as wilderness or devoted to a purpose that is consistent with wilderness preservation. These areas constitute our wilderness resource, a resource still great enough to be worth serious efforts to preserve it.

Some of this wilderness resource is in State ownership. I commend the States that have taken steps for its preservation. I am sorry that in my own State of Pennsylvania the movement for preservation did not become effective while there still were large undeveloped stands of Penn's woodland. In our Cook Forest State Park, not far from my home, there are still a few acres of the virgin white pine that once grew tall over many, many acres of Pennsylvania. We prize this State park deeply for its virgin forest.

In New York State the State constitution maintains "forever wild" great stretches of wilderness in the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserves, a total of almost 2½ million acres—2,204,756 acres in the Adirondacks, 234,414 acres in the Catskills.

Maine has the historic Mount Katahdin wilderness in its 193,254-acre Baxter State Park.

Michigan has a wilderness in its Porcupine Mountains State Park, 57,366 acres in the Upper Peninsula.

California has close to half a million acres in wilderness stretches within a half dozen of its State parks.

Other States also have some areas which still preserve wilderness conditions—South Dakota with Custer State Park, for example, and Minnesota with Itasca State Park, Wisconsin with its Flambeau River State Forest.

All in all, there are some 3 million acres of wilderness preserved and subject to continued preservation in a dozen or more areas under State jurisdiction.

All of us throughout the United States who are interested in the outdoors appreciate this. We congratulate the States for their success in saving their wilderness. We wish them continued success.

By far the major portion of our wilderness resource is, however, within areas of public land owned or controlled by our Federal Government.

Within our national forests there are 70 areas that have been designated by the Forest Service for preservation as wilderness. Forty-nine of the units of our national park system have within them unspoiled areas that are large enough to be called wilderness. At least 20 of our national wildlife refuges and ranges include such areas. Indian reservations contain 15 areas that have been classified as roadless or wild areas.

These 163 federally owned or controlled areas include some 55 million acres of wilderness.

That brings to about 58 million acres our total wilderness resource still available in some 175 Federal and State parks, forests, refuges, ranges, or reservations.

We still have wilderness.

Mr. Speaker, the United States of America includes a total area of some 2¼ billion acres. Our civilization being what it is, I consider it fortunate indeed that within these 2¼ billion acres there are some 58 million acres still unspoiled as wilderness, protected in public ownership, within areas where the present public purposes are consistent with wilderness preservation. A great opportunity still exists to save this wilderness resource, and, Mr. Speaker, we cannot here escape the fact that what is done with this opportunity depends now upon the Congress and the people of the United States. Out of our total wilderness resource of some 58 million acres in about 175 areas, this Federal Government, Mr. Speaker, is responsible for 163 of the areas with about 55 million acres of the total.

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We still have wilderness. We still have a magnificient opportunity for its preservation, in perpetuity. And with this resource and this opportunity we also have a tremendous responsibility.

OUR WILDERNESS PRESERVATION HISTORY

The fact that we do now have this still living wilderness resource within publicly owned areas that are already protected in one way or another is not an accident of history, and before pointing out the conditions that make necessary a National Wilderness Preservation Act I think it would be helpful and inspiring here and now to pay our respects to the great tradition of preservation that American conservationists have so soundly established.

So far as I know the first one to write a plea for wilderness preservation was Henry David Thoreau.

Thoreau, whose world-classic volume called Walden had its setting in the wild lands around Concord, Mass., urged in that volume: "We need the tonic of wilderness."

That book was published more than a century ago, in 1854. Four years later, in 1858, Thoreau wrote in the Atlantic Monthly about a trip he had made to the wilderness of northern Maine in 1853, and he ended this article with an earnest plea for preservation. In 1864 this article was included in Thoreau's posthumous volume entitled "The Maine Woods."

"The Kings of England formerly had their forests 'to hold the King's game'," Thoreau remarked. "I think they were impelled by a true instinct," he commented. And then he asked:

"Why should not we, who have renounced the King's authority, have our national preserves—in which the bear and panther, and some even of the hunter race, may still exist, and not be 'civilized off the face of the earth,' our forests, not to hold the King's game merely, but to hold and preserve the King himself also, the lord of creation—not for idle sport or food, but for inspiration and our own true recreation?"

A generation later the enthusiastic surveys of the young Verplanck Colvin in New York's Adirondack Mountains, in the 1870's, led to the adoption before the end of the century of an article in the State constitution providing for the preservation of the State forest preserve "forever wild."

In the meantime, the great American institution called parks had been founded. In 1858, the same year when Thoreau's plea for preserves was published in the Atlantic Monthly, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., recommended his now famous plan for Central Park in New York City, urging that the park development interfere as little as possible with the "easy, undulating outlines and picturesque rocky scenery."

In 1864 President Abraham Lincoln approved an act giving the Yosemite Valley to the State of California with the understanding that it be "held for public use, resort, and recreation."

On March 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed the act that established our first national park, Yellowstone, "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."

Fifteen years later, New York established its first State park at Niagara Falls. In that same year, 1885, Michigan acquired Mackinac Island for State park purposes, and Minnesota established three parks including the source of the Mississippi River in Itasca State Park.

Perhaps the parks were conceived not so much as means for preserving wilderness as for preserving and insuring public access to our outstanding scenic wonders. In fact, development of roads and accommodations for visitors—developments that necessarily sacrifice wilderness—were an early and continuing requirement for the parks. Our outstanding, superb, unique features of scenic splendor were to be made readily accessible to everyone—and rightly so.

Nevertheless, there developed also the ideal of keeping developments to the minimum.

When President Theodore Roosevelt was at the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in Arizona in 1903 he even objected to "a building of any kind."

This great American, this recognized founder of the conservation movement, thus made one of the strictest pleas ever made for preserving an area untouched. Here is what he said:

"In the Grand Canyon, Arizona has a natural wonder which, so far as I know, is in kind absolutely unparalleled throughout the rest of the world. I want to

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ask you to do one thing in connection with it in your own interest and in the interest of the country—to keep this great wonder of nature as it is. I hope you will not have a building of any kind, not a summer cottage, a hotel, or anything else, to mar the wonderful grandeur, the sublimity, the great loveliness and beauty of the canyon. You cannot improve it. The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it."

John Muir, who wrote so eloquently of the parks "with a view to inciting people to come and enjoy them," inspired his companions and readers with the sense of a wilderness experience that was more than curiosity or wonder at the spectacular.

Stephen Mather likewise saw the national parks as sanctuaries of wilderness as well as protectors of superb spectacles. The thought of national parks as scenes for what Thoreau had called our own true recreation grew in men's minds.

There grew the understanding that national parks not only preserved the great spectacles of nature for public enjoyment but also that they kept significantly large areas "in their natural condition," as the Yellowstone Act had required.

In 1913 this concept was challenged. Congress authorized construction of a dam in one of the national parks—Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite. The end result, however, was an affirmation.

The idea of park spoliation so aroused the public that Congress in 1916, in establishing a National Park Service, charged the new agency to handle the parks so as "to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Wilderness preservation became a national-park purpose.

Recognition of national forests as well as national parks as reservoirs of wilderness came later, but when it came it brought with it a more deliberate interest in wilderness as such—not as spectacle but as unspoiled stretches of the natural world.

Sigurd F. Olson, president of the National Parks Association, has described our wilderness areas as "museum pieces of primitive America." "Wilderness preservation," he says, "is far more than the setting aside of recreational areas." Olaus J. Murie, president of the Wilderness Society, pondering the meaning of our primeval areas, asks himself:

"What if a generation comes along that does not know about original country, no longer experiences the yearnings for wild country, for deep, primeval forests, wilderness canoe country, high mountains, the wide expanse of desert? What if we lose the urge to want things that mean a personally active, virile way of life? What if we lose touch entirely with the so-called environment of nature, where we had our origin?"

Such are the concepts of the values of the wilderness being preserved as a part of our present programs.

This wilderness-preservation movement that developed with concern for areas within the national forests, though led and sustained by a number of individuals, was most deeply influenced by Robert Marshall and Aldo Leopold.

Early in the 1920's Aldo Leopold emphasized in magazine articles and in influential discussions the importance of the wilderness that was so fast disappearing. In 1924 he was instrumental in having designated for preservation as wilderness the first such area set aside in a national forest, the Gila wilderness area in New Mexico. As he reflected on the values of such areas, he urged more and more the importance that has come to be known as ecological.

By the 1930's a national-forest policy for preserving wilderness had emerged. The great wilderness interpreter, exponent, and champion—Robert Marshall, had written his now classic The Problem of the Wilderness, published in the January 1930 Scientific Monthly, and he had also achieved effective positions on the staffs, first of the Indian Service and then the Forest Service. He had learned wilderness in the "forever wild" Adirondacks, where with his brother, George, and their companion Herb Clark, he was first to climb all 46 of the peaks 4,000 feet high or higher, and he had seen also the great western areas of living wilderness "melting away," as he described it, "like the last snowbank on some south-facing mountainside during a hot afternoon in June." He not only was instrumental in having roadless and wild areas designated on Indian reservations and in seeing many additional primitive areas set aside in the national forests, but he also contributed creatively to the development of policies and the formulation of regulations to govern the protection and administration of the areas. With

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the declaration that "there is just one hope of repulsing the tyrannical ambition of civilization to conquer every niche on the whole earth * * * the organization of spirited people who will fight for the freedom of the wilderness," he also inspired the organization of and became a founder of the Wilderness Society.

To Robert Marshall and to Aldo Leopold we owe much of our present opportunity to see wilderness perpetuated in America.

To the pioneers in establishing sanctuaries for birds and other wildlife we also owe a debt for our present wilderness-preservation opportunity.

The legislators who enacted the Migratory Conservation Act of 1929 established a basic national wildlife refuge policy. The refuge system was greatly enlarged under the dynamic leadership of J. N. "Ding" Darling and under his effective successor, Ira N. Gabrielson, and the policies of preserving within the refuges the areas of wilderness that they include have been continuously developed by J. Clark Salyer, refuge division head, who has served under Darling, Gabrielson, and each of their successors, as head of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

To these men and to many other wildlife conservationists we owe not only a debt for the preservation of particular wilderness areas within refuges but also an appreciation for their insistence that an America with an abundant wildlife is the America that should be preserved.

It has been the philosophy of these conservationists that the preservation of wildlife, parks, wilderness, and other unspoiled natural resources is thoroughly consistent with economic and cultural prosperity.

As Harvey Broome, who with Robert Marshall and Aldo Leopold was among the founders of the Wilderness Society, said in 1953 at the dedication of the Gila wilderness area memorial to Aldo Leopold:

"Ours is the first great Nation in history to be possessed of both the knowledge and means to bring about within its borders a state of permanent and harmonious coexistence with the land.

"Wilderness," Mr. Broome concluded, "must be the cornerstone of such a world. For there—are the grizzlies, the coyotes, and the deer; there—are the lions and the chickadees; there—the forests and the waters, the fish and the insects; there—the humus and the soil, the prairie and marsh grasses, the flora above the earth and the microflora in the earth—all living and existing in balance, in beauty and harmony. There, in the unspoiled remnants of the wild earth, spotted across our continent—man will find that the basis of understanding. Then, wilderness will influence civilization, and civilization will cease to alter and destroy wilderness. Then, indeed, will Thoreau's Lord of Creation work as a member—and not as a fumbling outsider—in the community of living things."

Such, Mr. Speaker, is the tradition of preservation that American conservationists have established, the tradition that we must maintain as we face the responsibility that is ours, with the opportunity that is ours for preserving the wilderness that we still have, still need, still want very much.

THE NEED FOR LEGISLATION

As we go forward in this tradition of preservation, we have a great and compelling need for basic national legislation.

We have seen that there are some 55 million acres of still living wilderness in Federal ownership or control, within areas with established purposes that are consistent with wilderness preservation.

This wilderness resource is within 163 separate areas, each of which is a part of a national forest, park, refuge, range, or other reservation where preserving wilderness is a perfectly appropriate present use of the land.

As long as these parks, forests, refuges and other reservations have been in existence, these areas of wilderness have been preserved. If we will it so, and act effectively, they can be so preserved in perpetuity, and this can be accomplished without sacrificing any existing purpose on any of these lands.

Yet the fact is there are at present no laws of Congress that protect these areas of wilderness as wilderness. We thus have a primary need for such legislation.

In the face of our increasing populations and the growing mechanization of so much of our activity, our only democratic hope for success in preserving our wilderness resources is in our policy of deliberately setting aside such areas for preservation and then maintaining the integrity of our designation.

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We cannot expect the accident of history to leave our remaining wilderness untouched. We cannot expect the coincidence of other purposes to continue the good fortune of incidental preservation.

The wilderness that we wish to preserve we must deliberately so designate, and with regard to such areas we must have a specific, well-defined purpose.

A basic assumption in our wilderness preservation program is thus the understanding that our civilization is such that no areas will persist unexploited or underdeveloped except those that are deliberately set aside and faithfully protected. If they are to be unused for other purposes, we must use them as wilderness.

A parallel assumption in our wilderness preservation program is based on our confidence that our land and water resources are great and varied enough that we can have an adequate system of wilderness areas without sacrificing other advantages.

We are confident that we can get the timber and minerals we need outside our relatively few areas of wilderness to be preserved. The needed sites for dams and reservoirs, the roads and landing fields for our mechanical travel in the great outdoors, places for recreation with the conveniences and facilities we so well contrive—all these can be located outside our wildernesses that we wish to preserve.

In other words, we are confident that, without sacrificing our wilderness preservation hopes, we can realize all the benefits that we want from a developed country. Wilderness preservation is consistent with our other national purposes.

As Newton B. Drury, a former Director of the National Park Service, said of our national parks, "Surely we are not so poor that we need to destroy them, or so rich that we can afford to lose them."

A basic need thus in our wilderness preservation program is the designation of areas of wilderness for preservation as wilderness. This we have not yet done in any law of Congress.

WILDERNESS IN THE NATIONAL PARKS

Even in the national parks and monuments, the pressures for roads and nonwilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to destroy the primeval, back-country wilderness.

Within the national parks and monuments in general there is at present no act of Congress that would prevent a future Secretary of the Interior, or park administrator with his approval, from deciding to construct a road, a building, or any other installation that he would deem appropriate for a national park or monument anywhere within the park or monument.

The Yellowstone Act that inaugurated our national parks in 1872 provided for the retention of the wonders there * * * "in their natural condition," and yet that act has, of course, not interfered with the construction of the Yellowstone Park system of roads, the many buildings that are there, and the other developments that have so altered natural conditions that the atmosphere in some parts of the park is that of a crowded city.

Mr. Speaker, I do not object to these developments in Yellowstone National Park. I have, indeed, used them with appreciation. I am merely pointing out that they have been constructed in accordance with the laws under which the park is governed, and there is nothing in that law to prevent such construction elsewhere in the park.

There are other parks—Isle Royale and Everglades, for example—where wilderness preservation is perhaps more specifically a park purpose, but, in general, in none of them is there a limit to the possible penetration of the primeval back country with developments that would destroy the wilderness as such.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, if we are to make sure that we still have in the distant future our national park primeval back country still preserved as wilderness, we should declare here in Congress our purpose to do so.

In Mission 66 we are doing our best to provide for the development of adequate facilities and accommodations for the increasingly numerous visitors to the parks. I heartily endorse and support this development program. I yield to no one as a friend of the national parks and the National Park Service. I shall continue to invite every constituent in my district and their fellow Americans everywhere to lose no opportunity to visit their national parks and monuments, and I shall lose no opportunity to help see that these visitors are properly accommodated.

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At the same time I sense a need also to strengthen the hands of the National Park Service in its work for the preservation of the primeval back country as wilderness.

I have been impressed, Mr. Speaker, with the findings of a scientist who made a study of our wilderness programs as a part of his doctoral study at the University of Michigan. Speaking on October 20, 1954, at the Milwaukee, Wis., convention of the Society of American Foresters, this scientist, Dr. James P. Gilligan, who is now assistant professor of forestry at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, spoke as follows about existing wilderness-preservation prospects in our national park system. He said:

"Wilderness conditions, of course, have vanished from developed areas; and the sight, sound, and sometimes smell of these concentration zones disperse so widely that quite large sections cannot be considered natural, let alone wilderness. National parks, too, must often justify their existence to the locality or State in which they are situated principally on economic grounds. As long as the drums throb for more tourist dollars, park administrators will find it hard to accommodate the increasing army of sightseers without extending development. It is highly improbable that a seemingly logical course of restricting visitation to any national park will be put into effect until every possible means of providing accommodations is exhausted. It is a fair question to ask how much of the parks will be developed by then.

"Because of congressional measures which ordinarily prevent utilization of wood, water, mineral, or forage resources in areas of the national park system, the National Park Service is the most logical existing agency to preserve extensive wilderness regions. However, it is subject to the unrelenting pressures of mass use, and retreats gradually behind the cold logic that more areas must be developed to care properly for the public to whom the land belongs. It is merely another application of the philosophy that as many people as possible should use these areas, even though finally there is little left of the original landscape.

"Americans will continue to saturate choice recreation sites opened to motorized entry, and then complain because everyone else is also present.

"The real democratic significance of these areas may not be in providing access and accommodations to everyone, but in holding a few undeveloped areas where high quality recreation benefits can still be obtained by those willing to make the effort. Most endeavors to retain such areas for a relatively small number gradually yield before the demands of an eager traveling public, which has not yet grasped the full significance of our national park system.

"The organic National Park Service Act of 1916 offers nearly as much flexibility in managing recreation resources as does the multiple-use principle of the Forest Service. There is nothing in the act directing how much of, or what part of, parks to develop, nor is there any clause in the law or interpretive regulations stipulating the reservation of park units in wilderness condition

"The National Park Service has established some precedence in trying to retain wilderness zones. It is questionable, however, whether the will of the administrator can be sufficiently strong to prevent development in the long run."

Mr. Speaker, we must meet this situation by providing here in Congress the basic legislation that these excellent administrators need to insure their success in making our national parks secure as our great reservoirs of wilderness.

WILDERNESS IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS

The administrators of the superlatively valuable wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas in the national forests have not only to contend with recreational pressures that in some instances challenge wilderness preservation. They also must look forward through the years of the future to many local pressures to cut the wilderness forests for timber, dam the wilderness streams for water storage and power, prospect for minerals, and in various ways use the commodities of the national forests.

Wilderness preservation is a national forest purpose that has developed within the United States Forest Service itself. A remarkably effective program has now been developed, a program that has meant the designation of 79 areas for protection as wilderness.

Yet these areas have all been set up administratively. A future Secretary of Agriculture could abolish or seriously reduce them.

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This excellent Forest Service program needs the endorsement that congressional recognition can bring, and the security of the national forest wildernesses requires it also.

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POLICY

Wilderness within the national wildlife refuges is in a precarious position because the refuges themselves lack adequate legal protection against pressures for commercial or exploitative encroachments.

In fact, none of our Federal wilderness has the protection that Congress could give by providing for wilderness preservation as a national policy applied to a definite system of areas.

It is accordingly the first purpose of the national wilderness preservation bill to establish firmly a clear cut national policy for preserving, for both the present and the future, some of what remains of our resource of wilderness.

In line with such a policy the Congress in this proposed measure will give its sanction to the policies and programs of the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and our other Federal conservation agencies under whose wise administration our great resource of wilderness has so far been preserved.

Finally, this measure proposes a way whereby this policy and this sanction can take effect in a practical program.

Of central importance in this program is the establishment of what is to be called our National Wilderness Preservation System, to be made up of areas of primeval America that are still wilderness and in Federal ownership or control and capable of being kept that way without interfering with other present purposes now being served by these lands.

I hasten to emphasize that this will not involve any acquisition of wilderness areas by the Federal Government. Nor will it mean any transfer of areas from one agency of Government to another, nor any change of jurisdiction. No new land-administering agency will be created.

The fact should be emphasized that this National Wilderness Preservation System will be made up of areas that are already in Federal ownership or control and are already within parks, forests, refuges, or reservations.

Furthermore, it must also be stressed, reiterated for clear understanding, that the areas within this proposed system are areas where wilderness conditions have so far been preserved while, at the same time, the various purposes have been realized for which these parks, forests, refuges, and reservations were established.

It is our purpose that this preservation continue and be made secure for the future. The establishment of the National Wilderness Preservation System will be a recognition of this purpose, a recognition of the importance of continuing to preserve the wilderness character of these selected areas.

This selection, this recognition, will give each of these areas its place in the system. Each such area will remain, as at present, park, forest, or refuge, as it is now administered. It will continue to serve the multiple purposes it now serves and under the jurisdiction of the same agency that now protects it.

The difference will lie in the fact that from now on the agency having jurisdiction over any area within this system will have the sanction and encouragement of Congress and the legal responsibility for preserving the area's wilderness character. It will have the responsibility for seeing that other purposes continue to be served in such a way as to prevent damage to the wilderness.

Each such area will thus come under special protection as part of the Nation's still unspoiled heritage of the primeval.

A WILDERNESS COUNCIL

In order to provide a focus for the wildnerness interest in these diverse areas, there will be established by this measure a National Wilderness Preservation Council.

It is interesting to note that our word "focus" comes from a Latin name for a fireplace, a hearth. The agencies that administer the areas in our wilderness system have various purposes and many interests. Their concerns with wilderness may represent only one phase of multiple purposes. Our proposed Wilderness Council, therefore, will provide a center for all these various interests, interests in the many wilderness values of different kinds of areas.

The Council will not have any administrative jurisdiction whatever over any of these areas, nor over any of the agencies that do have such jurisdiction. It will continue to think of their administration for the recreational use and en-

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ervation system and will serve as a gatherer and disseminator of information regarding wilderness preservation and use. It will make an annual report to Congress. It will be made up of representative legislators, administrators, and citizens all concerned with wilderness preservation. The Council will thus represent our special and distinctive national interest in our wilderness resource.

In administering national park areas of wilderness the National Park Service will continue to think of their administration for the recreational use and enjoyment of the people. In administering national forest areas the Forest Service will continue to be concerned with the multiple-purpose program it now operates with prime concern for the protection of watersheds and preservation of forests. The Fish and Wildlife Service will continue to administer the areas of wilderness within its jurisdiction as areas for wildlife, areas that may have no legitimate use at all for the kind of recreation that is the principal activity in a national park, for example.

The various units of the national wilderness preservation system, though protected as wilderness, will thus be managed for various purposes.

Within the National Wilderness Preservation Council, the heads of the various administering agencies, the ranking members of the Senate and House committees concerned, and representative citizens, will bring to a wilderness preservation focus all these various and appropriate interests.

A MULTIPLE-PURPOSE PROGRAM

Besides giving expression to a national policy, providing for the establishment of a wilderness preservation system, and creating a National Wilderness Preservation Council, this bill also describes and provides for the proper use of the areas of wilderness it is designed to preserve.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize at once that this proposal is not one for any "special-use" or "special-privilege" legislation.

The first and topic sentence of the section of this bill that relates to uses of the areas within this system expresses a key concept in this proposal. It states firmly that "nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the national wilderness preservation system shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area."

Under this proposal, for example, the parts of the national forests involved would continue under the same kind of administration they now have. Grazing permits, for instance, could be continued as at present. The basic multiple purposes of the national forests would be maintained. These purposes are defined as watershed protection and forest preservation. Giving these areas a permanence as wilderness will thus not interfere with the multiple purposes they now serve but will actually help to realize the dominant use of the national forests for water conservation.

National parks, national wildlife refuges, and any other areas would also, as already pointed out, continue to serve their own distinctive purposes.

No use privileges of any kind will be created by this proposed law. The only added responsibility of each administering agency will be to see that the areas in the system under its jurisdiction remain wilderness—as they now are.

I reiterate that this bill deals only with preserving wilderness as such in connection with various other land uses and does not create any "special privilege" nor provide for any special users.

Existing uses and privileges are respected in this bill, and private rights are protected. It is true that no mining or prospecting will be permitted except where it is already in existence and represents a private right. Otherwise (or even so) this is not essentially a reform measure but rather a measure to insure the preservation of a status quo which fortunately includes a great resource of wilderness.

THE BILL DESCRIBED

Mr. Speaker, our purpose in this measure is essentially a simple purpose: namely, to provide for the continued preservation of the areas of wilderness that we now have and at the same time avoid a disturbance of the status quo as regards the administration of these areas. As it happens, the status quo is somewhat varied and may even appear complicated. Consequently, the wilderness preservation bill itself may seem to be complicated. I trust, however, that

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it will not be so considered but that it will be recognized as essentially simple both in purpose and method.

The bill comprises 5 sections, which may be described as follows:

The opening section defines the term "wilderness" both in the abstract and as used specifically in this bill and, recognizing the hazards to wilderness in the midst of our civilization, declares it to be a desirable policy for our health, welfare, and happiness to preserve wilderness as an enduring resource for the benefit of present and future generations.

Accordingly, the continued preservation of federally owned areas of wilderness is given congressional sanction and a national wilderness preservation system is established to "serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment by the people."

Section 2 names the areas that will constitute this system and makes provisions regarding additions, modifications, or eliminations. It takes cognizance also of the fact, that within certain of the units of this system there are needs for designating portions of the areas to be used for roads and certain other installations that are exceptions within wilderness. Section 2 comprises six subsections.

AREAS IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS

Subsection (a) designates 27 areas within the national forests to become units of the national wilderness preservation system.

These are not entire national forests; they are special areas inside the forests. The Forest Service has found them to have highest value as wilderness. Three of these areas are named "roadless," 14 are "wild areas," and 10 are called wilderness. In addition there are 52 areas now classified as "primitive" that are earmarked to be included in this system when the Forest Service has carried out its plans to reclassify them as either "wilderness" or "wild" areas. A 10-year period is provided for this reclassification program.

Including all these primitive areas which are to be added eventually, this system will have within it special areas within some 80 of the 149 national forests.

Out of the 181 million acres in our national forests some 14 million acres will be in this system. Practically as at present, the administration of the national forest areas will be in accordance with regulations by the Secretary of Agriculture. This bill, either in section 2 or in section 3, makes provisions that in effect give sanction to and continue the present regulations that have been so ably developed by the Forest Service for the sound administration and protection of wilderness.

An additional safeguard against an undersirable elimination of any wilderness is provided in that, after completing the process for such action as now provided by Department regulations, such proposed action will have to be reported to Congress where for 120 days it is subject to disapproval.

Additional areas may be designated by the Secretary of Agriculture, and such additions must also be reported to Congress and for 120 days be subject to scrutiny by either the Senate or the House of Representatives.

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

Subsection (b) of section 2 designates 49 out of the 181 areas in the national park system as units of the national wilderness preservation system, 26 of which are national parks, 21 are monuments, 1 is a recreational area, and 1 is a memorial park.

Our national parks and many of our national monuments include within them our superbly beautiful pristine areas of wilderness. The chief threats to their preservation as such, under our present legislation, come from prospects for the extension of roads and the intrusion of recreation developments perfectly good in themselves that nevertheless are out of place in wilderness.

Unless provision is made to protect the primeval within the parks, eventually the developments may take over.

This process may be gradual, but nevertheless it is a prospect against which we can now set guards with no sacrifice.

There are other places for the development of our recreation facilities that require roads and other conveniences. Our parks are reservoirs of wilderness.

It is true, however, that certain portions of the parks must be used for the roads and accommodations that make them accessible and hospitable. Accordingly this bill provides for the designation of such portions for this purpose. A 10-year period is provided for the several designations, and the provisions of this

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law will not take effect for any park or monument until the designations have been made.

The National Park Service, under its Mission 66, is undertaking to provide systematically during the next 10 years for the proper and economical development of the roads and accommodations within the parks and monuments.

The designations of the areas provided for in this bill can thus be made, park by park, as the plans for mission 66 materialize.

Provision will in this way be made for the proper handling of developed areas and also for the protection, without development, of our wilderness in the back country.

If ever additional areas are needed for developments, they can be designated, but only after a public notice that will give all concerned an opportunity to weigh the importance of diminishing the area of wilderness.

In any case wilderness preservation becomes a congressional policy in the specified national parks and monuments. The primeval back country receives an added protection. At the same time this bill takes care to point out that within the areas designated for developments the present protection afforded by the National Park Act of 1916 is not affected.

Additions of national parks and national monuments to the wilderness system could be made by the Congress or the President. Only Congress could remove a park or monument from the system.

WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

Subsection (c) of section 2 designates 13 national wildlife refuges and 7 ranges as parts of this system.

As with national park system areas, provision is here made for designation by the Secretary of the Interior of areas that are required for roads and installations inconsistent with wilderness. In this instance these are required for administration of the refuge or range for wildlife.

Refuges or ranges could be added to the system by the Secretary of the Interior, subject to congressional disapproval within 120 days. Only Congress could remove a refuge or range from the system.

THE INDIANS' WILDERNESS

Subsection (d) of section 2 designates 12 roadless areas and 3 wild areas within Indian reservations as possible units in the national wilderness preservation system, but no such area will actually become a part of the system unless its inclusion is approved by the Indians. The consent of the Indians is also required for the regulations by the Secretary of the Interior that are to govern the administration, addition, modification, or elimination of areas.

This subsection is thus so drawn as to give the Indians the privilege of having included in this system their areas that have been classified as roadless or wild, but the principle of doing nothing with regard to Indian lands without Indian consent has been observed. Care is taken also to say that no Indian treaty is abrogated nor any hunting or fishing rights affected.

OTHER AREAS

Subsection (e) of section 2 recognizes that Congress may designate additional areas within the wilderness system. It also provides for the designation of such areas within any federally owned or controlled areas by appropriate officials.

Subsection (f) of section 2 provides for reports to Congress of certain additions, modifications, or eliminations, and its also authorizes the acquisition of any privately owned lands within units of this system.

Throughout section 2 provisions are made for reports to be made to the National Wilderness Preservation Council that will be established by section 4 and will be the repository for files pertaining to this system.

USE OF THE WILDERNESS

Section 3 specifies the proper uses of areas within the system and the practices that are to be excluded. It includes special provisions with regard to existing "nonconforming uses" of areas of wilderness included in the system.

At the outset this section says that nothing shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose for which any of the lands involved were set aside, except that "the wilderness character of the area" is to be preserved.

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This concern, it may be noted, is not with any special use or user but with the character of the area. Hunting, for example, will continue to be a major recreation within many national forest units of the system and will be prohibited in national parks. Where there is hunting, it will be wilderness hunting.

Uses will thus continue to vary in the various kinds of lands involved. The common concern is that wilderness conditions shall persist whatever the uses.

The system will be devoted to public purposes that are summarized as recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical. All use will be in harmony with the wilderness environment and its preservation.

Special provision is made for the protection of existing rights and privileges on any areas involved. Grazing within the national forest areas is provided for as at present, and existing uses authorized or provided for in refuges are also permitted. The termination of nonconforming uses is provided for whenever this is agreeable to those making the uses.

With one main exception this bill thus proposes not reform but such security for what we have so far preserved as can be achieved without disrupting our present administrative and other practices.

The exception has to do with mining. It relates primarily to the areas within the national forests.

Spokesmen for the United States Forest Service as well as other conservationists have long and insistently warned that a prime threat to the preservation of wilderness within the national forests comes from the prospect of mining. After careful thought it seems unwise to propose wilderness legislation that does not deal with this threat in these national forest areas.

Accordingly this bill provides that there shall be no mining—although, of course, existing private rights are protected in this case as in all others.

A WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

Section 4 will create a National Wilderness Preservation Council to serve as a focus for the various interests in wilderness represented in the system, to provide an information clearinghouse and a headquarters for the records relating to the system as such, and to provide a medium through which information regarding wilderness and its use and preservation may be gathered and made available.

The Council will have no administrative jurisdiction over the areas of wilderness within the system, nor over any of the agencies that will continue to have such jurisdiction. The Council will not even have any coordinating responsibilities with regard to the administration of these areas. It will comprise legislators, administrators, and citizens and will represent our special and distinctive interest in our wilderness resource as wilderness and will make annual reports to Congress regarding the system.

The legislators on the Council, four in number, will be the chariman and ranking minority members of the respective Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives.

The administrators will be the heads of bureaus that administer areas within the system—Forest Service, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Indian Affairs Bureau—and also the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Six citizen members will complete the 15-member Council.

The secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will be the secretary of the Council and will maintain its files and provide its headquarters.

This arrangement will help make clear that the Council is not responsible for any area or agency administration. Involved with no land areas within the system, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will not be concerned with any interagency administrative problems regarding such areas.

Selection of this official as secretary of the Council further emphasizes the function of the Council as an information focus and a repository of records. It likewise will serve to bring to attention the scientific interest in wilderness preservation and values of wilderness areas as living museums.

Section 4 provides that the members of the Council shall serve in this capacity without compensation but receive transportation expenses and a per diem for attendance at meetings of the Council. Provision is made for the expenses of the Council.

Section 5 specifies a name—"National Wilderness Preservation Act."

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THE BILL ITSELF

Mr. Speaker, this is a far-reaching, carefully studied proposal. It will be of longtime lasting importance to the American people. I solicit your detailed consideration. I also particularly urge the administrators of the lands involved to give it their sympathetic constructive attention, and I trust that the Smithsonian Institution will realize the educational and scientific importance of the role which it can play.

In conclusion, let me say again that the preservation of some of our great stretches of wilderness is a fundamental part of our American character.

We are a great people because we have been so successful in developing and using our marvelous natural resources, but, also, we Americans are the people we are largely because we have had the influence of the wilderness on our lives.

We owe much of our health and our spirit of adventure and self-reliance to the nearness of the outdoors and, in great measure, to the way in which, in our youth—and youth lasts long for many of us—we have ventured into the wilderness.

We must, of course, continue our development of resource uses. We must continue to provide outdoor recreation with conveniences for everybody in picnic places and parks of many kinds. But we must also continue to see that some of our land is preserved as nearly as possible untouched by any kind of civilized development.

Our great engineering and development program should, indeed, be part of an overall national policy that likewise includes the preservation of some of our land as God made it.

As our population becomes greater, as industrial and other pressures close around the areas of wilderness still remaining, the necessity becomes keener for moving ahead with a program that will preserve these buffer areas for the human spirit, seeing that they may long endure for the recreational, educational, scientific, and historical uses of the American people.

It is a pleasure for me to look ahead in a positive program for preserving some of our land in pristine or primitive wilderness. I am happy to advocate before this body congressional action which will lead to the establishment of our national wilderness preservation system.

Senator KUCHEL. Senator, before you leave, let me detain you for just a moment.

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

Senator KUCHEL. First of all, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I want to work with the proponents of this legislation, because, quite obviously, the goal of the legislation is in the public interest.

There are, however, some problems with which this committee must deal. I want to raise one of them, merely to have the Senator indicate, if he can, for the record, and I believe he can, his desire that the problem that I do want to raise could be met and solved as I believe it can.

I come from a State, Mr. Chairman, which is owned almost in half by the Federal Government. Among that great area are some of the most beautiful parts of this country and indeed of the entire world.

The problem which has arisen basically for the people of California is one of availability of a beneficial supply of water in the future. We have today 14 million people. It has been suggested that we will have 25 million people in another 15 years.

The State of California has now begun to develop a State water plan, to be undertaken by the people of California, a multibillion dollar undertaking. The government of California has written to me on several occasions indicating its apprehension of the legislation as presently worded and suggesting a means by which, as the State water plan were to be developed, in the interest of the people, not in the interest of any private venture, it be permitted to implement and to carry forward its State water plan with the construction of such

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dams and reservoirs as might be necessary on land, whether owned by the Federal Government or not.

Now, if that problem could be negotiated and worked out in this committee, I think the very serious question that has been raised by the State could be met.

I am going to read the language that the State government of California has suggested, not in an attempt to bind the Senator to this, but in an attempt to have him indicate, if he can, that the general problem could be solved in some fashion along the lines of the proposed amendment:

> Nothing in this Act shall be construed as affecting or intended to prevent or interfere with in any way the use of those public lands within said national wilderness preservation system for the construction and operation of necessary water resource development projects and related facilities, including necessary access roads, if the construction and operation of such projects would otherwise be permissible under the laws of the United States.

If the Senator could indicate to the members of the committee that he appreciates the problem with which I deal, and to that extent would indicate his desire that legitimate public problems with respect to the use of water, the conservation of water resources for the benefit of the people—if that could be the basis of an amendment to this bill, I think, as I say, the one stumbling block which I find, which is one in the interests of the people could be solved.

Senator HUMPHREY. First of all, let me say to you, Mr. Chairman, that Senator Kuchel has come to me on several occasions to talk about this bill in a very constructive manner. In fact, some of my remarks of a moment ago were inspired by his attitude; namely, that instead of just criticizing, he has sought ways and means of accommodating what are very desirable purposes with the intent and objective of this proposed legislation. And I thought this has been very helpful, because he is a friend of these programs.

Senator KUCHEL. I thank the Senator very much.

Senator HUMPHREY. Under section 3 of this bill as presently drawn, it says: "Use of the wilderness." It says:

> Nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved * * *

and then it goes on to say; in line 21, that:

> The national wilderness preservation system shall be devoted to the public purposes.

I think this is very important, right here:

> to the public purposes of recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical uses.

Now, the word "conservation" has a very broad meaning. And I am not prepared to give you a definitive answer in terms of the exact language here, but I think that all of us have to face up to the fact that people do have to have water.

Senator KUCHEL. Right.

Senator HUMPHREY. And what you are asking for is trying to dovetail existing land patterns into a water plan or a water-use system, which has been designed by a public body, without any design or object of despoiling the area.

Senator KUCHEL. Exactly.

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Senator HUMPHREY. Not to have it wide open for commercial or even semicommercial exploitation.

Senator KUCHEL. The Senator is right.

Senator HUMPHREY. I would think that there could be that kind of an accommodation, and I would like to see some accommodation like this made. I would want to look over the language very carefully so that we knew exactly what we were doing. But I am sure that those who have been most interested in this, the conservation people themselves, would not find this an impossible hurdle, and I would suggest that at the proper time, Senator, you get together with some of our good friends, here, that have their representatives in Washington, these wilderness area groups, the conservation groups, and work out this language. This is what I want to see done with this bill. And I am delighted that you come in with a practical problem and say, "Look, here is one, Senator Humphrey. Here is your bill. I am afraid you did not take this into consideration," and frankly, if you want my answer, I did not do so in all its many details. So I think we have to face up to it.

Senator KUCHEL. That I must say is exceedingly helpful, and I thank the Senator not only for his generous comment, but for his assistance in helping solve what is a problem.

Mr. Chairman, as people continue to come into California, we will begin to undertake the construction, as I say, of a multi-billion-dollar State water plan. Apparently the engineers of the State government have carried forward that plan to the extent, now, where they have under consideration plans for conserving waters in the various streams of our State, storing them in a feasible fashion, and then providing for a beneficial use system which actually would take waters from the extreme north a thousand miles south into the arid parts of southern California. And I am grateful to the Senator for his suggestions. I certainly want to work with the interested people who are primarily sponsoring this bill. And I do feel sure that we can solve this rather important water question to the people of my State without damaging in any fashion the intentions of those who sponsor the bill.

Senator HUMPHREY. I think we have to face right up to this, Senator, and, as I say, I do not want to be held here to an inflexible or definitive position.

Senator KUCHEL. Indeed not.

Senator HUMPHREY. But I am prepared to sit down, as one of the sponsors of the bill, to try to work out what differences there seem to be.

I must say to those who have supported this legislation from the outside that we Members of Congress know that legislation is always in the essence, in the ultimate, compromise. The main thing you have to be sure of is that you do not compromise the whole thing away. It is something like the artichoke. You can eat off the leaves, but you must be sure you do not throw away the heart.

Senator NEUBERGER. I would like to call something to Senator Kuchel's attention if I may.

There are certain circumstances, I think, Senator, concerning the preservation particularly of mountain uplands, which are mainly involved in this bill, where that actually will enhance the production and maintenance of a steady supply of water, far more, for example,

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than permitting the commercial use of those areas where the waters rise.

For example, I know that there are areas in the Pacific Northwest and in northern California, if I am not mistaken, where overgrazing and overlogging, for example, have diminished the water supply, and where the water supply would be far more reliable, and where the rains and snows would flow off in far more dependable, steady fashion if some of that ground cover, either in the form of grass or trees, had been maintained. So this is not entirely a one-sided proposition. And I think it is entirely possible that your State engineers and their associates in California might find it to their advantage in some of these areas to maintain it in a primeval state than to have, as has happened in some part of our country, overgrazing, overlogging, the plowing up of areas which perhaps should have been left in their natural state, so that the water supply in those areas is either undependable or gone forever.

So it is not exactly a one-sided proposition you have raised with Senator Humphrey.

Senator HUMPHREY. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that you are very fortunate in having Senator Neuberger on this committee, who knows more about this in 1 day than I will know about it in 25 years.

Senator NEUBERGER. The Senator is guilty of great exaggeration, I might add.

Senator HUMPHREY. I am guilty of unadulterated truth in that statement at least.

Senator NEUBERGER. The Saturday Evening Post pays 25 cents a word for fiction.

Senator HUMPHREY. But I am here as an advocate and not as expert.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to assure you, Senator, that all of the members will take a deep interest in this proposed legislation. We are very fortunate, as you have just said, that we have men on this committee who are thoroughly acquainted with what you are seeking to have us accomplish.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It is very considerate of you to call this hearing. I know it was done at great personal sacrifice. I appreciate it.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very glad to have you here, and we all appreciate your statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Neuberger, I would like to call on you to make a statement at this time.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, because you have so many witnesses from the public at large and from governmental departments, my testimony will take less than 2 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, perhaps the most important decision made in recent years about any particular wilderness area was the one announced last year by the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Ervin L. Peterson, who comes from my own State and who decided to eliminate 53,000 acres from the Three Sisters Wilderness, also in my State. I believe what happened on the Three Sisters underlines, as clearly as any example I know, why we need to enact the proposed wilderness bill.

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The Oregon delegation does not like what happened, and neither do the conservation organizations. Their feeling was summed up in a recommendation voted unanimously at the Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference in San Francisco. This recommendation seems eminently fair to me, and would provide a way to rescue this superlative wilderness country from the error of a premature decision.

I should like to insert in the record at this point an exchange of correspondence growing out of the wilderness conference, in which David Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club, the sponsoring organization, and who is a constituent of the distinguished Senator from California——

Senator KUCHEL. And a very able constituent, if I may interrupt.

Senator NEUBERGER. A very able Senator, if I may interrupt, pointed out five reasons why the portion excluded from the Three Sisters Wilderness should remain primitive, at least pending further investigations. Secretary Peterson's reply and enclosure state that a careful study has already been made and that the decision stands. You will note, however, that his reply meets none of the points raised by Mr. Brower, at least in my opinion, all of them compelling points about what the Forest Service hopes to do but hasn't been able to do yet, all of them bearing directly on the Three Sisters situation.

To my way of thinking, this whole controversy bears out the need for providing Congress with an opportunity to review wilderness decisions if it deems this advisable. This would be provided by the wilderness bill. Neither the legislative branch nor the departments downtown are infallible, and with all the arguments set forth—arguments as reasonable as Mr. Brower's seem to be—Congress might still come up with the wrong answer. But Congress is too close to the people to evade an answer, and we can't be evasive and preserve wilderness. We must face squarely the needs of this generation and of coming generations, not only for commodities, but for places as serene and beautiful as the wilderness forest of the Three Sisters.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert this correspondence to which I have referred in the record of the hearing. And I want to emphasize that what has occurred in our State, where the Congress had no authority to review this Three Sisters situation, even though both Senators from Oregon and 3 of the 4 Representatives from Oregon all opposed it, seems to underline very clearly the reason why this legislation should be enacted.

The CHAIRMAN. Your complete statement will be carried in the record.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I also would like to say for the benefit of the record that I know you have other duties, as you have communicated to me, and at any time you want me to preside temporarily in your absence I will be pleased to do so, and I can stay here until noon, when the Senate will be in session.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you now, then, to take the chair, Senator Neuberger.

Senator NEUBERGER. I will be very pleased to do so, Senator, as you requested.

And I want to corroborate what Senator Humphrey said, because as cosponsor of this legislation we are extremely grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for calling this hearing, and we know of your interest in

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this whole situation, because the State of Montana is second to none in the wilderness areas which are at stake in this legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the list of witnesses.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(The communications referred to are as follows:)

SIERRA CLUB,
San Francisco, Calif., April 12, 1957.

Re Three Sisters Wilderness

Hon. ERVIN L. PETERSON,
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture,
South Agriculture Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PETERSON: We are enclosing herewith the recommendations of the recent Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference held last month in San Francisco—attended by 416 people from 19 States, Alaska, and the District of Columbia, from 120 organizations. I believe you will be interested in most of the recommendations, about which you may already have heard from Chief Forester McArdle, who contributed skillfully to the conference.

I should like to call your particular attention to the recommendation on the Three Sisters:

"In order to permit further consideration of the wilderness terrain of the Three Sisters region before irreversible action has been taken to destoy it, we recommend that the 53,000-acre portion not included in the Three Sisters Wilderness area be allowed to continue in its present primitive condition, without roads and without logging, at least until the completion of such studies as contemplated in the proposed Outdoor Recreation Resource Review, including an evaluation of the relation of the Three Sisters to the national requirement for wilderness preservation."

It is our belief in the Sierra Club that the request as worded here is in keeping with comprehensive land-use planning. We have regretted the exclusion of the 53,000-acre portion from the wilderness area as classified. Our principal concern is that the decision has come before several critical items of information are available:

1. Dr. Samuel T. Dana has undertaken to outline a recreation study for the Forest Service. As I understand it, this outline went forward last November and has not yet been published in draft form, nor has the study itself been initiated. Irreversible commitments prior to this study, in our view, are premature.

2. We do not yet have information, nor to the best of our knowledge does the Department have the information, about how much wilderness we now need. One of the first prerequisites to determining this is to ascertain the carrying capacity of wilderness. How much use can it recover from? How many people can be in a given area without destroying the wilderness values they sought there? To discard wilderness before initiating studies to determine these answers is, in our view, premature.

3. How much wilderness will we need in the future? The pending proposal to create an Outdoor Recreational Resources Review Commission and the pending initiation of Operation Outdoors should provide a basis whereby we can predict demands for wilderness as well as the future demands for timber have already been estimated in the Timber Resource Review. Irreversible commitment of primary wilderness lands before an equitable basis for resolving conflicts has been indicated by such studies is also, in our view, a premature commitment.

4. What are the multiple values to be derived from wilderness? I am sure you will agree that multiple use means more than "timber production plus something else." I am sure you will also agree that designation of an area as wilderness is not "freezing it for single use." But one hears this limited view of wilderness all too often. Actually, an objective program of research of the past trends and possible future trends in uses of our national forests would probably show few other dedications of forest land to be as compatible with multiple use as is dedication to wilderness. I have in mind several uses which do not have all the force of tradition behind them but which are of increasing importance as our country crowds up:

(a) watershed protection;

(b) habitat protection for fish and game—for wildlife itself as well as the recreation derived from it;

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(c) a scientific reserve—as an experimental control area and genetic reservoir;

(d) a natural museum for outdoor education about resource values;

(e) wilderness recreation and inspiration—by the minority we hope will always be on hand to climb out of automobile and get on foot, as well as by the majority who will always be glad to know that wilderness is there;

(f) conservation reserve of commodity resources for the future.

5. There have been no adequate studies by the Forest Service seeking out "a type of management for the peripheral area outside the wilderness boundary which would graduate commercial interest to wilderness interests without having an abrupt break at the boundary line of the wilderness area"—either in the Three Sisters region or elsewhere on the national forests. Such studies could lead to a method by which the Forest Service could provide the equivalent of national-park management—plus hunting—on important and sizable forest areas within a total, forestwide coordinated-use management plan. Your words, quoted above, seem to have urged such studies. We have urged them often. We don't know of their having been initiated yet.

Our primary interest, of course, is for preservation of wilderness as wilderness as an integral part of the comprehensive effort to manage land wisely for many purposes, including not only the efficient production of the commodities in most places, but also the provision for roadside recreation with all its necessary nonwilderness development in a natural setting.

We believe that any mistake made now in preserving too much wilderness is a mistake which is easily corrected. At best, this generation can do no more than leave some small area of choice for the next generation, and hope it will choose well.

The Three Sisters decision, as it now stands, has come right on the heels of the timber resource review, a valuable, multi-million-dollar study which placed all emphasis on timber. There has been no study, even remotely comparable in magnitude, of any of the other "multiple uses" on the national forests, including the many uses compatible with wilderness preservation.

We believe that the Three Sisters recommendation of the wilderness conference provides a route that will rescue for us all a truly equitable land-management decision.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID R. BROWER, *Executive Director.*

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., June 5, 1957.

Mr. DAVID BROWER,
Executive Director, Sierra Club, San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR MR. BROWER: This is in response to your letter of April 12 with which you enclosed a summary of the recommendations made at the Fifth Wilderness Conference sponsored by the Sierra Club in San Francisco on March 15 and 16. Please pardon the delay in answering your letter.

We appreciate knowing the consensus of the Fifth Wilderness Conference with respect to the proposed outdoor recreation resource review and the wilderness preservation legislation, the Three Sisters decision, the study of the Northern Cascade area, and the elimination of nonconforming uses in wilderness areas. All of these matters are of great interest to us in the administration of the national forests.

I have already considered the question of postponing the multiple-use management of the 53,000 acres which were eliminated from the Three Sisters Primitive area, in response to a similar recommendation made by the Wilderness Society. Enclosed for your information is a copy of my letter of March 25, 1957, to Mr. Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, which explains the position of this Department.

With respect to the proposed outdoor recreation resource review, this Department is in agreement that such a survey of recreation resources would result in a better basis for land-use planning and recreation management of all lands having recreation potential. We have submitted reports on S. 846 and H. R. 3592 favoring the bills with certain amendments. I understand you were present at the hearings and heard Mr. Crafts testify for this Department.

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We all realize that wilderness protection and preservation is a complex subject and that it needs careful study and careful administration. We are in full accord with the preservation on the national forests of areas which are predominantly valuable for wilderness. We will continue to give all questions involving wilderness areas very careful attention, and will fully appraise all public values when considering the need for wilderness or the suitability of an area for wilderness designation. Our decision will in each case be based on the same principle that was used in the Three Sisters Primitive area—namely, that those portions of the national forests which are predominantly valuable for wilderness will be managed as wilderness and those portions which have greater public value for purposes other than for wilderness will be so managed.

Sincerely yours,

E. L. PETERSON, *Assistant Secretary.*

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., March 25, 1957.

Mr. HOWARD ZAHNISER,
Executive Secretary, The Wilderness Society, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ZAHNISER: This is in response to your letter of March 4 advising us of the views of the executive committee of the Wilderness Society on the Three Sisters decision.

We are glad to know the views of the Wilderness Society and are sorry that you do not agree with our decision. Your request that no action be taken to modify the actual wilderness conditions prevailing in the 53,000 acres west of Horse Creek which were eliminated from the Three Sisters Primitive area until after the completion of a national scenic and outdoor recreation resources review, which has thus far not been authorized by Congress, would result in unnecessarily delaying the proper management of these lands. As pointed out in our decision of February 6 announcing the establishment of the Three Sisters Wilderness area, it was our conclusion, after very careful study, that the 53,000 acres which were eliminated from the primitive area had greater public value for multiple-use management than for classification and management as a wilderness.

The Forest Service has been directed to prepare a multiple-use management plan for this area before any developments or resource utilization are undertaken. The plan will provide for full protection of the adjacent wilderness area, for the preservation of areas of special botanical and geological significance, for the development of suitable types of family-type recreation, and for the protection of waterfront and roadside zones. We believe that these safeguards are sufficient and that it is not necessary or desirable to delay the multiple-use management of this area until a national scenic and outdoor recreation resources review has been made, or to hold a public hearing to discuss the actual management plan for the area.

Sincerely yours,

E. L. PETERSON, *Assistant Secretary.*

Senator NEUBERGER (presiding). The next witness will be the Chief of the Forest Service, the very illustrious public servant, Dr. Richard E. McArdle.

Dr. McArdle, we are glad to have you here.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD E. McARDLE, CHIEF, FOREST SERVICE, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. McARDLE. Mr. Chairman, we have spent many hours and days studying this question, and I would like to have the opportunity to spend 15 or possibly 20 minutes in reading my complete statement, but, if it is your desire, I will attempt to brief it.

Senator NEUBERGER. I think your statement is so important, Dr. McArdle, because at least in my opinion the Forest Service has within

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its jurisdiction so many of the areas that are involved in this bill, that I think you should read your entire statement, if that is agreeable to Senator Kuchel.

Senator KUCHEL. Yes, it is, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MCARDLE. Mr. Chairman and committee members, I really welcome this opportunity to state the views of the Department of Agriculture on S. 1176, a bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system and for other wilderness purposes.

The Department is fully aware of the interest and support given this measure. It also is aware of the opposition to the bill. Because of the potential impacts of the bill on the national forests administered by the Department of Agriculture and the precedents that might be set with regard to future multiple-use administration of the national forests, the Department has given more than ordinary study and care to the development of its position.

I would like to interject at this point that I take it we are considering not only the need for wilderness preservation, but how best to do it. If I had the eloquence of a Hubert Humphrey or the magic gift of words that our chairman has, I, too, would make a statement about the need for the preservation of the wilderness. I associate myself with the remarks that have already been made about the need for the preservation of the wilderness. At the moment, however, I am directing my comments to the very practical problem of how best to do it and how to overcome some of the very practical problems that are going to have to be solved in accomplishing the purpose for which I am sure most of us want to see achieved. And, Senator Kuchel, a little later on, I will come to the specific point which you raised with Senator Humphrey.

As the formal report of the Department states, we are sympathetic to the general objectives of the bill, but do not recommend its enactment. Instead it is recommended that Congress consider a draft bill submitted by the Department in connection with its report to the committee.

The views of Agriculture on the pending bill are limited to its impact on the national forests because these are the only lands to be affected by the bill that are under Agriculture's jurisdiction. Likewise the draft bill offered by the Department would affect only the national forests.

This statement will cover four main points:

1. It is important to summarize the Department's interpretation of what S. 1176 would do to the national forests because such interpretation is the basis for departmental position. It is a long and complex bill. For this reason some supporters may not fully understand the specifics of the proposed legislation and may be basing support for it on their general sympathy with the wilderness concept.

2. A listing of the main reasons why the Department does not favor S. 1176. The proponents of the measure, both in and out of Congress, should have explained to them the specific reasons for the Department's objection.

3. A summary of the Department's record of wilderness-area establishment and management. This is important in order to avoid any possible impression that, by opposing the proposed legislation, the Department is not sympathetic to wilderness areas. The record demonstrates the opposite to be true. The record also demonstrates a con-

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tinuity of policy over three decades which should give assurance to those who question the objectives and firmness of the administrators of the national forests. Some problems created by wilderness areas also should be brought to the committee's attention.

4. A summary of the Department's draft bill recommended to the Congress for its consideration and way it is proposed. This draft bill is not offered as a gesture. It contains language which would be of material aid to the Department in administering the national forests, would go far in meeting wilderness preservation objectives, and would definitely be a major advance in the field of conservation legislation.

The main provisions of S. 1176, Mr. Chairman, I think have been summarized by Senator Humphrey, and I will omit reading those portions of my statement.

Senator NEUBERGER. They will appear in the record, though, without objection, as they are in Mr. McArdle's statement.

Mr. McARDLE. Main provisions of S. 1176: Without attempting to summarize all of the provisions of the pending bill, the five main provisions with respect to national forests are:

1. It would establish a national wilderness preservation system, blanket into that system all existing wilderness, wild, and roadless areas in the national forests, and direct that primitive areas be reported to a newly created National Wilderness Preservation Council with appropriate boundary modifications by January 1, 1966, for inclusion in the wilderness system. The bill would also declare a congressional policy to secure the dedication, and protection, of a system of wilderness areas.

2. Proposed change in any national-forest area to be included in, or excluded from, the national wilderness preservation system would have to be submitted to the Congress through a newly created National Wilderness Preservation Council and would become effective only if neither House of Congress passed a resolution opposing the proposed changes within 120 calendar days. The net result of this proposal is that a single House of Congress could overrule action of the Secretary of Agriculture.

3. Acquisition of private lands within national-forest areas included in the national wilderness preservation system would be authorized.

4. Certain uses would be wholly prohibited by statute. Others would be prohibited, or permitted only within certain limitations. Still others would be classed as nonconforming. Those prohibited by statute would include lumbering, prospecting, and mining including the removal of oil and gas deposits, and water-management practices involving diversion, impoundment, storage, or the manipulation of plant cover. Limited uses would include roads which would be prohibited except for the minimum needed for administration of the area. Likewise motor vehicles, other mechanical transport, delivery of persons or supplies, structures, and installations would be prohibited if in excess of the minimum needed to administer the area. Non-conforming uses would include grazing by domestic livestock other than pack animals, and the use of motor boats and aircraft. The Secretary would be directed to terminate such nonconforming uses when this could be accomplished through agreement with, or with equity to, the users.

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5. The bill would create a National Wilderness Preservation Council consisting of certain specific agency heads and six citizens to be appointed by the President. The Council would have no administrative responsibilities but would act as a repository for information, sponsor and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs, advise with governmental officials, report annually to the Congress, and transmit to the Congress proposed changes in wilderness boundaries. In the latter respect, the Council would be interposed between the executive departments and the Congress.

I come now to reasons for the departmental objection:

S. 1176 would tend to freeze the status quo with respect to present wilderness type areas. The bill would do this by (*a*) including existing national-forest wilderness, wild, and roadless areas in the national wilderness preservation system, and (*b*) permitting a single House of Congress to override secretarial judgment as to subsequent modifications or eliminations of such areas. Furthermore, the House of Congress which disagreed with the Secretary's recommendation could by resolution override the wishes of the other House if it were in accord with the Secretary's judgment.

The bill would establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council which would have no real powers but would impose added record-keeping, paperwork, and expense upon the Department of Agriculture and other executive land-administering agencies.

The Secretary would be prohibited from transmitting recommendations for administrative changes in wilderness areas directly to the Congress. He would be required to submit those recommendations to the Council which would in turn transmit them to the Congress. There are two objections to this: (1) The Secretary should have the authority to make changes in wilderness areas. They should not be subject to congressional veto except by act of Congress; and (2) if administrative changes are to be sent to Congress for approval, they should be transmitted directly by the Secretary and not sent indirectly through another organization.

S. 1176 would strike at the heart of the multiple-use policy of national-forest administration. It would give a degree of congressional protection to wilderness use of the national forests not now enjoyed by any other use. It would tend to hamper free and effective application of administrative judgment which now determines, and should continue to determine, the use, or combination of uses, to which a particular national-forest area should be devoted. If this special congressional protection is given to wilderness use, it is reasonable to expect that other user groups will subsequently seek congressional protection for their special interests.

The statutory restrictions upon use that would be imposed by S. 1176 are too far reaching in the judgment of the Department. We believe that statutory restrictions on certain uses would be desirable and have so provided in the Department's draft bill. Other uses, however, should be prohibited or limited in accordance with either secretarial or presidential discretion. For example, S. 1176 would impose a statutory and complete restriction everywhere in every area upon mining, construction of permanent roads, commercial timber cutting, and water impoundment, whereas the Department's draft bill would prohibit such uses unless permitted by the President. The

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discretion granted the President could be exercised for all areas or for specific areas and for a limited time depending upon the circumstances. In other words, the Department feels that the statutory limitations upon uses that would be imposed by S. 1176 would be excessively restrictive and would hamper the proper and necessary exercise of administrative discretion.

THE NATIONAL FOREST WILDERNESS SYSTEM

In order that there be no misunderstanding, let me say that wilderness is a proper and desirable use of the national forests. The term "wilderness area" originated on the national forests.

The Department has steadfastly maintained continuity of policy in this regard for over 30 years. We believe that wilderness use is compatible with two guiding principles of national-forest management; namely, multiple use and sustained yield of products and services. But all resources, all uses, and all users must be considered. The Department has fought and won some difficult actions to maintain its wilderness policy. The airspace reservation over the Superior roadless areas in Minnesota is an example of this.

In 1924, the first area for preservation of wilderness in the national forests was administratively established in New Mexico and 2 years later the Superior roadless area in northern Minnesota was given special protection. By 1939, there had been established 73 primitive areas and 2 roadless areas, totaling 14.2 million acres.

In that year two new secretarial regulations were issued providing for the establishment of wilderness and wild areas in the national forests and giving greater stability and protection to these areas than did former regulations. It was also announced in 1939 that primitive areas would be systematically restudied and reclassified as wilderness or wild areas, and further that pending such study and reclassification, all existing primitive areas would be managed in accordance with the more restrictive provisions of the new regulations.

Since 1939, about 40 percent of the primitive areas have been reclassified, 9 new areas have been established, 1 has been eliminated, and 3 areas were combined into 1. As of today, there are the following wilderness-type areas in the national forests:

	Number	Acreage
Wilderness areas	12	3,968,546
Wild areas	24	877,240
Roadless areas	3	814,456
Primitive areas	42	8,200,140
Total	81	13,860,382

These areas occur on 78 national forests in 12 States, all of which are in the West except Minnesota and North Carolina. The areas comprise 8 percent of the total national-forest acreage. Attached to this statement is a map showing the location of these areas.

Despite much more intensive use of the national forests, and increasing economic need for timber and other national-forest resources, the acreage of wilderness-type areas today is about the same as in 1939. The apparent loss of about 400,000 acres since 1939 was due

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to the transfer in 1941 of 432,000 acres of national-forest wilderness area to Kings Canyon National Park by the Congress. At the present time 3 new wilderness areas—a total of more than 780,000 acres—are being considered.

In addition to wilderness enjoyment, wilderness-type areas do, of course, yield water, forage, wildlife, and scientific values. They are open to mineral exploitation under the mining laws.

Senator NEUBERGER. By that you mean forage for wild animals rather than domestic; is that correct, or not?

Mr. McARDLE. Mr. Chairman, mainly wild animals, but some wilderness areas are grazed by domestic animals.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you.

Mr. McARDLE. It is not a very large number, about 10 percent of the total on all national forests.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you.

Mr. McARDLE. Timber utilization, large water-storage projects, mining, other commercial uses, scenic highways and roads must be excluded if the wilderness character of an area is to be fully preserved. In other words, the use of wilderness areas must be restricted. As a consequence this poses special problems.

For example, to name only two such special problems: (1) Wilderness areas are unavailable for mass recreational use; and (2) such areas are especially difficult to protect from fire, insects, and disease. Both of these problems arise from the lack of roads which are excluded by regulation.

Mass recreational use of the national forests has increased about 2½ times in the last decade. In 1956 there were about 53 million recreational visits to all national-forest lands, and by 1968 it is estimated that this figure will increase to 82 million. In contrast, less than 1 percent of these 53 million recreational visits were to wilderness-type areas in 1956. This means that although these areas occupy 8 percent of the national-forest acreage, they receive less than 1 percent of the recreational visits. The plain fact is that the lack of roads in wilderness areas makes them unavailable to the family car for a day or weekend of picnicking, camping, hunting, or fishing. These areas occupy some of the most scenic portions of the country and the great mass of recreational users is precluded by the lack of roads from seeing and enjoying these areas.

Mr. Chairman, may I interject at this point that I am not here arguing for roads. I am merely pointing out a problem which has to be considered.

Fire, insects, and disease are no respecters of boundaries and occur on wilderness areas as well as other national-forest land. Fire protection without roads is costly, time consuming, and hazardous to the smoke jumpers who risk their lives with every jump. If insects and disease are not controlled, wilderness areas may serve as sources of infection to surrounding national-forest land. Aerial spraying is effective against some insects and diseases but not against others. Every blowdown of timber in a wilderness area poses problems and is an ideal breeding ground for subsequent insect epidemics.

Despite these problems the Department of Agriculture firmly believes that wilderness areas should, and will, be continued as part of the multiple-use administration of the national forests. Its record

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of wilderness-area administration over three decades supports this statement of policy. Some proponents of the pending bill feel there will be gradual encroachment and attrition in these wilderness areas as the country's population continues to grow and the economic need for the timber and other resources included in the wilderness areas become more acute. Such attrition has not occurred.

The problems of wilderness-area use and administration are pointed out in order to emphasize the unwiseness of congressional restrictions upon the administrators of these lands who must meet and deal with the problems from day to day under changing circumstances. Administrators by and large have dealt successfully with wilderness-area problems, and if rigidity and inflexibility are imposed by the Congress, it is less likely that these problems will be dealt with successfully in the future, that new areas will be created, or existing areas enlarged.

DRAFT BILL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In lieu of S. 1176, we recommend that Congress consider a draft bill submitted to the committee with the Department's report. The draft bill would accomplish the following nine items:

1. Declare it to be the policy of Congress to (*a*) administer national forests for multiple use and sustained yield; (*b*) establish an adequate system of wilderness areas; and (*c*) provide for their protection and the dissemination of information about their use.

2. Direct the Secretary of Agriculture to administer the national forests on a multiple-use basis in order to produce a sustained yield of products and services including the establishment and maintenance of wilderness areas.

3. Define "wilderness," include national forest wilderness and wild areas as wilderness under the act, and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to designate presently classified primitive areas within 10 years as to whether they are predominantly of wilderness value. The bill would also provide that primitive areas not established as wilderness within 15 years of the date of the act would cease to be classified as primitive.

4. Place the authority to establish or abolish wilderness areas with the President, but provide that the Secretary of Agriculture could modify boundaries if the Secretary by such action did not change the total area of the wilderness by more than one-fourth of its original area. Also would provide that any proposed addition which includes a power or reclamation withdrawal must be approved by the President.

5. Direct the Secretary, prior to the establishment of, or change in, wilderness areas, to obtain the views of other affected Federal agencies, to give public notice, and to hold a public hearing if such is requested.

6. Prohibit resorts, hotels, restaurants, stores, summer homes, organization camps, hunting and fishing lodges, and similar facilities within a wilderness area.

7. Prohibit or limit other facilities or uses in accordance with secretarial regulation provided that mining, permanent roads, reservoirs which require road construction, and commercial timber cutting except to control pest infestations would be prohibited unless the President affirmatively authorized them.

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And I might interject there—for that particular area, in the case of some occasion arising such as Senator Kuchel brought up.

8. Change the names of the Superior roadless areas in the Superior National Forest in Minnesota to the boundary waters canoe area and direct the Secretary to manage them for the general purpose of maintaining the primitive character of the areas, particularly the lakes, streams, and portages. Any modification of the boundary waters canoe area would be accomplished in the same manner as for wilderness areas.

9. Declare the provisions of the proposed act to be within and supplemental to the basic purposes for which the national forests were established.

The Department is proposing this bill because it believes that legislation to give statutory recognition to wilderness areas would be desirable. We also believe it would be desirable to define wilderness areas, specify procedures for their establishment and modification, and clarify the uses which could be permitted. The Department's bill does these things, placing some of the authority in the Secretary of Agriculture and some in the President. Certain uses would be prohibited by statute. We see no need for establishment of a national wilderness preservation system nor a National Wilderness Preservation Council and the draft bill does not provide for these. Under this proposed bill, the Department is confident that wilderness areas on the national forests will be continued and strengthened.

In conclusion, the Department is sympathetic to the general objective of wilderness legislation. It does not favor the pending bill, and instead offers to the committee a substitute bill with respect to the national forests.

Senator NEUBERGER. Senator Kuchel, do you have any questions to ask Dr. McArdle?

Senator KUCHEL. First of all, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that this statement certainly gives the committee considerable food for thought, and I begin to believe that it would be possible to compose some of the views which the Department has taken with, perhaps, those in the minds of the sponsors of the legislation.

I do thank you also, Dr. McArdle, for interpolating your comment on the problem, which I suppose is fairly unique to the Southwestern States, in the semiarid region of the country.

Mr. MCARDLE. It is most critical at the moment there, Senator, but I would anticipate that it would arise elsewhere.

And our effort has been to, frankly, make it difficult to do some of those things, but not impossible, if the best good of the whole people would be served by so doing, and to provide that it could be done without going through a tremendous amount of legislative action.

However, I need to make it plain all through this that inherent in our proposal is the thought that Congress always can and should, where necessary, override and overrule the executive department, by act of Congress. We have not forgotten that at all; and in the cases that you indicate Congress could, in fairness to the bill that was discussed earlier, I assume, make an exception by legislative action.

Senator KUCHEL. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Some questions have occurred to me that I think could be discussed in the committee. The Department does object to the creation of a

council. Some of those problems of administration will probably have a little light shed on them by the sponsors of the bill, with due regard to that recommendation.

Thank you very much.

Senator NEUBERGER. Senator Allott, do you have any questions of Dr. McArdle?

Senator ALLOTT. Just 1 or 2.

Referring to your statement, Doctor, I am very interested in figures given you as to the use of the classification of use of these lands. I think we all recognize the need and the desire for wilderness areas. You say, however: "less than 1 percent of these 53 million recreational visits were to wilderness-type areas," and it seems to me if, as you suggest here, we have set aside 8 percent of the land area for the use of less than 1 percent of our people, we are raising the question as to whether we are treating all of our people fairly. What do you think about that?

Mr. MCARDLE. Senator, that thought has been expressed to me a number of times, that setting aside 14 million acres for the present use of 450,000 people is not quite fair. I have always replied to that that we are not providing here for 450,000 people in wilderness areas. We are providing for many more. We are looking ahead 50 years, 100 years, 150 years. That number will increase. It will no longer be 450,000.

However, I do think I should say that over the years the proportion of people using the wilderness areas to the mass recreational use of the national forests, which is increasing by leaps and bounds, stays about constant. So I would not expect that wilderness use would be more than 1 percent of the total recreation use even 40 or 50 years from now. And so there would still be a proportionately large area dedicated to this use.

But if we are to have wilderness at all, you cannot have wilderness with a few acres. It takes large areas. That is inherent in the nature of wilderness. And so I think we have to decide whether we want wilderness badly enough to make the necessary sacrifices, and there will be some, in order to have it. I personally am willing to do it.

Senator ALLOTT. You have raised a question. I do not believe it would be posible to limit your wilderness right down to the number of people who use it. I am not advocating that either. But I do think that this whole question, granted that wilderness areas must be of substantial size, is one that this committee should give careful consideration to, because if you conceive, as I do, that these national forests belong to all of us, and each of us, individually, and you chop off excessive amounts of it and designate them as wilderness areas, you are then depriving a great portion of your population of their fair right to move those. Because people with physical impairments, older people, to a great extent children, and many others, are then deprived of the use or even the right to see or view what in many instances are the gems of scenic beauty of this country. Is that not true?

Mr. MCARDLE. Senator, I think you have put your finger on probably what in the future and perhaps in the near future may turn out to be the strongest opposition to the establishment and maintenance

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of wilderness areas, and that is the opposition of other recreationists, people who want to drive to some place on a weekend and have a picnic with their families and put their boat in the water. And because by definition we have no roads in the wilderness areas they cannot do that. Some of our best scenery, some of our best hunting and fishing, on the national forests, is in wilderness areas. And it is not readily available to these people. And so we are building up—it is still nebulous, but it is building up—opposition, as has been expressed, to locking up these areas to prevent other areas from getting in.

The danger to lumbering can be met by producing more on lands out of those areas. There is enough area for that. We can provide for many of these areas. And that is one reason our substitute bill emphasizes multiple use, so that we can, by putting the land outside to work, help preserve these lands where the same uses would not be permitted.

But the one problem, of how to provide for the ever-increasing snowballing mass recreational use of people who want to drive to the area where they hunt, fish, camp, and picnic is one that we have not solved in our proposed legislation, nor is it solved elsewhere.

Senator ALLOTT. I am not asking you to try to put any arithmetical elements on this, but it would seem to me that there is some argument, or at least it should be inquired into, whether we are justified in setting aside 8 percent of our territory available to us for less than 1 percent of our people, when actually we have no chance of increasing the acreage available to the other 99 percent, do we?

Mr. MCARDLE. We are attempting, Senator, to handle that now. Perhaps you have not seen our little brochure on Operation Outdoors, in which we hope to make far more provision for mass recreational use outside of the wilderness areas.

Senator ALLOTT. I agree to that, and of course you know where I live and where I come from, and that this problem is not exactly a stranger to me.

Mr. MCARDLE. It may be that we are merely staving off the problem, but Operation Outdoors has tremendous importance to the preservation of wilderness, because it will enable us to provide many campgrounds and picnic areas outside of these areas.

Senator ALLOTT. But it would not be possible, because the land does not belong to the Government, to increase the areas which are now available to the 99 percent. In other words, you cannot increase the amount of public lands, except by going out and buying them.

Mr. MCARDLE. That is correct.

Senator ALLOTT. You are operating with a known definite limitation here, and you have to divide that up for the uses of the various people who desire to use it in various ways. And when you do have such a limitation on it, the only choice open, it seems to me, is to provide better recreational use, as you have suggested, of the other lands, and then this committee has it as one of their responsibilities, I believe, to consider what amount should be set aside for wilderness areas. And I do think that your suggestion that these need to be defined and a policy needs to be stated, is very well taken.

Senator NEUBERGER. Senator Barrett, do you have any questions of Dr. McArdle?

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Senator BARRETT. Yes. I would like to ask Dr. McArdle this question: Is there any differentiation at the present time between the primitive and the wilderness areas?

Mr. MCARDLE. Senator Barrett, we are dealing largely in words, names. Let me go back just a moment, and I think I can explain this for you.

We started calling all of these areas primitive areas. Then, in 1939, we thought it would be better—there was considerable discussion with wilderness enthusiasts—to give a little better name to them, and so they were termed "wilderness." But I think perhaps, now, we should not have stopped at this point, but that only areas over 100,000 acres in total area would be designated formerly as "wilderness," and areas from 5,000 acres to 100,000 would be called wild areas. But the only difference is simply one of size, and, under our present regulations, in the way they are established. The Chief of the Forest Service can establish a wild area. Only the Secretary of Agriculture can establish a wilderness area, or undo it. And we feel, and have so provided in the substitute bill, that we would classify all of them as "wilderness" without regard to size.

Senator BARRETT. So we would be dealing in the future with wilderness areas?

Mr. MCARDLE. They are all exactly of the same character. It is simply a toying with words.

Senator BARRETT. Following through on Senator Allott's question, there, I note that you do say in your statement that the lack of roads into these wilderness areas makes them unavailable to the general public. And I think that is quite correct. But I would like to ask you, on your own bill, if it is true that permanent roads are prohibited? I see that in item 7 of your statement.

Mr. MCARDLE. That is correct, sir.

Senator BARRETT. Permanent roads of all types would be prohibited in the wilderness areas.

Is the idea to keep it a wilderness area, then, a secluded area?

Mr. MCARDLE. My General Counsel may want to correct me on this, Senator Barrett. But I think the reason that we put that in ties to the next item, item 8, the Superior areas in Minnesota. Those were established on land where some logging was going on back from the water courses, and it has been continued up there.

I think the ordinary canoeist going along would never know that any commercial use is going on back from the water courses. We wanted very much, and the wilderness people wanted very much, to have this particular area, these three roadless areas—when I say "roadless" I mean permanent roads—in Minnesota included in the wilderness area and managed as wilderness. And we want to do it, too, but since there are temporary logging roads in there which are plowed up and blocked after logging, we could not include those in the other definition. We would be precluded from having them managed as wilderness under the proposed legislation, unless you took special action. And that is why those areas are mentioned. And those roads are purely temporary. They are not permanent roads.

As soon as an area is logged, the roads are destroyed.

Senator BARRETT. Then under your present regulations, a primitive or wilderness area, a wildlife area, whatever you call that, that

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you can designate yourself, is such that there are no permanent roads in there?

Mr. McArdle. No permanent roads.

One other instance that occurs to me, Senator, where there might be temporary roads: If there was any insect infestation that has to be met promptly, there would be a temporary road for that.

Senator Barrett. All I am trying to do is find out what your intentions are as to the policy as far as the future is concerned.

Mr. McArdle. Our policy as expressed in this legislation is exactly the same as our present policy administratively: No permanent roads. Because if you do have permanent roads, you cannot have wilderness, at least as we visualize wilderness. And we are merely pointing this out, here, because it is one of the problems that the committee will have to consider when they are thinking about this bill.

There are a great many people who want permanent roads put back into the wilderness so that they will be accessible. As soon as you do that, you cease to have wilderness.

Senator Barrett. I quite agree that that is true. I think that, as Senator Allott points out, it precludes a good many people getting any benefits from it because of time, more than anything else, that it takes to travel in and out of these areas.

Now, if you will take a look at the map that you have attached to your statement, I note that considerable area around Yellowstone National Park is apparently in wilderness area at the present time. Just how much land is there involved in that wilderness area, would you say? About as much as the park, I guess.

Mr. McArdle. We have those figures, and I will give them to you in just a second.

Senator Barrett. Just a rough estimate.

Mr. McArdle. The total for Wyoming is 2,300,000 acres, 2 3/10 million. Now, I would have to add up the particular areas.

Senator Barrett. Well, that is close enough. That is about the size of Yellowstone.

Mr. McArdle. It is about 2 million acres.

Senator Barrett. I think if I remember correctly Yellowstone is two-million-two-hundred-some thousand.

That is used on a multiple purpose basis at the present time, is it not?

Mr. McArdle. Well, it has multiple purpose values, but it cannot have all of the uses that land outside of those designated areas can have. For instance, there could not be logging in those areas. There could not be reservoir construction. There could not be a good many other activities that we could do outside. Still, those lands have values as a home for wild game, for water, and, we feel, very distinct values for recreation. There may be in those particular areas some grazing of domestic livestock. I am not certain.

Senator Barrett. We reported out a bill here yesterday for a National Outdoor Recreation Commission, to study this very situation. I suppose you are familiar with that?

Mr. McArdle. Yes, sir.

Senator Barrett. And the purpose of that legislation is to have a rather detailed study made of the recreational resources of the national forests and other recreational areas, including these primitive areas, I assume. Is that right?

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Mr. McARDLE. Yes.

Senator BARRETT. As I take it from your draft of the bill, you would be opposed to developing these properties for the general public and inviting visitors in; is that right?

Mr. McARDLE. No, sir; I would not say it quite like that. We are attempting now to get roads as close to wilderness areas, natural points of interest, as possible, so that more people can get closer to them; feeling that if they do, some will venture in, become entranced, and want to penetrate farther. We realize that that will be difficult in certain circumstances but we are still hopeful that more people will go to the wilderness areas, provided we can get them close to them. And so we are encouraging people to get close to the wilderness. But the only means of transportation is to walk or to ride a horse, and that does mean that not as many people will use the area as would use areas where they can be reached directly by automobile.

We would like more people to go to the wilderness.

Senator BARRETT. I have not any fixed opinion on that matter. In some respects I believe it would be well to exclude these areas from the possibility that people could use them like they do our national parks, go in and out with great ease. But I just wonder whether or not the provisions in paragraph 6 of your statement would not prejudge this whole matter that the Commission, if it is set up, will be obliged to study.

Mr. McARDLE. I expect that could be said, Senator Barrett. However, we do feel that there are provisions in the draft bill, and if some of these things you are talking about prove to be desirable they could be accommodated. But they would clearly have to be in the public interest.

Senator BARRETT. Yes. I understand that.

The point that occurs to me is that this would be a very important factor in the overall problem that this Commission will be studying, and it seems to me that the legislation that would follow that study and the recommendation to be made by that Commission would cover all of the suggestions that you have in this proposed draft of your own.

Mr. McARDLE. Well, Senator Barrett, may I answer what I think is in your mind this way: It would, of course, be exceedingly helpful to us before these areas are so firmly fixed, as we propose, if we had the results of this study. But just as an expression of opinion, I doubt very much if any of the areas which we have established, are going to be very materially altered by the recommendations of any truly impartial study group. And the draft bill which we suggest considered your point in this way. We provided that within the next 10 years we would study all of the existing areas and decide which ones should be in wilderness.

Now, if the results of the study Commission were available within those 10 years, we could, of course, take those into account, and would want to.

So I think that we may try to make provision for utilizing all of the advice that we can get, and our difficulty was that you had before you a bill with considerable interest behind it, and we were trying to find practical, feasible means of accomplishing what many people wanted to do.

Senator BARRETT. Well, of course, all of these matters are subject to review by succeeding Congresses. But I have a very definite idea

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of my own that the fact that you had 53 million people visiting your forests last year, and the fact that the National Park Service is experiencing terrific increases in visitors to the park system, would indicate to me that when the Interstate Highway System is completed, 10 years from now, perhaps we will have twice as many people going into the forests and into the parks as there are at the present time. And I do not know how you are going to take care of that overflow crowd unless you opened up all of the available areas for these visitors.

Now, I am not prejudging this matter of building roads into the wilderness areas or building facilities in there to take care of visitors, but still at the same time, I anticipate we are going to have a problem on our hands to take care of these visitors to the Mountain States 10 years from now.

Mr. McARDLE. We are indeed, Senator. It is going to be a bigger problem than I think even the size that some of us with big eyes have envisoned. I am confident of it. We are going to try our very best to take care of the deluge on the lands outside of the wilderness area, and we hope a substantial number of them will walk back into the wilderness or ride back into the wilderness on horseback. But the big problem is going to be to take care of this tremendous increase in mass recreational use, people who want to drive in their cars directly to the place where they will camp or hunt or fish or picnic or see the scenery. And that is a problem we must meet.

Senator BARRETT. I agree with you.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ALLOTT. May I clear up one question for my own mind? Is fishing permitted in these wilderness areas?

Mr. McARDLE. Fishing and hunting, both.

Senator ALLOTT. Then you also add, don't you, this additional situation, that you are setting aside 8 percent of the most choice land for hunting and fishing for the benefit of 1 percent of the people.

Mr. McARDLE. The only answer I can give to that, Senator, is "Yes."

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you, Doctor.

Senator NEUBERGER. Dr. McArdle, I must say I am rather puzzled by this latest line of questioning, and the slant that this hearing has developed. We started in with an issue designed by the sponsors of the bill to give greater protection to such wilderness as we now have, greater legislative and legal protections. All of a sudden, we are now on the defensive, to erode and tear down the existing protections. That has become the issue here in the last half hour, rather than to strengthen those protections.

Senator ALLOTT. Let me say one thing, Mr. Chairman. You can speak on your own interpretation, but do not interpret what I have said. I am a member of this committee, and it is my duty to inquire into these things, but I do not want to be tarred with any brush that you desire to wave around, here, in any direction you desire to wave it. Because there is no attempt on my part to erode this thing. I am simply trying to find out what the situation is.

Senator NEUBERGER. I think the record will speak for itself.

Senator ALLOTT. It certainly will.

Senator NEUBERGER. And I think that it is perfectly proper for me to make the comment, and I still insist that in the past 20 minutes,

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which certainly is within anybody's right, questions have been asked of the Chief of the Forest Service if even the existing wilderness system is a wise one. I do not think that that is a false interpretation, but if I have made a false interpretation, certainly the record will indicate whether I have judged accurately.

Senator ALLOTT. The record will speak for itself; yes.

Senator NEUBERGER. This is what puzzles me, however. I am rather disturbed to find that there seems to be some doubt as to whether it is desirable to set aside within our national forest system a substantial area in wilderness condition which is visited by a comparatively small number of people.

Now, I always have presumed that there was a qualitative as well as a quantitative measurement of the value of public lands.

This is what I mean. If we are going to make a purely quantitative measurement, as certainly has been implied here this morning, would you agree with me that paving all the roads in the national forests or making them four-lane might not increase by many, many times the existing number of visits and the accessibility of national forests?

Mr. MCARDLE. Mr. Chairman, let me answer your question in a way that may seem devious——

I will go directly to the heart of what I think is your question, and which I attempted to answer before, this morning, as I have answered many times publicly before.

It is true that wilderness use requires a large acreage, a large percentage of total national forest acreage, and receives proportionately, numerically, a small percentage of the total recreational use. That does not disturb me personally, and it has not disturbed other administrators in the Forest Service, although we would like to see that use increase; the reason being that we feel so strongly, and I am sure the people on the committee who have spoken this morning also feel. that wilderness is a desirable thing to have. And you have to have wilderness, you had to protect wilderness, while you have got it. You cannot protect it afterward. It has to be preserved while it is still wilderness. And if it is opened up to all sorts of uses, then you no longer have wilderness. So you have to make a choice. And wilderness may never be used by a large number of people, but proportionately to all the other use on the national forest, but eventually it is going to be used by a quite substantial number, and we feel that just having wilderness there is one of the great attractions which brings people to the national forests and brings them to a State where there are wilderness areas.

It is a peculiar thing, but people who rarely get out of the cities, who know that they have no chance of ever going into a wilderness area, because of health or infirmity, still are in favor of wilderness. And I think that we will find that condition will continue.

Wilderness in some respects is sort of a state of mind among a lot of people. They feel that we should preserve for our grandchildren and their grandchildren a sample of what our country looks like.

Senator NEUBERGER. Do you not think that is a wise objective?

Mr. MCARDLE. We have tried to indicate that here.

Senator NEUBERGER. You, yourself, I take it, then, do not see any adverse public policy involved in the statement, which says:

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This means that although these areas occupy 8 percent of the national-forest acreage, they receive less than 1 percent of the recreational visits.

Mr. McARDLE. Senator Neuberger, we pointed those facts out, because we felt duty bound to do that for the committee, because, as Senator Allott and Senator Barrett have brought out, those are pressing problems on us now. They will have to be considered. I think the committee will not be able to ignore them. But the committee may decide, as we in the Forest Service long ago decided, that we would still have wilderness, even though it was a small use.

We feel now that we were right in that course. We are going to try to make the wilderness areas accessible up to their edges. We are going to try to provide as much as we can for mass recreational use outside, so that those who come may find a place to hunt and camp and picnic.

Yes, it can be said that wilderness gets proportionately a small use. But we took the plunge many years ago and decided that we should have it, and we are still living with it. It is not always easy to live with it. And we put the comment in here, because we are sure your committee will get a similar comment and we should be prepared to meet it. I cannot give you arguments as to whether it should be 8 percent of the total area, or 5 percent, or 10 percent, or whether it should be 1 percent of the use. I wish it were more.

All I am saying is: Be it as it is, we would still have wilderness. Now, that may not make very much sense to you, Mr. Chairman, but it is a sort of a condensation of an opinion in the Forest Service that it quite widespread.

Senator NEUBERGER. The reason I keep reiterating this question, Mr. McArdle, is this that all of a sudden the sponsors of this bill are somewhat on the defensive. And I just ask you if you yourself see anything adverse in the proportionate figures you have mentioned in your statement.

Mr. McARDLE. No.

Senator NEUBERGER. You do not. I thank you very much.

I just wanted to point out that we had somewhat this same controversy in our State, where a group of promoters in all good faith, I believe, wanted to erect a tramway to the top of Mount Hood, which I believe is the highest elevation in Oregon, and is within a national forest. And it was pointed out that it would then have meant that the marvelous view and the inspirational experience of being on the top of Mount Hood would have been available to people in the thousands, rather than a handful of people who would make the difficult climb. But the proposal was defeated, because it was felt that the entire value of such an experience would be magnified if there were a tramway to the top of Mount Hood. And yet many more people would have gone there had the promoters been successful in their request.

I think the Forest Service was involved in that controversy, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. McARDLE. We were deeply involved.

Senator NEUBERGER. I just want to ask one more question, Dr. McArdle, if I may.

Is this not true under existing regulations which now prevail in the Forest Service; that if the Secretary of Agriculture or the President

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should sign an order abolishing a wilderness area or reducing a wilderness area in size within one of the national forests, this could be done over and against the advice of the Forest Service and of the Chief of the Forest Service, and they could do very little about it? Is that not correct?

Mr. McARDLE. You mean under present conditions?

Senator NEUBERGER. Under present conditions.

Mr. McARDLE. The answer is: Yes, it could be done. If your question were "Would it be done?" we have had no experience in the last 30 years to lead us to believe that it would be done. But it could be done.

Senator NEUBERGER. It could be done under existing regulations as they now stand, and the Forest Service would have no recourse from that?

Mr. McARDLE. Strictly speaking, that is correct.

Senator NEUBERGER. It is my understanding that you did support the decision taken in the Three Sisters Wilderness area in my State. Is that not correct? I think you yourself have said that publicly.

Mr. McARDLE. It was my recommendation, that was accepted by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Senator NEUBERGER. However, even had you felt otherwise, the Secretary could have made that reduction and been entirely within his authority; is that not correct?

Mr. McARDLE. Yes, sir.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much.

Are there any other questions, Senator?

Senator ALLOTT. One more question, Dr. McArdle. I know upon my visits to various national parks and monuments and so forth, from time to time I have answered questionnaires in the nature of a sort of a census, so that they could provide more adequate service. And I wonder if there has ever been any census taken as to the type of person who uses and could reasonably be expected to use these wilderness areas? In other words, what I am asking you is: It is my concern and the concern of Senator Barrett that so many people are shut out of here, I am thinking, chiefly because of physical limitations. Do you have anything by way of census which would throw any light on that?

Mr. McARDLE. We have made no study of any consequence along those lines?

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much, Dr. McArdle. We appreciate your suggestions. We appreciate your candor. And we appreciate you giving us your time. Thank you so much.

The next witness is Dr. Conrad L. Wirth, who is the Director of the National Park Service, accompanied by a substantial number of members of his staff.

Won't you sit down, Dr. Wirth, please?

I would like to say this for the record. The acting chairman of the committee postponed a number of appointments so that he could preside this morning and relieve the regular chairman of the committee, Senator Murray. But I did defer these appointments until noon, and my availability in time now extends only for the next 8 minutes. And I would like to ask Mr. Stong if there will be an-

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other Senator who can relieve me so that Dr. Wirth can continue uninterrupted with his testimony.

Dr. Wirth, you may proceed, and we are very happy to have you here.

STATEMENT OF CONRAD L. WIRTH, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE; ACCOMPANIED BY JACKSON E. PRICE, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, NPS; FRANK E. HARRISON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR OF NPS; BEN H. HARRISON, CHIEF, DIVISION OF RECREATION PLANNING OF NPS; RICHARD E. GRIFFITH, ASSISTANT CHIEF, BRANCH OF WILDLIFE REFUGES, BUREAU OF SPORTS FISHERIES, FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE; AND LANSING A. PARKER, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR WILDLIFE, FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. Chairman, I am here representing the Secretary of the Interior, and I believe the best way to proceed is to read his statement in full to the committee, which I think will bring out the various points the Department wishes to report in connection with this bill. If that is satisfactory, I will proceed on that basis.

Senator NEUBERGER. Please go ahead.

Mr. WIRTH (reading):

Your committee has requested a report on S. 1176, "To establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this system by existing Federal agencies and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes."

Because of our favorable report to your committee with regard to S. 846 for the establishment of a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, and for other reasons stated in this report, we do not recommend enactment of this proposed legislation.

We have examined this proposal in the light of the long experience of this Department in administering many types of Federal reservations and areas. This includes various areas of the national park system that may be referred to as wilderness areas. We believe in the preservation of additional areas that qualify for this type of preservation. Because of this fact, we are sympathetic to the basic objective of these bills.

This Department has long been in the forefront of the movement to establish and to preserve in a practical way America's great wilderness areas. The national park system that we administer is evidence of this fact. We have been encouraged in these efforts by the Congress of the United States which has enacted many statutes, upon our recommendation, that assure the permanent wilderness character of these areas. We are required by Federal statute to administer and maintain the national parks in their natural or wilderness condition which is being done to the fullest extent consistent with the public use thereof.

In our opinion, enactment of this proposed legislation in its present form would defeat the purposes for which it is intended. This would result, we believe, from conflicts and dissension that would arise concerning the use of a large portion of the Federal estate that would be included in the proposed wilderness system. For example, many of the areas named, such as the wildlife refuges and Indian lands, as hereafter explained, do not qualify, or should not be classified, for particular reasons, as wilderness areas. Consequently, the inclusion of such areas in a proposed wilderness preservation system would serve only to bring about controversy and dissatisfaction. We feel that in order to proceed equitably with respect to the selection of particular areas for wild-

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erness status and in order to insure the permanence of that status with respect to each area, a thorough and objective study should first be made of each area suggested for this type of land use.

It was for this reason that we recently recommended to your committee that S. 846 be amended to recognize that phase of outdoor recreation and appreciation which is one of the real benefits that accrue to our Nation as a result of the natural and scenic beauty of these wilderness areas. We indicated that a "survey of this type, if it is to be of lasting value, in our opinion, should be conducted objectively and without preconceived ideas regarding the outcome thereof."

This proposed legislation would involve Federal land management activities that we administer through three separate bureaus of this Department, and it would involve certain functions also that are administered by the Department of Agriculture. The object and substantive provisions of the bills to which this report refers are essentially the same. The principal provisions thereof are as follows:

(1) Establishment in section 1, of a "national wilderness preservation system," composed of areas retaining their natural primitive environment and influence, to serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, and historical use and enjoyment, in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness;

(2) Defines, in section 1 (c), a wilderness as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails";

(3) Establishes, in section 2 (a), certain "roadless, wild, and wilderness areas" within the national forests as part of the proposed national wilderness preservation system, and authorizes additions thereto pursuant to certain prescribed procedures;

(4) Establishes, in section 2 (b), certain areas of the national park system to be part of the wilderness system; and authorizes the addition of other areas to the wilderness system by proclamation of the President;

(5) Establishes, in section 2 (c), certain national wildlife refuges and ranges as areas of the wilderness system, and authorizes the addition of other areas thereto pursuant to certain procedures set forth in the bill;

(6) Establishes, in section 2 (d), certain "roadless and wild areas" on Indian reservations to be a part of the wilderness system, with the consent of the tribal band within whose reservations the property lies, and authorizes additions or modifications in accordance with the procedures set forth in the bill;

(7) Authorizes, in section 2 (e), the inclusion of such units as Congress may designate by statute, and such units as may be designated within federally owned or controlled land or water by the officials authorized to determine the use thereof;

(8) Provides, in section 2 (f), that any proposed addition to, modification of, or elimination from the national wilderness preservation system, other than by act of Congress, except on Indian reservations and as otherwise prescribed in the act, shall be reported to Congress by the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council upon receipt of notice; thereafter such change would take effect upon the expiration of the first period of 120 calendar days of continuous session of Congress following the date on which the report is received by Congress, if, during that period, an adverse resolution thereon has not been passed by either House of Congress.

(9) Provides, in section 3 (a), that nothing in the act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering the wilderness area shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character thereof;

(10) With certain exemptions, provides, in section 3 (b), that no portion of any area constituting a unit of the system shall be devoted to commodity production, lumbering, prospecting, mining or the removal of mineral deposits, grazing by domestic livestock, water impoundment, or any form of commercial enterprise, except as contemplated by the purposes of the act;

(11) Establishes, in section 4 (a), a National Wilderness Preservation Council;

(12) Provides, in section 4 (b), that the Council shall serve as the repository for, and shall maintain available for public inspection, such maps and official

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papers regarding the national wilderness preservation system as may be filed with it. The Secretary of the Council would be required to report all proposed additions, modifications, or eliminations relating to areas of the system to the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Council would serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information among the agencies administering areas within the system; also, the Council would make, sponsor, and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs and conditions, and would disseminate information for the use of the public regarding the use and preservation of areas within the system. The Council would be directed to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of the President, the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, and other appropriate officers of the United States Government, and to assist in obtaining cooperation in wilderness preservation. The Council would be required to make an annual report to the Congress.

The chief result of this proposal would be to interpose an additional agency, a National Wilderness Preservation Council, between the Congress and the responsible administrative agency. We note in particular that the Council would exercise no administrative jurisdiction over any unit of the proposed wilderness system nor over any agency that does not have such jurisdiction. Its functions would be to collect and maintain maps and official records, to report any proposed changes in the system to the Congress, to serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information, to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of various public officials, to assist in obtaining cooperation among various land-use agencies, to report annually to Congress, and to make such recommendations as the Council may deem advisable. The Council would neither bear the responsibility for the determination of policy, nor the responsibility for carrying it out.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to interrupt at this point.

The bell has just rung, and all the Senators are required to be on the floor. But in order to expedite the hearings, I will have Mr. Stong, my assistant, continue to hear the testimony, and it will all be carried in the record, of course, and we will have access to it later.

Mr. WIRTH. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This will make it possible for us to hear these witnesses without delay.

Thank you.

You may proceed.

Mr. WIRTH (continues reading):

The activities of the council would involve cumbersome, time-consuming, and expensive procedures that we believe would not accomplish efficiently the purposes intended.

If this proposed legislation becomes law, under certain provisions of the bill, such as section 2 (f), the Congress will be drawn into the day-to-day management of national parks, wildlife refuges and ranges, Indian reservations, national forests, and other Federal lands designated as "wilderness" areas. Costs of administration of these areas would be increased by the necessity of accumulating duplicate sets of official maps and other papers, by the making of surveys by the Council, by the notice and hearings provisions, by the operating costs of the Council, and by the preparation of Council reports. The Council would duplicate the efforts of this Department and the Department of Agriculture on information activities. Such activities on the part of the Council would be unnecessary since they already are being performed adequately by existing agencies.

Perhaps the best method of evaluating this proposed legislation is to analyze its probable effect, if enacted, upon specific types of Federal reservations to which it would apply. By the terms of this bill, a considerable number of each type of reservation to which this bill refers, would be placed in essentially the same pattern of "wilderness" management. Because the public use and interests in each type of reservation differ, this would be impracticable.

The national parks are probably the only type of reservation that we administer that could be said to fit comfortably into the "wilderness" category. However, the Congress has long since enacted legislation for protection of the national park system. It is our considered opinion, therefore, that this proposed wilderness legislation would add little, if anything, to the protection,

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as wilderness areas, that the national park system now enjoys. In fact, the inclusion of the national parks in a general system of wilderness areas—particularly if that system includes areas of lesser significance and importance—will have the effect of placing the national parks on a less firm foundation of protection than has been already provided by Federal law.

This proposed legislation would include many of the national wildlife refuges in the proposed wilderness system. In formulating this proposed legislation, there appears to have been a mistaken belief concerning the purposes of the national wildlife refuges and the recognized and established methods for their management. These areas do not fit into the general pattern of wilderness areas for the reason that in order to preserve our wildlife population—the basic purpose of such refuges—it is necessary to manage actively the wildlife refuges for the production of food and the retention of water for our wildlife population. Areas so managed necessarily must disturb the natural or "wilderness" condition that exist in these areas, but we find no alternative to this type of management in order to preserve and protect our wildlife population.

Under the provisions of subsection 2 (c) a number of national wildlife refuges and game ranges are listed that would become a part of the national wilderness preservation system except for such parts of those areas which the Secretary of the Interior would designate as required for roads and buildings and other installations for the administration and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife. Under this provision it would be necessary to list substantial parts of refuges to be excluded, such as the Seney, Delta, Wichita, and other wildlife refuges where major areas have been altered by the creation of water impoundments and other development activities, with the net result that little area would remain for dedication to the national wilderness preservation system. For example, there are some 20 large and 50 small water impoundments that have been created on the Wichita refuge for the management of the big-game herds. It is also necessary in the management of areas such as the Kofa, Cabeza Prieta, and Desert Game Ranges to create water reservoirs wherever seeps and springs are discovered. Without such water developments, which usually cannot be anticipated in advance, our program for the preservation of mountain sheep would be a lost cause.

In the absence of an aggressive timber management program on the Seney National Wildlife Refuge, important waterfowl lands would soon be overgrown with timber or noxious vegetative cover. Without a dynamic water-control program, marshes and water impoundments would revert to the condition in which they existed prior to the establishment of the project when they were of little, if any, value for migratory birds.

This proposed legislation would apply also to portions of Indian reservations. We believe this would be improper and undesirable for various reasons. These Indian lands are, in effect, private lands of the Indians that are being administered by this Department in trust for the Indians' benefit. This bill does not recognize the rights of individual Indians on allotted lands within the designated Indian roadless and wild areas. Tribal councils are not authorized to consent to actions on allotted lands and the bill makes no provision for consent by the owners of allotments. It is certain that there would be serious and jutsified objections from Indian allottees to any proposal that would preclude the possibility of commercial enterprises on their lands.

The policy of granting competent Indians full authority to handle their resources through the issuance of patents in fee on allotments is not in agreement with the objectives of this bill. Much of the allotted land within the Indian areas specified by this proposal may be expected to be removed from Federal supervision under this policy. It is the expressed policy of the Congress and of this Department to terminate the Federal Government's trust responsibility for these lands as rapidly as the Indians of each tribe are capable of managing their own affairs. During the remaining period that these lands are held in trust status, therefore, the object of management should be to develop their income-producing capacity to the fullest extent consistent with the principle of sustained yield. This objective is not compatible with the objective of this proposed legislation which is to withdraw the forest from commercial development and retain it in a natural state. In the circumstances, we can only conclude that the Indian lands to which this bill refers would not fit appropriately into the pattern of wilderness management as envisioned by this proposal.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that each type of Federal area or reservation that we have enumerated has been adapted over a period of time to the

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particular needs and desires of our people. Each serves a definite purpose and the Nation derives many and varied types of benefits from its "estate."

Notwithstanding these considerations, we are aware of the fact that many devoted conservationists believe that legislation of this type is desirable. We believe the views of these conservationists should be reflected, in a practical way, by an appropriate enactment which we have previously recommended. When reporting upon the bill previously referred to before your committee, that would create a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, we indicated our belief that such a commission should review not only public recreation resources but also wilderness areas and the need therefor. Appreciation of such wilderness resources is a form of recreation, and we need to know clearly where we are going not only in the general recreation field but also in regard to the existing program for wilderness preservation and the objectives of new programs designed to assure the preservation of wilderness values for future generations.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised us that there would be no objection to the submission of this report to your committee.

This is signed by Hatfield Chilson, Under Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. STONG (Benton J. Stong, professional staff member). Thank you, Mr. Wirth. Do you have any additional comment?

Mr. WIRTH. No, sir; unless there are some questions.

Mr. STONG. Do any of the gentlemen accompanying you have a supplementary statement?

Mr. WIRTH. Nobody from the Park Service.

Mr. Woozley, do you have any statement you wish to make for the Bureau of Land Management?

Mr. WOOZLEY. We might just explain how the Bureau of Land Management would fit into the picture.

Mr. STONG. I wonder if you would come up, Mr. Woozley, and give your name to the reporter. It is not on our list.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD WOOZLEY, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. WOOZLEY. My name is Edward Woozley, Director of the Bureau of Land Management, in the Department of the Interior.

We are not one of the three bureaus mentioned in the report, but we do have the custody and management of the vacant reserved public lands from which many of the future wilderness areas would no doubt be carved.

It is our belief that wilderness areas are not farmed by people, but have been farmed by nature to some extent.

Being a native of Idaho, I can point to the millions of acres that are in the "primitive" areas, as we used to call it, now the "wilderness" areas, in Idaho. And they are high, inaccessible areas. They are valuable for watershed. They have some wildlife on them, very little grazing, but they are typical and ideal wilderness areas. And the way that we have farmed wilderness areas on the public domain in the past has been by an agency such as the Forest Service or the National Park Service in Interior finding areas that are naturally adapted to wilderness. They ask for those to be withdrawn for that purpose, or they set them aside in connection with the purposes of national forest and national park administration. This bill, in the opinion of the Secretary, as you have just heard, and in the opinion of the Bureau of Land Management, would be somewhat complicated

in administration, because there would be an extra layer, so to speak, of people between the administering agency, the agency requiring the lands, the agency making the lands available, and the Congress.

I think that is all I have to say, unless there are questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STONG. Are there any others?

Mr. WIRTH. Is there anybody from Fish and Wildlife Service that would like to make a statement?

Mr. GRIFFITH. I am Richard Griffith, Assistant Chief of the Branch of Wildlife Refuges of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. I have a brief statement I would like to file with the committee if it is permissible, and thereby save the committee's time, but I would also like to comment briefly on the legislation as it relates to the responsibilities of the Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife.

Mr. STONG. Your statement will be included in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY RICHARD GRIFFITH, ASSISTANT CHIEF, BRANCH OF WILDLIFE REFUGES, BUREAU OF SPORT FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE, ON THE PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

The future of many species of wildlife and game resources generally is dependent in a large measure upon the wild lands in public ownership retaining their present character. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife has endeavored, through the national wildlife refuge program, to preserve wilderness characteristics of the refuge properties. Some species of wildlife are dependent upon an undisturbed environment.

The welfare and abundance of some species of our native game are directly related to the manipulation of the environment through coordinated programs of land use and the regulated harvest of crops produced by the land, including the removal of timber. The varied needs of the many species of birds and mammals occurring on national wildlife refuges must be considered in the management of these properties. It would not be in the best public interest to abandon management programs now in effect, and which are based upon the essential needs of the wildlife for which the refuge properties were acquired.

A primary function of the national wildlife refuge program is the management of the migratory bird resource in accordance with the provisions of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918 and the Migratory Bird Conservation Act of 1929, meeting the needs of the resource and fulfilling the responsibilities delegated to the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife by law, and congressional policy has required the development of impoundments and marshes subject to manipulation. Management techniques include regulation of water levels, grazing, application of herbicides, plowing, and planting. In addition, it has been necessary to develop croplands for the growing of supplemental feed. Thus, while a national wildlife refuge may have the general characteristics of wilderness, many types of habitat manipulation may be in operation. Within the general framework of the refuge management program, several thousand acres have been set apart to be administered as wilderness areas for two purposes: First, for those species of wildlife whose welfare is dependent on environment subject only to natural influences and, secondly, to have environmental conditions which will serve as a yardstick in evaluating management techniques.

The pristine characteristics of the unique Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge in Georgia will be preserved under the Bureau policy on natural areas. A natural area grassland covering more than 1,000 acres has been set aside on the Valentine National Wildlife Refuge in Nebraska, and there are additional natural areas of grassland on the Crescent Lake refuge, also in Nebraska. The principal forest types occurring on national wildlife refuges are represented in natural areas which have been reserved from management.

Some lands included in the national wildlife refuge program are administered jointly with another Federal agency and wildlife management is subordinate to primary uses, which may include flood control, irrigation, and grazing. On the game ranges, which are administered in cooperation with the Bureau of Land Management, joint action has been taken toward the establishment of natural areas.

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The American heritage of public hunting and fishing must be maintained. This can only be accomplished through continued vigilance over our public lands with due regard for the inherent capacity of the lands and waters to produce an annual crop of fish and wildlife in relationship to coordinated land uses.

Mr. GRIFFITH. Thank you.

The function of wilderness and conservation of wildlife resources is recognized by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. The Bureau also recognizes that the welfare of many of our important game species depends upon some manipulation of their habitat. And in attempting to meet the two needs of the total wildlife resource, the Bureau has attempted to strike a balance in its national wildlife refuge program. Portions of some refugure properties have been designated as natural areas and are set aside apart from any management activity, thereby meeting the needs of those species of wildlife that are dependent upon undisturbed habitat.

There are also portions of refuge lands that are under intensive management.

Many refuges are wilderness in character, and yet within a refuge property there may be many phases of management in operation at all times.

The future of much of our hunting and fishing depends in a large measure on the preservation of wilderness areas. At the same time, many wilderness areas, by their character, a lot of it being high altitude country—there are limiting factors of climate, inherent capacity of the soil to produce wildlife, which automatically limit the total wildlife production. And it is evident that because of these natural factors and limitations, these wilderness properties could not stand the increase in hunting and fishing pressure that might result if access were greatly improved to these properties.

I have no additional comments beyond that.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WIRTH. I believe that is all for the Department.

However, if I may, I would like to make just one short statement of my own, because I have no printed statement to offer.

I know that the Department of Interior is greatly concerned about this and is also very much interested in the preservation of wilderness areas. The main concern is how it is being done and how it can be done best.

I was interested in a discussion here this morning that took place around the table, and the various definitions of wilderness that were expressed by different people here at the table.

We in the National Park Service do not permit hunting. There is some grazing, but we are trying and have been trying to get that grazing out ever since the parks were established, because it is on public land. We do not permit mining or timbering or lumbering. We are against the building of dams in the parks, which California indicated they might want to do in some of these wilderness areas.

The question is: Are we clearly defining what we are trying to do?

That defines our thinking on it, not that we do not need wilderness areas, but: are we using an overall term that would be interpreted by different people and would confuse the issue to a considerable extent when you are talking with the public about this wilderness area system and they go one place and find hunting and to another and find no hunting?

I was very much interested in the philosophy of Senator Humphrey here this morning of wanting something constructive, and I know that is the feeling of the Department. I realize the Department report has pointed out the difficulties. We hope by pointing these out we can come out with something constructive. But at the present time, I think there is a definition and a definite category and a fitting of the land into these categories.

Now, I say that subject to possible criticism from my good friend, Dick McArdle, over here. It is entirely possible, when you start classifying some of these lands, that some of his national forest areas which are now termed "wilderness" under the Forest Service, might be classified into the type of wilderness that we try to have in the national parks, and consequently it might be that some of those areas might be included in the national park system.

But, be that as it may, the report of the Secretary believes, and I concur in it very strongly, that we should look at this objectively and make a complete analysis and put the land uses in their proper categories and put them under the proper management.

Now, that is my personal belief. It has been the policy of the National Park Service down through the years. Some of the arguments—and I was not there at the time, but I have heard some of them—that were advanced for wilderness here this morning by Senator Humphrey and Senator Neuberger reflect in my memory some of the arguments that I read in the records or heard in the reports when Steve Mather and the American Civil Association, back in 1912, 1914, and 1916, were trying to get the National Park Service established for many of the purposes outlined here for the wilderness.

I just bring that up, sir, to go on record with a statement of trying to be constructive. And I think we have got to get a category, and we cannot talk of wilderness being administered by different departments under different regulations and using the same term. It is just like a big hall where you eat, sleep, dance, play cards, and everything. I do not know whether you would call it living room, dining room, kitchen, or what. It is the same thing.

I would like to make one other statement as to the discussions that came up as to what percentage of the people use the wilderness. I would say if the wilderness ever got to have the same number of visitations as do the recreation areas—and I do not classify the national parks under that term, because I am classifying recreation area as meaning intensive recreation—then you would cease to have wilderness. In other words, you would just ruin it by that heavy use. It is just like you need so much ground to play a game of croquet, but when you play golf you need so much other land. And when you have wilderness, you have got to have broad expanses, and you have got to keep heavy developments out of it. But you want to get as many people as can justifiably do it that are willing to go in there and hike and camp, and so forth, and not come in by road.

And I might say that while there are some 24 million acres in the national park system, there is not more than 5 percent of it that is used for development. The rest of it is wilderness. And if you do not think so, go out and try it and get back on the trails, and you will find out. And I will say that some of our wilderness areas are getting a little heavy use now, and we do need expansion to spread the people out

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in the wilderness area. But we will never have the hundreds of thousands of people in the wilderness areas as in the national parks, because they cannot stand it. It would be destroyed.

So it is a different kind of land use, that is very essential and important. But let us classify it. Let us call it by its right name, and define it, and then find out what land should be in that category. That is all I have to say.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Wirth.

I know your statements are very much appreciated.

We are operating under extreme difficulty today. The Senate is going to vote on the handling of the House civil-rights bill, and the Hells Canyon Dam bill has been made pending business.

Senator Murray, as chairman of the committee, will have to present the Hells Canyon Dam bill on the floor in a few minutes.

Mr. Dan Poole has submitted his statement, which includes as an exhibit an article by Ira N. Gabrielson in the Living Wilderness.

They will be made a part of the record.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF DANIEL A. POOLE, WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

Mr. Chairman, I am Daniel A. Poole, editor of the Outdoor News Bulletin, a news service issued by the Wildlife Management Institute. The institute is a national membership organization and its program is dedicated to the improved management of natural resources in the public interest.

The institute supports the objectives of S. 1176 and all the similar so-called wilderness bills. We believe that the preservation and maintenance under natural conditions of wilderness tracts is most desirable. It is important, we believe, because of the primary relationship existing between wilderness and the comfort and security now being enjoyed by the peoples of our Nation. From the natural resources wealth of early America, we have evolved a standard and a way of life unequaled in the history of man. What better monument could there be to show appreciation for the bountiful resources that have and continue to energize this Nation than the preservation of selected samples of wilderness America? Surely, a Nation as large, as wealthy, and as proud as the United States can afford to set aside scattered tracts in order that present and future citizens can see for themselves what primitive American was—and is—like.

We believe wilderness areas are desirable for still another reason. As a response to the way of life that has evolved from our great natural resources base, we have become a Nation of recreation-minded persons. The figures rise each year. More and more persons seek the solace that comes from wilderness experience. They desire to get away from the blatant and the commonplace of daily existence and undergo the revitalization that comes from the out of doors.

Legislation of the type now under consideration would be of assistance to the administrators of the Federal land-management agencies in preserving the areas of wilderness that have been established in the past. Any agency head who can effect change by the relatively simple expedient of administrative decision is subject to varied and subtle pressures. Regardless of how well intentioned an administrator might be, there always is the danger in the absence of a law requiring public hearings and a period of review, that there might not be brought to his attention all the facts on which to base a decision. There also is protection in a law for administrators in that it provides a shield against political pressures that otherwise might be brought to bear whenever the authority and responsibility for making a decision rests with the executive agencies.

All of the 79 areas that have been designated for protection as wilderness within the national forests were set up by administrative designation. Under present practice, a Secretary of Agriculture can abolish or seriously reduce any one or all of these wilderness areas. Only through statutory recognition of the Nation's wilderness will the public be assured that adequate consideration would be made for any modification, deletion, or addition to wilderness areas.

The institute is pleased that the proposals under consideration stress the

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coordinating, educational, and informational aspects of the job that is required to further public understanding of wilderness. It also is reassuring that these proposals contemplate the establishment of a National Wilderness Council among whose membership are the directors of pertinent land management agencies. This provision will bring about greater understanding of wilderness objectives among these administrators, while at the same time giving sustenance to the concept of wilderness preservation from the experience and knowledge of these men.

There is no doubt that the American people are deeply interested in wilderness. It is fully expected that as the system is defined, and as the information about specific areas is brought to the attention of the public, there will be stimulated an even greater and far reaching interest in wilderness preservation and enjoyment.

[From the Living Wilderness, winter-spring 1956-57]

STRENGTHEN THEIR HANDS

By Ira N. Gabrielson, President, Wildlife Management Institute, Formerly Director, United States Fish and Wildlife Service

There is something about the word "wilderness" in the sense of meaning unspoiled country that has a deep appeal to many Americans who have not themselves visted such a place. Just to know that such places exist and are being preserved brings a deep inner satisfaction and a thrill to many of us.

This indicates that there is deep within people who are engaged in hectic and busy lives of modern America a spark of the pioneer and an interest in adventure in land that has not been intensively modified or "developed" for intensive human use.

An increasing number of conservationists are agreeing with John Muir that "this is fine and natural and full of promise."

As John Muir noted more than half a century ago, there is also among Americans a "tendency nowadays to wander in wilderness." As Muir described it:

"Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, overcivilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wilderness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life. Awakening from the stupefying effects of the vice of overindustry and the deadly apathy of luxury, they are trying as best they can to mix and enrich their own little ongoings with those of nature, and to get rid of rust and disease."

It is to this deep-seated, inner impulse that we owe the movement to preserve wilderness areas as we know them today.

We can all be proud of the excellent job that has been done in preserving these areas. There are few of them left to be preserved other than those that have already been set aside by the farsighted vision of the administrators of the executive agencies which have control of them. This applies particularly to United States Forest Service, which has been a leader in this field, but also to the National Park Service and to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service as well.

These executive agencies have done a magnificent job with all too little public support for their efforts to preserve unspoiled some of the great outdoor heritage of this Nation.

However, growing pressures of population and demands of industry are making it more and more difficult to resist encroachments and invasion of these magnificent areas.

I believe that legislation of the type that has now been introduced in Congress, generally known as the wilderness bill, would greatly strengthen the hands of these administrators in preserving the areas that they have battled so successfully to care for during the past many years.

The fact that this legislation makes the top officials of the various land management agencies the core of the Council which it proposes to establish, is definite recognition of the excellent job that has been done and, at the same time, an effort to strengthen their hands against what most conservationists believe are going to be increasingly difficult pressures to withstand.

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The principles of this bill, if enacted into law, cannot help but be a long step forward in preserving some of the magnificence of America for those who come after us.

Mr. STONG. Senator Karl Mundt is unable to appear personally and has submitted a statement which will be included in the record.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. Chairman, as 1 of the 12 sponsors of the Wilderness Preservation Act in the Senate, which we are considering here today, I wish to discuss briefly with you just what this measure will accomplish when passed.

This act defines the term "wilderness" in an overall sense as, "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails." It also defines wilderness in specific terms as it applies to this bill. It declares that wilderness preservation is a desirable policy for our health, welfare, and happiness. And congressional sanction is given to the continued preservation of our federally owned areas of wilderness. It designates the specific areas to be included in the system and makes provision for additions and deletions where necessary. And finally it creates a National Wilderness Preservation Council to serve as a focus for the variety of interests represented in the system, and to serve as a clearinghouse and headquarters for the records relating to the system.

Let me say here that I have the greatest admiration for the administrators of the Park Service, Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I certainly would be the first to commend the fine work done by these four primary Federal agencies whose land areas are affected by this bill and I am glad to emphasize that the Council created by the Wilderness Preservation Act is in no sense a superagency over these bureaus. The bill specifically states that the Council "shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any unit in the system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction."

In reply to a query regarding this problem, Mr. John P. Earner, of the American Law Division, Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, stated categorically, "The notion that enactment of this legislation would take from the executive branch of the Government and give to Congress a power to dictate all matters concerning wilderness areas is simply not true."

The purpose of the Council is simply to represent our special and distinctive interest in our wilderness resource as wilderness and to make annual reports to Congress regarding the system. The heads of the agencies involved will be members of the Council, and there are citizen members. And one of the very important aspects of the composition of the Council is that the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution will serve as Council secretary.

This in itself indicates the nature of the organization as a center of information and a "nonexclusive clearinghouse." The Smithsonian Institution is not involved with any land areas within the system. Therefore, the Secretary of the Council will not be concerned with any interagency administrative problems regarding such areas. In addition, the important role played in the Council by the Smithsonian Institution points out the great scientific values of wilderness areas and the role they play as outdoor laboratories for biological and ecological research. In a very real sense, they serve the biologist and ecologist as living museums of natural history, where the complicated processes of nature can be studied under conditions as little modified by man as possible.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I want to indicate my strong support of the Council as set up in this bill. The Council, as conceived in this legislation, is in fact a corollary of the basic purpose of preserving a wilderness system through the independent operations of the various executive agencies, each agency handling its own areas of wilderness in its own way and in keeping with its own other purposes. Yet all such areas are to be maintained so as to perpetuate their wilderness character for present and future generations.

As my distinguished colleague Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, has pointed out with respect to the national forest wilderness areas, "The bill is designed to strengthen the Forest Service's hands in carrying out these policies and programs." Congressman Saylor, sponsor of the Wilderness Preservation Act

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in the House, has indicated a similar need with respect to the Park Service, in the course of a statement made on July 12, 1956, before the House. He said, "Even in the national parks and monuments, the pressures for roads and non-wilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to destroy the primeval wilderness. In my opinion," he continued, "if we are to make sure that we still have in the distant future our national park primeval back country still preserved as wilderness, we should declare here in Congress our purpose to do so."

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I urge you to consider carefully each provision of this bill. But remember too, our civilization moves fast. Our population pressures are growing. Our opportunity to provide for preservation of wilderness without interfering with other important programs is fast slipping away. I urge your prompt and favorable consideration of this bill.

Mr. STONG. It is the Chairman's desire to keep up with the witness schedule each day. We have a large number of witnesses and 2 days set for the hearings. So I am going to suggest that we adjourn until 2 o'clock this afternoon, when I hope there will be some of the Senators available.

I do not know whether or not the witness list has been distributed. On the list remaining today are Dr. Murie, Mr. Pomeroy, A. Z. Nelson, Mr. Brandborg, and Mr. Howard Zahniser.

Can you gentlemen be back this afternoon at 2?

Fine.

Then we will adjourn at this time and meet again at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. STONG. We will proceed with the hearing.

The Senate is debating on civil rights at the present time, and none of the Senators have been able to get away.

Senator Murray has asked me to express his regrets, and also asked me to continue making the record in this hearing.

I do not know whether the situation on the floor will change so that they can come back to the hearing, but we will proceed.

We have a statement by Devereux Butcher, secretary of the Defenders of Furbearers, and also a statement by Prof. Otto A. Piper, of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Both Mr. Butcher and Professor Piper have asked that their papers be made a part of the record. That will be done at this time.

(The statements referred to follow:)

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Princeton, N. J., June 18, 1957.

REMARKS ON S. 1176

This bill is of historic significance for the life of our Nation, because it is designed to implement one of the basic principles of our American concept of democracy, namely, that this Nation is one in time no less than in space. The sponsors of the bill realize that this country with all its resources has been given in trust to its occupants with the obligation so to use it that the interests of future generations will not be impaired by the living ones. The history of our country abounds with instances in which this principle has been grossly violated, and where thoughtlessness, indifference, and greed have severely harmed our irreplaceable natural bounties.

In the past our Nation got so intoxicated with the idea of an ever-shifting frontier and ever-expanding areas to be exploited that even today many Americans fail to realize that a limit has to be set to their acquisitive expansionism. Yet the pathetic depletion of the landscape of the Near East and of large portions

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of South America should be a warning against an uninhibited utilization of our natural bounties. The beauty and the health of a country depend on the right ratio between cultivated land on the one hand and wilderness areas on the other. The anorganic growth of our big cities, and especially of the eastern megalopolis from Connecticut to Virginia, show clearly how for lack of overall planning large sections of potential green belts are sacrificed to the building boom.

There is danger that, without sufficient legal protection, our country as a whole will share the present fate of our urban areas, and that thoughtlessness and greed will bare the whole country forever. S. 1176 is therefore a very timely measure by which a section of our natural wilderness will be protected and preserved for coming generations. The bill has been written in a spirit of fairness, justice, and moderation, and its adoption will help to make our democracy more stable and more real to the people.

(Prof.) OTTO A. PIPER, Th. D.

DEFENDERS OF FURBEARERS,
Washington, D. C.

Defenders of Furbearers is a nationwide organization with more than 10,000 members, founded in 1946 for the humane treatment of fur-bearing animals and for the conservation of wildlife in general.

After carefully studying this bill, it is the conclusion of Defenders of Furbearers that the proposed legislation would further one of our main objectives, namely, to conserve wildlife by providing additional safeguards for maintaining as wilderness those lands already so designated or so established by existing Federal laws. We feel that with pressures of a rapidly growing population, all wild or wilderness lands will be increasingly endangered, even though already protected by law, by demands to open them to commercial development, and we believe that every means should be employed to see that what little wilderness still remains should be held inviolate for the preservation of natural conditions of wildlife habitat.

Defenders of Furbearers therefore urges enactment of S. 1176.

DEVEREUX BUTCHER, *Secretary.*

Mr. STONG. The first witness this afternoon is Dr. Olaus J. Murie. Is Dr. Murie here?

Dr. MURIE. Yes.

Mr. STONG. Dr. Murie, you are the president of the Wilderness Society; is that correct?

Dr. MURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STONG. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF OLAUS J. MURIE, PRESIDENT, THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY, MOOSE, WYO.

Dr. MURIE. Thank you.

My name is Olaus J. Murie, and I have come here from my headquarters in Moose, Wyo., to represent the Wilderness Society, of which I am the director.

Gentlemen, in the wilderness bill now before you, we are dealing with a historical American trend that has caught the imagination of the world. I should like to discuss this trend, since it has a direct bearing on this proposed legislation. I have had occasion to visit various Congressmen and Senators in their offices, and have been impressed with the great burden of work each must carry. Numerous matters need your attention to meet a need of the moment, some obvious current problems. But at times there comes before you something which has a long-time important significance in our way of life. I feel that this wilderness-preservation bill is one of these.

Throughout our country we are inclined in recent years to look upon mankind as a mass. We speak of mass recreation; we speak from an

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administrative standpoint of working for the masses; we speak of the greatest good for the greatest number, and we are concerned with numbers.

In these masses of people we have our personal aspirations as people.

As Senator Neuberger said this morning, this is the question of quality; quality is what we as a people are striving for, and we must not overlook the trend of human thinking.

I grew up in the State of Minnesota, the home State of Senator Humphrey, and I started my work in wilderness areas in 1912, in the State of Oregon, and since that time up to almost this moment, I have been engaged in occupations that take me out into the wild country, into the back country of our continent. I have had an opportunity to meet with great masses of people, people who are striving to make their lives meaningful. I have met these people in northern Alaska, Labrador, Hudson Bay, our Southwest, all through the United States, New Zealand, Panama, and Venezuela. It is a worldwide movement. It is a human concept.

So on this occasion, I would like, if I may—maybe it is a little presumptuous—but I would like to speak for the masses of people who are individuals. These people I have met and known. I think there is a difference between an administrative view of our human problems, and human individual views of the people themselves. That is why I think that the philosophy of wilderness should not in the minds of any of us be departmentalized. We should not say that this is under this administration, and that is under that other administration, and that is still another administration, and that each one of us is different.

We like to see the same kind of environment in all of these areas.

Of course, we have other uses for these areas, and we need those, but we have got to be more unified in our thinking about wilderness, and the effect of wilderness on people, and their enjoyment of that kind of experience.

So, I would like to speak very briefly about some people all through the United States, all through this continent, and through the world who are thinking about the wilderness philosophy, not about certain distinct areas, but as a whole.

The value of the out-of-doors to human beings was spoken of almost as long ago as we have written records, for example, in the Book of Isaiah. Our people came to this continent in the early Pilgrim days when it was only sparsely inhabited by the first immigrants, the Indians. There followed the pioneer era, when people had a taste of what life could be when they could travel in big country and enjoy the freedom which comes to those who have the opportunity to be individuals.

I want to stress that these were Europeans, who came from long-filled lands, where such a degree of individual freedom was impossible. They came to a new continent at a period in human history when appreciation of such an environment was possible to them. As we pushed our settlement from one coast to another, a great number of active, virile Americans did not want to see this Nation entirely lose this invigorating frontier atmosphere. Our early American literature was enhanced by such writings as those of Emerson, Thoreau, John Muir, and many others. Imbued with the pioneer spirit, many began

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to urge that we so plan for the use of our land that future citizens might have some bit of experience of the kind enjoyed in such full measure by our earlier forebears. You all know that our first national park, the Yellowstone, was established in 1872. This was done largely in response to an unselfish decision of a group of humble men who camped there, whose action is a bit of American history we are proud of. But it was not until 1916 that our Congress took the necessary step to create a National Park Service. Perhaps it was not so necessary up to that time.

The same farseeing American imagination began to look into the question of saving the big trees of California. We should grant the highest honor to those public-spirited owners of forest tracts who donated large areas of redwood forests for this noble purpose, for all the people.

I also want to mention a State across the continent, New York, which had the foresight to put into its constitution early in its history, a provision for maintaining the Adirondacks "forever wild."

In the meantime some other nations began following America's example. Japan now has about 4 percent of its land in national parks. New Zealand has 6 percent of its land in national parks. Russia has national parks. There are large ones in Africa, and other nations are trying to find some areas suitable for that purpose. As in our country, the national parks in New Zealand had no controlling administrative body until recently, when a national parks authority was created, similar to our National Park Service.

In more recent years a new development took place. People began to want certain parts of our national forests dedicated as pure wilderness, a direct attempt to provide for all people of the future an opportunity to see and to have experience in, those bits of America as nature had created it.

As this desire for the wholesome outdoors grew, we found that to preserve our wildlife it was necessary to dedicate refuges for those fellow creatures, places in which they can live. Now, when our commercial pressures have become more intense, we have had to plan more carefully, and we find that a number of those refuges, under the administration of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, can serve a double purpose of having some portions of them devoted to wilderness preservation as well. There are also some wilderness areas which in the past have been so designated, on Indian reservations.

On April 18, 1957, Hon. Wayne Morse, of Oregon, had read, in the Senate, a speech by Hon. John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, in which Mr. Saylor said:

> We owe the leaders of the National Park Service a great debt for the way in which they have fostered the wilderness idea, but we must recognize that the wilderness concept is compatible with, not identical to, the national park idea—an enrichment certainly of the national park purpose but not the genesis.

As Mr. Saylor also pointed out, the national forests also have some areas of wilderness, and thus the forests as a whole serve many purposes.

Similarly, the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge also affords a unique type of wilderness; the Charles Sheldon Antelope Range in Nevada has some beautiful canyon and sage wilderness sections, with their bird and mammal inhabitants, offering a rich experience to

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people; and some of the Aleutian Islands afford outstanding refuges for seabird rookeries, and at the same time furnish a possible wild country experience in a unique northern ocean setting.

Thus, over the years, the people throughout the world have come to cherish those areas of wilderness which we still have left. And throughout this development, America has provided leadership. This is a leadership of truly humanitarian proportions. And I would stress that this is the highest form of leadership—not by propaganda, but by example. We have undertaken to provide for our own people the opportunity to experience a way of life that is invigorating, and certainly will tend to maintain a strong culture in our land. Other countries have been applying the same idea in their land. Other countries have been applying the same idea in their lands. And we have been told, in books by writers of other lands, in effect: "You in America have something precious. Hang on to it."

We have numerous organizations in America devoted to the cause of wilderness preservation. And we have the International Union for the Conservation of Nature. Truly this is an important unselfish effort on the part of mankind to keep certain parts of the earth for our recreation, in the true sense of that term.

But we are having difficulties. The wilderness quality may be found in various situations, and under different administrative controls. This diversity of administration, for diverse purposes, is all to the good. But there is a great complexity of interests and our administrators are under heavy pressures. What wilderness we have on public lands, for use by all people, is being maintained by administrative decisions. As one forester put it, "A forester is kept upright by pressures on all sides."

The many thousands of Americans who have sincerely nurtured the wilderness concept through the years, who have been loyally defending certain areas under the administration of Federal agencies, who were greatly heartened by the fact that so many Congressmen, in both Houses, and in both parties, so enthusiastically sponsored the bills now before the Congress.

We feel, gentleman, that this American wilderness tradition, developed through a period of about a century, now deserves the backing of our Congress, so as to give this wholesome idea a national standing, a national policy. As a former president of the Wilderness Society expressed it: "We need * * * to put wilderness legally on the map of the United States." I believe everyone agrees that the specific areas should remain in the jurisdiction they now have. But these bills would strengthen the agencies and strengthen the efforts of all who are now devoting their energies to cooperate with those agencies. Just as Congress took action in 1916 to establish the National Park Service, so as to give a firm foundation to the emerging national park concept, so now I honestly believe it is time for Congress to give similar attention to the broad principle of retaining wilderness areas for public use. The bills now before you serve that purpose.

This past winter I met with many groups in the Western States, on their invitation, to discuss the wilderness program. These included dude ranches, scientific organizations, foresters, educators, Audubon societies, among others. They are all in accord with this proposed legislation. I have just now returned from an inspection trip in many

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parts of Alaska, on the invitation of sportsmen's groups and women's clubs, to discuss what we should do about designating as wildlife range under wilderness conditions in certain portions of northeast Alaska. What I found in the thinking of Alaskans, men and women, from one end of the country to the other, was indeed heartening. Everywhere today, throughout our continent, there is a wholesome interest, a growing one, in what we know as wilderness. There is widespread gratitude to those of you who have observed this trend and sponsored the present bills.

In the history of our country certain events stand out as landmarks which we revere as marking progress in our American civilization. A few years ago Congressman Samuel B. Pettengill expressed his poetic concept in the Song of the Capitol Dome in which these lines appear:

> I have not yet found the cadence
> Of the song of the Capitol's Dome
> It is a long slow measure;
> The swing of the decades is in it
> And its beat is the timing of generations.

Last year Senator John F. Kennedy published a book, Profiles in Courage, in which he relates the convictions and actions of certain Members of our Congress through the years, men who had sincere convictions on matters that were important in the development of our culture. I feel, as many do, that this wilderness preservation legislation is another landmark, perhaps a more subtle one, which has a profound importance in shaping the course of our development as an American society.

At the annual meeting of the Council of the Wilderness Society last September in northern Minnesota, the following resolution was adopted—and, gentlemen, I want to comment that we represent many thousands of people throughout this continent and some in foreign countries.

We feel a responsibility on the staff and council of the Wilderness Society to those people because no society exists without membership Membership is the society, not we who are on the council.

We are trying to express what our membership feels throughout the country, and I have had many letters from the members on my invitation to let me know what they feel about our programs, and these letters have been the most inspiring that anyone could receive. These people felt devotedly consecrated to this purpose of wholesome philosophy for our American culture.

This is the resolution we adopted:

> We of the Wilderness Society, organized in 1935 to promote the concept that wilderness environment provides for people esthetic experience, wholesome serenity, and scientific and recreational opportunities of a high type, have seen the public need and general approval of these principles growing over the years. The membership of our society has grown, and we have seen many other organizations adopting as an important part of their concern the national need for wilderness. So widespread has this public desire to defend our national parks and other wilderness areas become that in recent years there has been much public support of wilderness at various hearings that have been held on proposals to invade with inappropriate commercial developments certain national parks and other scenic country, and such proposals have been widely opposed. So great has become the public concern with this wilderness program that a number of Representatives and Senators have become much interested, and bills have been introduced in both Houses of Congress to give congressional approval

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and protection for our national wilderness system, in order to provide greater stability for this national resource.

We feel that these bills, supported as they are by forward-looking people in our Congress, are in line with the work of the Wilderness Society. A reading of the bills as now drawn up reveals that they are concerned with the permanence of the esthetic, recreational, scientific, and educational values in our American out-of-doors, objectives which are being promoted by our quarterly magazine and by our staff and members.

Therefore, we are convinced that in the course of our work in promoting appreciation and increased knowledge of our wilderness heritage, we the members of the Council of the Wilderness Society, endorse these bills that have been drawn up and urge our members and our staff to support this proposed legislation as being in the highest public interest. We urge that both sides of any differences of opinion be examined fairly, but we feel that as a society we have high ideals for which we are striving and that we are obligated to work for these. We feel that these high ideals, for which we have stood as a society for more than 20 years, make it mandatory that we give our unqualified support to these forward-looking measures.

On behalf of the numerous members of the Wilderness Society, and the many other people who believe as they do, I earnestly urge that you give favorable consideration to the wilderness preservation legislation now before you for consideration.

May I add that I was privileged, on April 14, 15, and 16, 1953, to deliver a series of lectures in the eighth annual series of Isaac Hillman lectureships in the social sciences at Pacific University in Forest Grove, Oreg. These lectures, entitled respectively, "God Bless America—And Let's Save Some of It!", "Wild Country Round the World," and "Beauty and the Dollar Sign," were reprinted as a special issue of the Living Wilderness, summer 1953, published by the Wilderness Society, under the general title of "Wild Country as a National Asset." I hold a copy of this special number in my hand, and ask permission to have it included in the record as a part of my statement.

May I add that this title was once suggested by the Pacific University for my consideration, and I was very happy, of course, to comply.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the three articles which I have referred to.

Mr. STONG. Dr. Murie, I recall 1 or 2 articles from this issue of the Living Wilderness were put into the record this morning. Do you want only your three lectures included in the record?

Dr. MURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STONG. Very well. That will be done.

(The document referred to follows:)

[From the Living Wilderness, Summer 1953]

Discussing "Wild Country as a National Asset," Dr. Olaus J. Murie—president and director of the Wilderness Society—held the Isaac Hillman lectureship in the social sciences at Pacific University in Forest Grove, Oreg., April 14, 15, and 16, 1953, and delivered the significant lectures which it is now the privilege of the Living Wilderness to present to its readers—enhanced by Dr. Murie's own illustrations.

In a lectureship on the social sciences it is first of all signficant that such a contribution was requested. Established in 1945 as a memorial to Isaac Hillman by his son, Dr. Alex Hillman, of New York City, this lectureship has been held with distinction—by Dr. Frank Knight, who spoke on "Freedom and Power in the Social Order"; Dr. Max Radin, "For a World State"; Dr. Jerome Hall, "The Living Law of Democratic Society"; Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, who discussed in "Facts to a Candid World" the roots and remedies of racism; Dr. Peter H. Odegard, "Dynamic Factors in American Democracy"; Dr. Lee A. Du Bridge,

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"Atomic Energy and the Crisis in Sciences"; Dr. Benjamin Fine, "Major Problems in American Education"; and Dr. Norris Dodd, who spoke in 1952 on the food problems of the world. To see now added to such a series a discussion based on the thought that "man shall not live by bread alone" and emphasizing that it is an urgent matter to save the landscape itself, to save "a mountain, a bit of desert, a forest, a river, not for what materials they furnish, but for the help they might be to us simply by remaining mountain, desert, forest, and river," is indeed an evidence of the growing understanding of the human, social need for wilderness, the need, as Dr. Murie says, "to guard the original material on which our culture is founded."

That this opportunity of the Hillman lectureship should have come to Dr. Murie seems peculiarly appropriate—not alone because it was Pacific University that granted him his bachelor of arts degrees, in 1912, and honored him with the doctor of science degree in 1940, but primarily because the opportunity came thus to one who in this setting found it not only possible but effectively congenial to relate the values of wild country to personal experience and personality.

A founder of the Wilderness Society, the head of its staff since 1946, and the society's president since 1950, Dr. Murie has achieved a great leadership for wilderness preservation and appreciation—and such recognition as the superbly prized Leopold Medal. His writings (Alaska-Yukon Caribou, the Elk of North America, and many other scientific and conservation contributions), his illustrations of his own and others' writings, his oil paintings that hang on many walls, have been both evidence and agent of this leadership.

Back of it all is his wide and intimate, personal experience with wilderness—in the Hudson Bay and Labrator regions; in the wildness of Alaska, western Canada, and western United States, where for more than a quarter of a century he conducted field investigations for the United States Biological Survey and its successor the Fish and Wildlife Service; in New Zealand, where in 1949 he led the scientific party of the New Zealand-American Fiordland Expedition. He was married on an Alaskan expedition and with his wife Margaret E. has raised his children (Martin, Joanne, and Donald) in Wyoming's Jackson Hole region, at the foot of the Tetons. His life and living have been in and from the wilderness, and in his personality the concept of willingness has a noble and compelling expression.

Thus are explained, in part at least, the charm and force of these lectures, which through personal incident and varied observation arrive at great and specific truth, and through disarming simplicity become profound. To Pacific University and the Isaac Hillman lectureship we are indeed indebted for the occasion that brought forth these welcome contributions, which we are now so pleased to present and for which we covet the widest possible dissemination and appreciation.

[From the Living Wilderness, Summer 1958]

Wild Country as a National Asset

I. God Bless America and Let's Save Some of It

By Olaus J. Murie

I suppose there would be few other phrases subject to such variety of interpretation as the one—"Save America." There come to mind "national defense" against a foreign foe, "victory in war." Or, we might refer to the more fundamental need to save the soil of America, and its products, which make it possible for us to live here.

Let me quote a few words from a guest editorial in the spring 1951 issue of the Living Wilderness, written by Weldon Heald, who with vigor and forthrightness depicts the present conservation problem. Speaking of the industrial development, inventions, wealth, and prosperity that we have achieved, Mr. Heald says, in part: "However, there is another America. It is under our feet. It is around us. It is the land we live on—the forests, hills, valleys, mountains, and deserts." He quotes from our national anthem: "I love thy rocks and rills, thy woods and templed hills," and remarks that he has seen Americans stand and sing this "with tears of emotion in their eyes and selfless exaltation in their bearing."

Then he exclaims: "But I just don't believe it." In other words, our actions belie the words we sing. He ends with an earnest appeal:

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"God bless America—and let's save some of it."

There is a rich and diverse content in this thought. First, we need to have a more enlightened attitude toward the use of the material products of the earth. We must take thought of how we harvest our material resources, and how wisely we use the final products. It concerns our farm practice, our timber harvest, our grazing methods. But I shall not deal with these important matters here.

Mr. Heald had in mind something more. In our striving to understand the need for wisely using the material products of the soil, we have become aware of another urgent matter. I mean the saving of landscape itself—saving a mountain, a bit of desert, a forest, a river, not for what materials they furnish, but for the help they might be to us simply by remaining mountain, desert, forest, and river, unchanged as nature made them, or, if you prefer, as God made them.

I have undertaken at the beginning to discuss this thought. But how inadequate I feel for that task. How can one make clear the emerging concepts in the human mind that deal with qualities rather than things, concepts that place great value in the very fact that a piece of river, a section of coastal rain forest, has not been touched by the industrial age and its mechanization. I cannot claim to understand it fully myself. I can only plead that somehow it has to do with the spiritual well-being of people, that it has an effect on us similar to that of music and poetry. Perhaps it has to do with a latent sense of kinship with nature that seems to be reawakening in the people of our country.

Consider, for example, the millions of people going to our national parks and forests each year. I believe the national park attendance has now reached something over 40 millions. This is no doubt partly due to greater opportunity, more leisure time. Also, I would not say that all these millions consciously realize the spiritual content of wilderness experience. Probably the majority have never heard of the National Parks Association or the Wilderness Society, nor of many other organizations that are striving to emphasize the importance of such experience. The important thing is that we at least have the impulse to go to the dedicated wilderness—whether it be in national parks, national forests, or in State parks. Our understanding of what we are seeking is a matter of the maturing of our culture.

I should like to talk for a moment about Pacific University and my experience with it. For me, it has seemed a happy coincidence that I should have the opportunity to visit this university and talk about wilderness and what it means for us. In the first place, we can be proud of the origin of this college, over a century ago, in the pioneering period of this land. This institution was really the beginning of education in Oregon. It speaks for the vision of early pioneers in thought, who foresaw what would be the ultimate need.

I like to recall my own introduction to this historic place, though some of my first experiences on this campus are ludicrous to me now. I came to Pacific as a sophomore in 1909. I had grown up in flat Minnesota country and had worked mostly as a farmhand. Then for 3 days and nights I had sat in a day coach of the Northern Pacific, with a basket of food beside me, for I could not afford to buy meals en route. I had never seen a mountain, hardly a sizable hill. Consider then what it meant to be crossing the Rocky Mountains. Then came the lush valley and the great forests of this very place.

As time went on I came to appreciate more fully the particular quality of life at Pacific University. I know that I cannot properly analyze this. I found here a charming countryside, and back there on the ridges was the deep forest in the condition that Lewis and Clark might have found it. As I look back, it seems to me we had a little community culture that was precious in a special way. It was close to the land. It had tranquillity, so priceless in the world today. Perhaps our facilities were not what they should be; perhaps even some of our courses were not as "strong" as we have them now. Yet here in the edge of wilderness, born of the wilderness, was an institution where, from the vantage point of an atmosphere of simplicity and serenity, we could form our opinions of the strivings of mankind. Among these native campus oak trees, which actually were part of the natural scene, we could look down the corridors of history and struggle with man's efforts in literature and science, biology, religion, and chemistry.

It has occurred to me many times since: "What if such environment entirely disappears from the earth? What if a generation comes along that does not know about original country, no longer experiences the yearnings for wild country, for deep primeval forests, wilderness canoe country, high mountains, the wide expanse of desert? What if we lose the urge to want things that mean

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a personally active, virile way of life? What if we lose touch entirely with the so-called environment of nature, where we had our origin?"

I was arriving once in New York City by plane. After landing at the airport we all kept our seats for a bit while the pilots disembarked. Suddenly a woman's voice loudly broke the silence:

"New York!" she exclaimed. "This is my home. No place like it. I have been in every other State in the Union. They stink! Ah, New York City! You live here, and you die here, and you see everything!"

I turned to have a look at this person. Really she was a nice-looking woman. But I thought of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, the canoe country of northern Minnesota, the redwoods of California, the coastal forests and mountains of Oregon and Washington. "They stink."

Yes, what if we lose touch entirely with the environment of nature, lose the desire for it?

Some individuals *have* lost this. Many people are entirely oblivious of the things we are discussing here. But our collective minds that constitute our diversified culture have not forgotten. Our racial memory is still intact.

What has kept this alive? Partly, it is the fact that outdoor experience has *still been available* for people. Above all, it is the history of brilliant individuals, leaders with vision, whose understanding permitted them to foresee important social needs. Perhaps I should say human needs, since any social structure of value rests on the worth and strength of its individuals.

There was Thoreau, who said:

"Strange that so few ever came to the woods to see how the pine lives and grows and spires, lifting its evergreen arms to the light—to see its perfect success; but most are content to behold it in the shape of many broad boards brought to market, and deem that is true success. But the pine is no more lumber than man is. * * *

"A pine cut down, a dead pine, is no more a pine than a dead human carcass is a man. Can he who has discovered only some of the values of whalebone and whale oil be said to have discovered the true use of the whale?"

And Thoreau continued:

"Is it the lumberman, then, who is the friend and lover of the pine, stands nearest to it, and understand its nature best? * * * No! No! It is the poet; he it is who makes the truest use of the pine."

At times Thoreau appears very hard on his fellowman and speaks harsh words. But remember the times. He was witnessing the "cut out and get out" practice in lumbering, when large areas were being denuded of forest with no thought for the future. There is slowly, very slowly, emerging a more respectful attitude toward forests on the part of lumbermen. I would like to discuss this with you later.

Of course, Thoreau recognized the need for the "many broad boards brought to market," as he expressed it. Woodsman that he was, he understood the value of the products of the forest, whether in the form of lumber or turpentine or maple sugar. What Thoreau was pleading for was an attitude of mind, the concept that I am stressing here: "Let's save some of it," let's save a place where a pine tree may remain a pine tree. In 1853, about the time that Pacific University had its origin, Thoreau was one of the first to advocate the dedication of special areas to be kept as wilderness.

Not so long ago a group of us were studying a primitive area in Oregon. It had been proposed to eliminate from the primitive area status a considerable portion that had potential lumber values. As we stood at one point, considering that we might retain the portion about us for recreation, a ranger looked up at a big fir tree, and with a tone of awe in his voice said:

"Why that tree right there would bring several hundred dollars!".

Which should it be, "many broad boards brought to market," or a great fir tree to inspire us by remaining a fir tree?

Emerson put it this way:

"In the woods, too, a man casts off his years, as the snake his slough, and at what period soever of life is always a child. In the woods is perpetual youth. Within these plantations of God, a decorum and sanctity reign, a perennial festival is dressed, and the guest sees not how he should tire of them in a thousand years. In the woods, we return to reason and faith."

At another time Emerson said:

"Nature stretches out her arms to embrace man, only let his thoughts be of equal greatness,Willingly does she follow his steps with the rose and the violet,

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and bend her lines of grandeur and grace to the decoration of her darling child. Only let his thoughts be of equal scope, and the frame will suit the picture."

Nature's manifestation in landscape, the solitude of virgin forest, all that Thoreau classed as "wilderness" in the nature, have demonstrated innumerable times their power to help us attain Emerson's "thoughts of equal scope."

Here is the testimony of a sensitive modern artist, Robert Henri. In his book, the Art Spirit, he writes as follows:

"I find nature 'as is' a very wonderful romance and no man-made concoctions have ever beaten it either in romance or sweetness."

Again:

"By a compelling impulse a man goes for a day in the woods. Just why the impulse came to break his usual habit, he does not know clearly, rather wonders at it, but there is some vague thought of freedom. He plunges into the rough parts of the wood, climbs under and over. He tears his clothes—but it does not matter. The business of his progress is met with enthusiastic energy and time passes as in a dream. And concurrent with his action there is thought of a surprising fluid character. His attitude toward the life he has just stepped out of has wholly changed. Intricacies untangle. He sees people in new values. Bitter feelings have disappeared. He is over and above all petty grudges, envies, or fears. Something has happened. The spirit of the wood has possessed him. He has got into rhythm. Surely he is no longer in his usual plane of life. It is a day of clear seeing."

John Muir was the mountaineer, the explorer of glaciers, the wilderness traveler. He was a Thoreau in a Western setting. Muir Glacier in Alaska and Muir Woods in California suggest the extent of his travels. He had much to do with saving Yosemite, first as a State park, later as one of our earliest national parks.

He was also identified with the organization of the Sierra Club, one of the strong conservation forces today. Muir had declared:

"* * * that wilderness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life."

There was another pioneer in landscape planning. Mrs. Laura Wood Roper, who is writing a biography of the elder Frederick Law Olmsted, recently discussed his preliminary report on "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees." Commenting on this report, as quoted in the winter 1952–53 issue of the Living Wilderness, Mrs. Roper says: "With this single report Olmsted formulated a philosophic base for the creation of State and National parks." On June 30, 1864, Abraham Lincoln approved an act of Congress whereby Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Big Tree Grove were granted to the State of California "for public use, resort and recreation * * * inalienable for all time."

It is of interest to note here that Frederick Law Olmsted the younger, himself a veteran landscape planner, is a member of the Council of the Wilderness Society—brilliantly carrying on the traditions of his father.

The story of the origin of Yellowstone National Park has often been told, but we should never forget it. I commend it especially to our Congressmen, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Secretary of Agriculture, to all those in high office who have been given tremendous power in shaping our destiny.

History tells us that a group of men were encamped in what is now Yellowstone National Park. They were familiar with the attractions of that region and its possibilities as a vacationland, and its unique financial opportunity as a private enterprise. They discussed this at length. Then one Cornelius Hedges spoke up, urging that this outstanding region should not be privately exploited by them, but should become a national park for all the people. That was the final agreement of those men; and we know that in 1872 the Yellowstone was created a national park by Congress.

Today we are quarreling over petty jurisdictions, with jealousies, between States, between State and Nation, even between counties. Certain political and financial interests have announced a desire to turn over to State and private ownership our remaining Federal lands—particularly public domain and national forests. Efforts are made to violate with commercial projects the sanctity of national parks and other wilderness areas.

In the face of this it is most appropriate to remember with gratitude those men in the previous century, humble citizens now practically forgotten, who made a decision in their own minds, in the Nation's interest, at their campfire in the wilderness and somehow helped to initiate a national park system that has since been a model for many nations throughout the world. How shall we clearly estimate the importance of an obscure noble gesture such as this?

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As we all know, Theodore Roosevelt was a champion of the outdoor life. In a speech at the Grand Canyon he urged that nothing be done "to mar the wonderful grandeur, the sublimity, the great loneliness and beauty" of that place, and continued:

"We have gotten past the stage, my fellow citizens, when we are to be pardoned if we treat any part of our country as something to be skinned for 2 or 3 years for the use of the present generation; whether it is the forest, the water, the scenery."

Carved in the marble wall of the Roosevelt Wing of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City are these words of Theodore Roosevelt's:

"Aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport the world affords."

And we know how he and Gifford Pinchot aggressively fought for and succeeded in establishing the national forest system.

Within these national forests (I am sure in the spirit of what Roosevelt stood for) there has been established during the last few decades a system of wild and primitive areas, generally referred to as wilderness areas—a most important step in our attempt to save part of America. In many respects these wilderness areas are the most perfect examples, since there are to be no roads whatsoever and they are to be left completely unmodified. Here, indeed, can one find solitude, and true wilderness recreation.

The Pacific coast has been blessed with giant forest trees, culminating in the world's greatest—the two species of sequoias in California. It was inevitable, of course, that a people with any sense of esthetics and appreciation of nature's grandeur would do something about these. And we did. For years the redwoods were being harvested for lumber. Then the Save-the-Redwoods League was organized. The State of California cooperated, and financial help came from all parts of the United States. Fortunately for America, some of the forest owners themselves donated to the cause important tracts of redwood trees. Now we have those magnificent redwoods State parks. And this work is still going on. Some of the prominent pioneers in this movement were Stephen Mather, Horace Albright, Dr. John C. Merriam, Madison Grant, Henry Fairchild Osborn, Newton B. Drury and his brother Aubrey, and California Congressman William Kent, who personally donated Muir Woods.

In 1894 sections of the Adirondack and Catskill Mountains of New York State designated as State forest preserve were given protection by the State constitution; reaffirmed as late as 1938, this constitutional protection provides that these lands are to be kept "forever wild." This was a great step in wilderness preservation.

We now have 29 national parks, including the recently established Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park in North Dakota, 85 national monuments, 78 so-called wilderness areas on the national forests, and numerous State parks, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Florida, Texas, and California to the Canadian border and in Hawaii and Alaska.

This I believe is an outstanding achievement in an age noted for its materialism.

There has been progress in another field. At one time the unique American pronghorn seemed destined to become extinct. Our bison was nearly gone. So was the trumpeter swan. Then we began to do something about that. We have the Hart Mountain Antelope Refuge in southeastern Oregon, for example, and the Charles Sheldon Antelope Range in Nevada; and elsewhere in the West we have brought the antelope back into large, safe numbers. We established Red Rock Lakes Refuge for the trumpeter swan near its original refuge in the Yellowstone. We have the National Elk Refuge in Wyoming. In fact, we have numerous wildlife refuges throughout our country, administered by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

How did we happen to care so much about saving these races of wild animals? Do they mean so much to us?

I think the answer was clearly stated by the late Aldo Leopold, who was professor at the University of Wisconsin, a forester, naturalist, and philosopher, a pioneer in the profession of wildlife management and wilderness preservation. At the dedication of a monument in Wisconsin to the extinct passenger pigeon, he said:

"For one species to mourn the death of another is a new thing under the sun. The Cro-Magnon who slew the last mammoth thought only of steaks. The sportsman who shot the last pigeon thought only of his prowess. The sailor who clubbed the last auk thought of nothing at all. But we who have lost our pigeons, mourn the loss. Had the funeral been ours, the pigeons would hardly have

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mourned us. In this fact, rather than in Mr. Du Pont's nylons or Mr. Vannevar Bush's bombs, lies objective evidence of our superiority over the beasts."

This is an optimistic recital of our progress in building high-minded cultural institutions. But the road has not been easy. Earnest people have found it necessary to organize themselves to defend these institutions, to plead for them. The National Audubon Society was on the scene early. So was Sierra Club of California, and the Izaak Walton League of America was too.

The Wilderness Society, which I am privileged to represent, came on the scene much later. In 1934 a group of hikers had come down from the Great Smoky Mountains in Tennessee, and were resting beside the road, when they began to discuss the thought that wild country of the kind they had just been in would need to be defended. This was the first plan for a wilderness society, which was organized the next year. In this group were the late Robert Marshall, Harvey Broome (the present vice president), Benton MacKaye, and Bernard and Miriam Frank. Robert Marshall was the vigorous pioneer in wilderness preservation. Rugged in strength, strong of mind, impatient of the flaws he found in human society, this man of the out-of-doors hiked over hundreds of wilderness trails, from coast to coast and in the far reaches of Alaska.

The National Parks Association had been organized earlier. It was especially devoted to the protection of national parks and to maintaining high standards. Robert Sterling Yard was prominently associated with this organization and was also the first president of the Wilderness Society. More recently the Nature Conservancy has come upon the scene, actually an outgrowth of a much older group, a committee of the Ecological Society of America, concerned with the preservation of samples of the original flora and fauna of America.

I wish there were time to discuss properly the many such groups of devoted people and their leaders, people who have accepted the responsibility for the evolution of this phase of our culture, a responsibility that should some day become more universal.

These many organizations are also making progress in pooling their thoughts and efforts, consulting each other, adopting joint policies. The Wildlife Management Institute and the National Wildlife Federation are giving us excellent leadership. The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs is joining in this movement to share our enjoyment of the out-of-doors with future generations. The Garden Club of America and the General Federation of Women's Clubs have national conservation committees, which have given notable service in recent crises. The CIO has a very active conservation committee cooperating with all the others. There are many nature societies, local and regional. Many scientific organizations are taking part. The Natural Resources Council is bringing organizations together more and more effectively.

This is an impressive array of leadership, and one would think our national natural treasures would be safe.

But never before, it seems to me, has the opposition to this movement been so strong and so clever. Even some well-intentioned groups have considered the wilderness program unimportant. One group concerned with child care, and striving for funds, referred cynically to money spent on bird protection, using slogans such as "Babies or Birds?"

And many not so well intentioned are fighting to convert our scenic treasures into quick money. Many who are only thoughtless are draining marshes for possible agricultural land, in places where the marsh would have better value if left, for the water table, for wildlife and recreation. We flood other rich lands too hastily for impoundments, before the people of our country have had opportunity to appraise the future properly.

We have not achieved that coordination in public planning that would provide consideration of all the diverse needs and aspirations of people, a principle that surely should be innate in a democracy.

We are so eager to produce new wealth that we stumble in our haste, and the noise we make prevents us from hearing the quiet voice of history.

Scientists, I have mentioned, are beginning to take part in our public affairs. They were once in an ivory tower as were students and philosophers. Some of the forestry schools are now including forest recreation in the curriculum. This is particularly true at Colorado A. and M. College at Fort Collins. The University of Wisconsin has a forward-looking policy in its wildlife management courses. The University of Alaska has recently established a similar course. At the University of Michigan I know of one postgraduate student whose doctorate thesis is an intensive study of wilderness recreation. And there is the

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graduate school at Yale with the excellent conservation program under the leadership of Dr. Paul Sears, offering a master's degree in conservation.

I suppose when an idea gets into a college curriculum it must have attained respectability.

George Gaylord Simpson, the paleontologist, in his book, The Meaning of Evolution, says:

"The additional and still more fundamental ethic of responsibility makes scientists individually responsible for evaluating the knowledge that they acquire, for transmitting it as may be right, and for its ultimate utilization for good."

I would point out that scientists in general are rising to the challenge of our social problems more than ever before. The American Association for the Advancement of Science demonstrated in its published material this acceptance of social responsibility. In its publication, the Scientific Monthly, for example, you will now find in addition to the highly technical articles on pure science, many thoughtful articles on social trends and social problems. And there is another new organization of scientists, called the Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

In the April 1950 number of Natural History, published by the American Museum of Natural History, you will find an inspiring editorial by Edward M. Weyer, Jr., who compares organic evolution with cultural evolution, and explains:

"In cultural evolution, invention plays the part of variation. Choice takes the place of natural selection. And a lot of things that might be bunched together under 'education' take the place of transmission and keep alive the tools and customs we judge desirable. They form the design for tomorrow. The design is the heritage we leave our children."

The growth of an idea is what I have tried to outline here. It is an ideal that has come down to us from antiquity. It has been kept alive in successive steps, decade by decade, by unselfish and devoted men and women with a high purpose—many more of them than I have been able to enumerate. These citizens have built a design, possibly an important segment of the big design that we cannot yet discern. It is offered to us for eventual choice.

I was recently examining a document prepared by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society and editor of our magazine. One particular passage expresses so well the ideal and purpose advocated by many of the conservation organizations, that it may be well to repeat it here. Mr. Zahniser says:

"Civilized man has tended to remove himself from contacts with the rest of the natural world, and his mechanized civilization has threatened to modify for human exploitation every last area on the earth—except those that through human foresight and wisdom have deliberately been set aside for preservation. Were this tendency and these threats to continue, future generations, gradually losing even the sense of the importance of the rest of the natural world to man, would be entirely deprived of access to natural areas. To those who now know the wilderness and understand its human importance such a development would threaten the end of our civilized culture and involve deprivations for future generations that would be fundamentally tragic.

"In view of this, for the sake of all mankind, especially in behalf of the future generations (who though not present are so dependent on the good will of men and women today), the Wilderness Society is thus seeking to help preserve an adequate system of wilderness areas and to develop an understanding and appreciation of their human values. If we succeed in this program, we believe it will be possible for modern man to enjoy the conveniences and liberties of our urbanized, industrialized, mechanized civilization and yet not sacrifice an awareness of our human existence as spiritual creatures nurtured and sustained by and from the great community of life on the earth."

This is the creed, expressed in various ways, common to the conservationists of today.

Let me give you an example of the coordination among these conservationists.

On March 9, 1953, in Washington, D. C., there was a congressional hearing on a bill introduced by Congressman Leroy Johnson of California. The bill was designed to prevent the building of dams in any national park or monument.

The room was filled, and the morning was taken up with testimony unanimously in favor of the bill. It is significant to consider who were present. There were, of course, representatives of the National Parks Association, the Wilderness Society, and the Audubon Society, which would be expected. Then the Washing-

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ton correspondent for Sports Afield, a sportsmen's magazine, gave an eloquent plea for protecting the intangible natural resources. Representatives of the National Wildlife Federation from several States urged passage of the bill. The Izaak Walton League was there. One man from California declared that he represented 30,000 sportsmen, and he wanted the national parks protected. And there were many others. This was a good showing of coordination of interests achieved in recent years.

One Congressman interjected a comment to the effect that "it is all right to make pretty speeches, but we have to look at the practical side."

I believe that group would wish to remind the Congressman that "pretty speeches" from those conservationists spring from noble purpose. And we might cite Buddha, who said: "All that we are is the result of what we have thought."

It is a fragile thing, this natural wilderness, consisting of the material for poetry and art and music and vigorous clean living. It is easily degraded or destroyed by heedless men. It is not for a single agency, or a single commercial organization, to make ruthlessly a decision which affects the future.

Surely it is wisdom to guard the original material on which our culture is founded—and "save some of it."

II. WILD COUNTRY ROUND THE WORLD

We used to study geography in the seventh grade. I don't know what they do now. I remember a few years ago our children had to memorize how many hogs were marketed in Wyoming in a certain year, how many sheep, how many cattle. This was in an eighth-grade course in Wyoming agriculture. I don't remember that they studied geography to any extent. It appeared to me the school curriculum didn't raise the eyes much beyond the close horizon. I suppose it is only recently that we have learned to know where Korea is. I have met many young men who have learned something about the location of islands in the Pacific through the medium of war.

But when I used to "bound" various countries in the seventh grade, I would make tiny paper boats and push them along the great rivers on the maps in my geography book. I recall that the Amazon was one of my favorites, for I could let go with all kinds of weird ideas about what I was seeing there as I traveled its broad waters in my tiny paper craft. Perhaps it was a vague seventh grade memory that moved me when a few months ago in a Chicago railway station I picked up a paperbacked edition of River of the Sun, by James Ramsey Ullman. Here I had an orgy of adventure on the Amazon, complete fulfillment of those early seventh-grade yearnings. And I want to add, it is a book worth serious reading.

How many of us have not longed for the far places, the places of adventure, new scenes, places to explore? I like to think of Robert Louis Stevenson, who made the most of his power of foreign travel by means of gazing over the horizon. As you know, Stevenson was a frail child and spent much time in bed. But his spirit encompassed the globe. There is his poignant poem, the Land of Counterpane, in which the contours of his bedcover provide the hills and valleys for the travels of his imagination. Recently we came upon a clipping from a magazine, an illustrated poem from Stevenson's A Child's Garden of Verses called, Escape at Bedtime:

The lights from the parlour and kitchen shone out
  Through the blinds and the windows and bars;
And high overhead and all moving about,
  There were thousands of millions of stars.

There ne'er were such thousands of leaves on a tree,
  Nor of people in church or the park,
As the crowds of the stars that looked down upon me,
  And that glittered and winked in the dark.

The Dog and the Plough, and the Hunter and all,
  And the star of the sailor, and Mars,
They shone in the sky, and the pail by the wall
  Would be half full of water and stars.

They saw me at last, and they chased me with cries,
  And they soon had me packed into bed;
But the glory kept shining and bright in my eyes,
  And the stars going round in my head.

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I think this frail poet with the great lusty adventure in his heart expresses the buoyant spirits of millions round about. W. B. Rands, in his poem, the Wonderful World, put it this way:

> Great, wide, beautiful, wonderful world
> With the wonderful waters about you curled
> And the wonderful grass upon your breast;
> World, you are beautifully dressed.

And there was Joseph Conrad, born in Poland, sailor and world traveler, who has left a record of adventurous living. Jack London, who as a boy yearned for adventure along the San Francisco waterfront, let his imagination go in his novels of the sea and the Far North. I remember being greatly impressed, too, by reading his autobiographical book, John Barleycorn, in which he tells how, through his admiration for sailors he saw on the waterfront, he eventually became a drunkard—a case history perhaps forgotten now, but worthy of close study by sociologists. Very popular in their day were his Call of the Wild and White Fang.

These, and other world travelers, wrote of human passion in raw environment. I have often thought of this in the light of personal experience in some of those same places. It occurs to me that out of an environment—

You can find what you choose. I suppose on the frontier you can easily come upon the raucous, bottle-smashing rowdyism that is so popular in the movies and the comic strip. But I am convinced that the "badman" vice of the modern world is not to be found in this picturesque fashion. Rather, it is more hidden and sinister, appearing more innocently as semirespectable backroom plotting and the lip service that you and I practice. It is not the occasional avalanche that carries away our soil (or our soul) but the imperceptible drip and trickle of water that takes away the particles one by one.

Perhaps I was just too naive and ignorant of the ways of the world when I was in Alaska to know what was going on. Or perhaps things had changed since Jack London's day. There was adventure. Some of it I know would fit into a novel. At a railroad construction camp I talked with one of the work crew, a young fellow obviously out to see the world. He told me something of his ambitions. South America was to be next, if he could make it. He wore a six-shooter on his hip and had that penetrating look that might have been on the lookout for Hopalong Cassidy. I don't recall seeing anyone else in Alaska who carried a gun in a holster in that way.

Some of my experiences, at least, were of a different kind. I met a young lady up there, and the world can take on a different hue in a case like that. I was traveling in distant parts of Alaska, but we made a date for the lower Yukon River, where I hoped to be at a certain time that summer. And we both made the date.

We were passengers on a stern-wheel river steamer going back up the Yukon and it would stop at Anvik just long enough for us whenever we might get there. It happened, 3 o'clock in the morning. But Reverend Chapman had the log mission church decorated with Arctic poppies, and the little group of passengers loyally got out of bed and came ashore, all dressed up. When the ceremony was over, we went aboard again, and the steamer continued upriver just as dawn was breaking.

I was amused recently when I came across one of my old itinerary reports as a Government employee. On that date was the simple entry:

"Stopped at Anvik and got married."

As a Government employee I was concerned with an assignment that required a trip up the Koyukuk River and then, as soon as the river froze and a little snow fell, I was to continue on with dog team into the Brooks Range, beyond the Arctic Circle. The dog team had been shipped up there and would be waiting for me. This, in itself, promised wilderness adventure of the most exciting kind.

As a new bridegroom I had visions of a bride bundled in fur robes on the sled; there would be a shout to the dogs, and away we would go through the Arctic forest.

Alas for conventional story-book romance. When that first day on the winter trail came, we put 300 pounds of dried salmon on the 14-foot sled, for dog feed. On top of that were loaded our own camp equipment and supplies. There was no place for a bride on top of such a load. She took the sled handlebars behind, I took the gee-pole at the bow, and since there was not yet much snow to smooth the ground, we struggled through one of the hardest days of the whole trip. Occa-

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sionally the sled would tip over. It was very limber, and when I righted the rear end, I had to ask the bride to get a pole and pry up the other end.

I think you have guessed that the reality we experienced was far superior to the vain notions that I had formed beforehand.

Eventually we arrived at Wiseman, the little mining community that Robert Marshall later visited and described in his book Arctic Village. As soon as we had settled at the "roadhouse" as the traveler's hostel was known in Alaska, we called on the United States Commissioner. He became quite excited. The community had not seen a young white woman for so many years that it was a tremendous novelty. There was an elderly missionary lady, a portly Indian woman, and possibly 2 or 3 other Indian or Eskimo women.

The Commissioner got on the phone, and called the men at the outlying creeks: "There's a young married couple here. We'll have a dance tonight. Come on in."

They got word to a Japanese-Eskimo family, 12 miles downriver, who had 1 or 2 girls believed old enough to dance. They came up, and dog teams began to arrive from upriver. I believe about 40 miners arrived—and we had the dance.

I didn't dance much. Competition was overwhelming, and I was clearly made to understand that this was their turn. I would have plenty of chance later.

At midnight we all assembled at the roadhouse for a feast. With great fun, someone raffled off a frozen mountain sheep, the most delicious meat the wilderness affords. Then we went back to dancing. One of the Japanese-Eskimo girls and an elderly prospector gave us an exhibition duet kind of tapdancing performance that was remarkable. Our dance did not break up until daylight.

The following incident is typical of many others. We had finished the investigation of the caribou migrations in the Brooks Range and were on our way south. One night, after a particularly hard day's travel, we came to a small log hut used by the mail carrier on his monthly trips. We were very tired and turned in early.

We were awakened from a sound sleep by a shout. We raised up in our sleeping bags and managed to light a candle. Someone outside the cabin door was talking to us. We called to him to come in, and he came and squatted by the door in the dim candlelight.

"I heard your dogs when you came in," he said, "and I figured someone was stopping here. I'm camping over there across the river."

We asked him about his winter's activity, and he eagerly asked us about the news from "up the river" and about what was going on "outside." I was so sleepy that I almost dozed off while I sat up talking to him, and hoped he wouldn't notice too much my drooping eyelids. I do not know how many miles he had come through the night simply to speak to fellow human beings, whoever they might be. Just a modest little time of friendly talk, and he was gone into the night once more.

I have related these experiences that we had because they may have a place in our present inquiry. It is hard to evaluate this kind of life, where there are great distances between people. We often spoke of it even then, as we traveled among scattered villages, trading posts, missions, camps, associating with the men and women of several races—swarthy white men who hardly dared to speak in the presence of a woman for fear of what words might slip out, well-read prospectors who could discuss the classics and philosphy with wisdom, Indian youths (beyond the influence of the liquor peddlers) whom we admired for their forth-rightness and obvious integrity, Eskimos who contributed the brightness of laughter and optimism. I am speaking now of the time previous to the present industrial boom in Alaska.

I would not attempt to say that the frontier is blameless, noble, and picturesque and that the great cities are wicked, selfish, and mean. Early-day Alaska had Soapy Smith and many others like him. And in New York City I have met with infinite kindness and intelligence.

Possibly a swarming population tends to provide a more favorable culture medium for human unworthiness. I am not sure, but it is something to which we could well give increased attention.

What I should like to stress here is that our experiences where people are farther removed from the central hive, scattered more or less in so-called back country, even if such experiences are periodic and only occasional, tend to emphasize that people are individuals. We speak of mass man, or the common man. Too often a crowded community acts like a mass, through the contagion of emotion. It seems unfortunate if people shall became statistics, categories, a labor commodity, a bloc of votes, or any other mass medium for manipulation.

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In the Alaskan wilderness, we did find individuality and what we believed was a promising outlook on the world stemming from the strong life in the wilderness and its inspiration for those attuned to it.

Back in 1915 I had an opportunity to experience a really primitive society northeast of Hudson Bay. For several months I lived in an Eskimo village where not a single word of English was spoken. I admit, I became lonesome for an easy talk with someone. One day two Eskimos and I were traveling by canoe and were passing between two islands with great towering cliffs, when we discovered a double echo. The Eskimos shouted something in their language and it came back twofold. Then I lustily shouted something in English. Back came the words, in English for the first time in months. Over and over we repeated this silly business, laughing till the tears ran down our cheeks. There was Angnaitok in the stern, his dusky face wreathed in lines of pleasure as he listened to the cliffs throwing back our words at us; stout, round-faced Putuok in the bow, with tears, running down his cheeks in ponderous merriment.

We had had our language difficulties through the many weeks. I was clumsily using my rudimentary Eskimo. But here was something we had in common. All three of us knew why we were laughing. There were no tribal or ethnic barriers here.

I wish there were time to tell you more about those months with those good people. There again was a life where people were few, and where there had developed a little community that could be a model for any nation. If Angnaitok could be the spokesman in the United Nations, or in our Congress—forthright, humble, wishing well, and honestly wanting a solution—what would be the contribution he would bring, the contribution of that little Arctic community which accepted me as a guest!

A few years later I was traveling with Indians through interior Labrador. This time we had quite a party, three white men and five Indians, and W. E. Clyde Todd of the Carnegie Museum was our leader. I was the young field naturalist, 5 years out of Pacific University. The world I was entering was one grand universe of adventure and fascination.

I became much interested in those Indians. I had seen them prior to the expedition lounging about the streets of the little Canadian town. There they seemed inconsequential, somehow alien to the life about them. Then I saw them in the wilderness that had produced them. There they were masters. There was a kind of dignity about them as they went about the things they knew so well. There being three canoes and only five Indians, and I being the youngest white man, I took the bow of one of the canoes. As we laboriously poled up through the rapids, I took orders from the Indian in the stern—except when running the rapids. Then the Indians took charge completely, one canoe at a time.

They nicknamed me Baptiste, and I became very chummy with one of them. Mose Odjick was over 6 feet tall as I remember him, with a powerful frame and good humor.

One day he decided he could run one of the canoes down the rapids, empty, and save carrying it over the portage. He announced:

"Baptiste and I will take it through."

I had never been in the bow, or had any responsibility running rapids. But with Mose at the stern, it should be all right, and I was flattered.

As we put the canoe in the water Mose said:

"Baptiste going to run the rapids this time."

"No, no," I said in consternation. I stepped in, intending to hurry up to the bow. But Mose stepped in front of me, took the bow seat, and shoved off. I hurriedly sat down in the stern, and we were instantly plunging down through a turmoil of waves. It was like a nightmare. The rapids were like a great angry sea before us.

But this was it. I tried to see some plan to this thing and steered for what seemed the likeliest place. Then Mose warned me:

"Look out dat rock, Baptiste." Where was that rock? I couldn't see it.

"Look out dat rock," came the urgent shout in a higher pitched voice.

Desperately I tried to see a rock in that white water ahead. Then:

"That's the way to do it, Baptiste."

I never did see that rock. I still feel guilty about that word of praise.

Across the continent to the north—Labrador, Ontario, British Columbia—extends a wilderness way of life of great promise. Whenever I have met the Canadians I have admired their outlook and enjoyed their hospitality. They,

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too, have established a series of national parks of great beauty. They have large special nature reserves for the preservation of certain types of wildlife. In Ontario a Canadian committee is studying the possibility of establishing a unique international canoe wilderness, extending on both sides of the border, into Ontario and into Minnesota.

One summer, with two canoes, I went there with my family. For several wonderful weeks, with the help of a map, we traveled that incomparable network of lakes. It is an experience that can mean much to thousands of people in the years to come. And it is an international wilderness that may serve to accentuate the value of good will across boundaries.

Canada has its Audubon Society and an earnest body of conservationists. Dr. C. H. D. Clarke, of the Department of Lands and Forests of Ontario, in a notable address in Washington, D. C., recently, truthfully pointed out:

"I suggest that while the world's renewable resources are deteriorating and we have just cause for worry, we are still living in a society which is more propitious for organized conservation than any other in the present or the past."

In New Zealand, in 1948 and 1949, I had an opportunity to travel extensively for a period of 6 months, with Mrs. Murie and our younger son, Donald. This assignment was on behalf of the New Zealand Government, to study the elk that had been introduced there in 1905. This work took us into the wildest part of New Zealand, the great Fiordland National Park of the South Island.

Sometimes the incidentals of an experience loom larger than the main objective. The elk study is a subject in itself. But we became fascinated with the New Zealand people, their ambitions and their way of life. We found them most hospitable, and we value the friendships resulting from our visit.

It is difficult to characterize a people accurately, except by what they do. Here is one instance. On a Sunday we were roaming about on the slopes of Mount Egmont, on the North Island. There is a government hostel at the base of the mountain, where many people had come for the weekend. On that Sunday 150 people were climbing the mountain.

One day we were climbing Mount Sebastopol, in the so-called Southern Alps on the South Island. While we were examining the native shrubs growing on a high shoulder of the mountain, a large mob of people came over the rise. They proved to be the students from a boys' high school at the city of Christchurch, with their instructors. They had come to the Hermitage, the government hostel there in the Southern Alps, for their spring vacation and were out to climb the mountains.

I remember a Saturday morning when I walked down one of the principal streets of Wellington. My footsteps actually echoed. The city seemed deserted, certainly in the business district. Saturday and Sunday are holidays, and the people go to the horse races, or on bicycle tours, or tramping tours, or picnics. We met many of the New Zealand stalkers, or sportmen, as we would call them. They were hardy people who could carry large packs in rough wilderness country, I believe the ablest outdoormen I have met. Travel in the Fiordland country in the South Island is a severe test for anyone. The young men who carried in our supplies and set up our camps deep in that mountainous country were as fit as anyone could be. One young fellow carried 125 pounds over a rough mountain trail, at considerable speed.

These people love their mountains and their native forests and birds. In the outskirts of Wellington they have preserved a large piece of virgin forest which they call the Wilton Bush. Within the city of Christchurch is another piece of woodland, as well as a very attractive park with a stream running through it, where we saw flocks of sea gulls along the banks.

New Zealand has established a series of national parks, and there were a number of private groves of trees, kept as samples of the original forest. At the time of our visit the Nation was in the midst of a struggle to determine the fate of the last substantial forest area of the huge kauri pines. These are the "big trees" of New Zealand, as the Sequoia is in our country. And the problem was the same—cut them for present wealth, or let them remain big trees for years to come for the enjoyment of all people? Latest news is to the effect that a substantial part of this grove has been given protection.

New Zealand has also the Forest and Bird Protection Society, which would correspond to the National Audubon Society and the Wilderness Society combined, in our country.

One day as we were resting on a high ridge of a mountain, a flock of keas came over to investigate us. They settled about us close by, and cocked their heads at us, apparently looking for tidbits. The keas are native parrots that

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have chosen to live on the mountain tops, and we saw them soaring high in the air, from ridge to ridge.

In the lowlands we were fascinated by the large tree ferns, and learned to know the totara, rimu, and some of the other trees of those dense exotic forests. The New Zealand wilderness has a character of its own. This diversity from country to country is what could add special meaning to W. B. Rands' exclamation: "World, you are beautifully dressed."

It seemed to us that love for their native forests and birds, their vigorous outdoor life, the prowess of the stalkers, the tramping clubs, the life of the farmers, gave a certain admirable complexion to the way of life of the New Zealanders. It has been my earnest hope that, in the world race for bigness and complexity, those people will not be blinded by the confusing promises of excessive sophistication but will cherish the strong down-to-earth culture they have created.

Britain has been struggling to save the beauty of its native landscape by means of national parks and special reserves. One book that has come to my notice, Our Heritage of Wild Nature, by A. G. Tansley, is devoted to this problem. The famous British naturalist, F. Fraser Darling, has written a number of delightful books, among them Wild Country, devoted largely to the animal life.

Still another is National Parks, and the Heritage of Scenery, by Vaughan Cornish, who is a member of the Councils for the Preservation of Rural England and Rural Wales, and of the Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland.

It might well have been anticipated that Britain, with its rich history of poetic expression in literature and art, would be doing something about saving its natural beauty.

European countries have made progress, in varying degree, in giving protection to their native fauna and the natural scene. Sweden has national parks and nature reserves. Finland, France, Denmark, Hungary, Belgium, and probably most of the other European countries have national parks, many of them necessarily small, or some type of nature reserves, or both. All these European countries have organizations devoted to the protection of nature. The Soviet Union has a considerable number of national parks, some of these reported to be of large size. There is scope for wonderful development of the wilderness protection idea in a country as large and varied as the Soviet Union, and it is encouraging to know that it has been undertaken on such a large scale.

Africa is a continent that has stirred our imagination since childhood. Who can estimate the importance of the African scene, with its rich and unique fauna, in its impact on the thought of the world? It is most appropriate and fortunate that the various governments of Africa have done so much to establish some large national parks and nature reserves. Many of us have never had the opportunity to see that country, but we have seen tantalizing motion pictures of what those protected wildernesses contain. The Wildlife Protection Society of South Africa is the organization with which I am most familiar. I should like to mention also a recent book, Venture to the Interior, by Laurens van der Post. It relates a dramatic African experience that has nothing to do with shooting lions and elephants but is concerned with some dedicated human lives.

Asian countries have made progress too. Time does not permit a detailed enumeration of parks or preserves. But it could be expected that such a people, with sensitive, spiritual natures would in due time wish to preserve some of their natural environment. We know that India, for example, is preoccupied with the basic problem of survival. Even so, she has made a beginning. Several parks and forest reserves have been established.

Japan illustrates the possibilities in the Asian countries when their inherent sensitivity finds an opportunity for expression. Heavily populated, and limited in territory, Japan has established 17 national parks and 3 so-called quasi-national parks. In overcrowded Japan the national parks constitute more than 4 percent of the total land area. In the United States our national parks constitute less than one-half of 1 percent.

Japan has a National Parks Association somewhat similar to our own. About a year ago there arose a peculiar threat to one of Japan's national parks, which elicited the friendly cooperation of our own National Parks Association. Upon learning of this, we of the Wilderness Society also participated, and our letter to the Honorable Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, outlines the problem and our view of the situation:

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"DEAR DR. LIE: It has come to our attention that plans have been proposed for continuing the use of portions of the Fuji-Hakone National Park in Japan as maneuvering ground for United Nations military forces.

"Certain worthy Japanese organizations have objected to this use of a national park. Those people are entirely concerned with the public interest and have the cultural values of their nation at heart, a consideration that is also the concern of the United Nations itself.

"On behalf of the Wilderness Society I would like to urge that the United Nations give serious consideration to the objections of those earnest citizens of Japan who wish to keep intact certain areas of their country that are such an inspiration to the people.

"Military occupation of another country is never pleasant or constructive for the people of that country, however necessary it may be as an aftermath of war. Certainly when peace has been achieved, every possible means should be used to assist that country to nurture its cultural life. Every such worthy impulse, as shown by these Japanese citizens should be encouraged by all members of the United Nations. Therein lies the road to eventual lasting peace.

"OLAUS J. MURIE, *President*."

In the April 1953 number of the Population Bulletin, published by the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, D. C., I find this very significant comment by Dr. Robert C. Cook:

"In Japan man lives with the land, not off the land. Even though every square foot of arable land is intensely cultivated, there was no evidence of erosion in the regions I visited. This is in striking contrast to both India and the United States, where the marks of man's exploitation are everywhere visible. Perhaps it is because land is so precious a commodity in Japan that it is so respected and cared for."

With so much common interest and sentiment for nature round the world, it was inevitable that we should get together. A union was organized in France a few years ago. In the summer of 1949 the first large meeting was assembled at Lake Success, under the auspices of UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. This new world-conservation group has become known as the International Union for the Protection of Nature. There at Lake Success we assembled to exchange experiences, to discuss mutual problems, to make recommendations.

In September of 1952 the Third General Assembly was convened at Caracas, Venezuela. Through the generosity of a member of our society, we were enabled to be represented, and I had an opportunity to meet again with devoted conservationists in a Latin American setting.

I do not quite know how to describe that session or how to evaluate it. More than 30 nations were represented. We spoke a variety of languages. We certainly came there with a variety of problems. We passed a few resolutions.

But what did we accomplish? Do governments listen to resolutions? I don't know. And what does the United Nations accomplish, for that matter?

I wonder if we are capable of evaluating these things yet. Our official actions in the political field certainly prove our immaturity. But we are making some first steps.

At our international meeting in Caracas we had a tremendous advantage over political institutions. In spite of our varied tongues, we had a common language. We had come there for an agreed-upon purpose, a purpose common to sensitive people around the globe, a common reverence for nature, generosity toward fellow creatures.

As guests of the Venezuelan Government we were taken out on a 2-day tour to become acquainted with the Venezuelan countryside. We visited Rancho Grande National Park, a high mountain jungle. We did so much want to stay longer to explore.

The Secretariat of the International Union is maintained in Brussels. We had invitations to meet next time in Japan, Germany, and Denmark. The decision was to meet in Denmark in 1954.

During this brief sojourn in South America I met a number of Spanish-speaking people of sensitive minds, people who would readily appreciate what we often refer to as the intangible resources. On the plane flying back to Florida my seat partner was a very pleasant young man from Colombia who, I learned, was a landscape artist. One day after my arrival at our office in Washington a member of the Colombian Embassy came in and inquired about our work, and wished to

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become a member. We know, from our membership list, that such people are responding to this need throughout the world.

The opposition to our country's program to keep inviolate national parks and wilderness areas which I have had occasion to mention, is real, however.

At this very time our Olympic National Park in Washington is threatened. The drums are already beating at the sign of the dollar. With patriotic fervor, plans are laid for slicing off a considerable chunk of this superb wilderness treasure. Here is one of the greatest national parks we have, one that has been the least spoiled by commercialization. Here is a wilderness paradise with room enough for penetration deep into country of the greatest beauty, where one can let the spirit go with joyous abandon, to sense the freedom of the wilderness. How many places are there left on our continent, dedicated for such a purpose by Congress?

Yet I believe we are making progress. I have mentioned those public-spirited redwoods-forest owners who made gifts of valuable tracts to the State of California. Last year I was riding a bus in Oregon. The passenger next to me proved to be a logger, a veteran lumberjack. He opened the subject by pointing to the denuded hills we were passing, and went on to explain how he regretted the devastating logging methods that had been practiced through the years. "I can't say anything," he said, "I was one of them. I helped to do all that," and he waved his hand at the landscape.

In his book One Man's America, the Englishman Alistair Cooke, speaks of meeting a lumberman from Portland, Oreg. The lumberman had been to San Francisco where the shipbuilders had told him they were short of cheap lumber for dunnage, the protective, inner binding for ship's bottoms. As Mr. Cooke tells it:

"They dared to suggest the great and beautiful monarch of the Northwest forests—the Douglas-fir. * * * The lumberman, a businessman out for a dollar after all, and no sentimentalist about chopping down trees—this man leaned over and tapped the fat tips of his fingers and shook his head and groaned. 'Douglas-fir,' he kept saying. 'Douglas-fir for dunnage. No, sir!'"

There was a lumber operator in southwestern Wyoming, Fred Haeckert, who saw an editorial in a Utah newspaper scathingly criticising those who want to "lock up" natural resources in wilderness areas. He wrote an indignant letter to the editor, pointing out that he was a lumberman himself and also a member of the Wilderness Society. "If the area I have for my operations should be required for a wilderness area, I would clear out," he declared.

These are the bright signs along the way.

But we have more subtle problems. Are we learning to use wilderness country? Instead of going to the wilderness for tranquility, many of us want to take the city with us. Jeeps are nosing into the back country. Aircraft is breaking the peace and solitude of charming mountain valleys and secluded lakes. Commerce of the most blatant form is, little by little, coming into our national parks with its profitable gadgets and urban service. At one time the animals were being held captive near roads where tourists could see them readily. The garbage-feeding bear became a roadside fixture, a domesticated clown. Efforts are being made now to discourage such trends. The true value of wilderness experience cannot be sold over a counter, or delivered by curb service. Nature tamed, and brought to the roadside, is a colorless thing.

Mrs. Isak Dinesen has expressed this very well in her book, Out of Africa. Here is one of her experiences:

"In the reserve I have sometimes come upon the iguana, the big lizards, as they were sunning themselves upon a flat stone in a river bed. They are not pretty in shape, but nothing can be imagined more beautiful than their colouring. They shine like a heap of precious stones, or like a pane cut out of an old church window. When, as you approach, they swish away, there is a flash of azure, green, and purple over the stones, the colour seems to be standing behind them in the air, like a comet's luminous tail.

"Once I shot an iguana. I thought that I should be able to make some pretty things from his skin. A strange thing happened then, that I have never afterward forgotten. As I went up to him, where he was lying dead upon his stone, and actually while I was walking the few steps, he faded and grew pale, all colour died out of him, as in one long sigh, and by the time that I touched him he was grey and dull like a lump of concrete. It was the live impetuous blood pulsating within the animal, which had radiated out all that glow and splendour. Now that the flame was put out, and the soul had flown, the iguana was as dead as a sandbag."

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Mrs. Dinesen adds this advice: "For the sake of your own eyes and heart, shoot not the iguana."

Henry G. Maurice, an Englishman concerned with preservation of the fauna of the British Empire and national parks in Africa, wrote an article for Nature Magazine for August–September 1947 which he called "Speak to the Earth." He made this comment:

"One may say, without exaggeration, that man has usurped the powers that belong to God, and finds himself today armed with forces that neither custom nor his mind renders him able to control."

I believe that Mr. Maurice would agree that we have acquired the power to create our environment at will. And we know that environment molds our way of life and our choice of environment.

I am reminded of the Army officer assigned to a job in Alaska with a detail of men. He dreaded the coming winter, had heard so much about the far north, that he was obsessed by fear. He had his men gather a huge supply of firewood, enough to last no matter what the weather.

One day he went to an old Indian and asked him: "What kind of winter do you think we will have?"

"Long, hard winter," said the Indian.

"What makes you think so?"

"White man put up lots of wood."

This is our dilemma. The kind of life we make for ourselves influences our choice of life for the more distant future. Truly, we have by our inventiveness usurped powers that it will take infinite wisdom to use.

We do have some guides that good sense and conscience can provide. Our conscience is the primal wisdom still speaking in a low voice.

In the January 10, 1953, issue of the Saturday Review Joseph Wood Krutch has an article entitled: "Is Our Common Man Too Common?" His concern is the tendency to level everything to a common denominator, the worship of the average, to cater to uniformity. It is a serious danger. We are too prone to dwell on numbers rather than quality; to count rather than weigh.

I have seen big landscape whizzing by the train window, scene after scene glimpsed from a car. But it has been the intimate little experiences that have lingered in memory as something good.

One day in New Zealand my young son came into camp and said:

"Daddy, when are you going with me to see the little canyon that I found over there on that mountain?"

"Let's go right now."

That afternoon we followed a little stream up through rocky gorges, from pool to pool. We examined the ferns and those other exotic plants that always fascinated us. There was that quality of remoteness in wilderness. And we saw the New Zealand parrot, the kea, soaring high in the air toward a distant ridge top.

Just what makes that memorable for us I can't exactly say.

III. BEAUTY AND THE DOLLAR SIGN

"Money is a wonderful thing, but it is possible to pay too high a price for it." This was the comment of Alexander Bloch, conductor of the Florida West Coast Symphony Orchestra.

It must be admitted that the importance of money was brought home to millions of us vividly during the great economic depression. I doubt if you and I could get very far without it.

But I should like to discuss how money can get in our way; in other words, how we might "pay too high a price for it."

Here is an example. In May 1950 the United States Forest Service conducted a public hearing at Riverside, Calif. The real issue was the fate of a primitive area, a little bit of wilderness, on the summit of Mount San Jacinto. This bit of alpine wilderness has the intrinsic value of the whole system of national parks and established wilderness units that have become an American institution. It also has great scarcity value since it is one of the few remaining wilderness fragments of southern California. Everywhere else are the highways, the bathing beaches, colorful tourist resorts, chrome-plated, neon-lighted meccas, and the easily accessible woodlands available by road. Here on a mountain top we had managed to retain a sanctuary for nature, officially designated as such to serve all those who crave the adventure and the inspiration of such a place.

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Now, at the base of this mountain lies the popular and luxurious Palm Springs tourist resort. Certain commercial interests saw possibilities on that mountain summit. How about a tramway clear to the top, winter skiing, hotels, and other urban delights up there—virtually another Palm Springs in the clouds? They had made careful plans. They had got through the California State Legislature a bill creating the so-called Winter Park Authority, which outlined a considerable portion of the primitive area. But to build the tramway they had to have the permission to cross a small piece of forest land. Hence our public hearing at Riverside on that day in May.

Conservationists assembled from everywhere to defend a mountain. The redoubtable Sierra Club of California was fighting on home ground, so to speak. Other mountaineers, members of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, the Izaak Walton League, the Wilderness Society, National Parks Association, Audubon Society, and many other organized groups and individuals came to Riverside in defense of Mount San Jacinto, to plead that a place of beauty officially designated for a most worthy public use should be held inviolate from commercial exploitation.

Opposed to us at the hearing was the California State Chamber of Commerce. With them were representatives of other commercial interests, and of course representatives of the tramway project itself.

It was a hard contest. We want the beauty of a mountain—we want the dollar. That sums up the fight, a hard contest through a long day. As we find at all such contests, our opponents pleaded for the rights of the aged, crippled, or otherwise handicapped people who cannot climb mountains. But behind such mellow words glowed the sign of the dollar. Their published promotional literature elaborated enthusiastically the fact that the proposed tramway would cost $10 million and would be the eighth wonder of the world, intimating that this in itself was reason enough to build the structure. They became very frank at the hearing and let it be known that it was a financial venture. One advocate bluntly stated that they wanted a cut on the tourist dollar.

At the very end of the hearing there was a light note that broke the tension, a human touch. The Forest Service representative announced that the list of registered witnesses was finished, but there were still a few minutes left, and "are there any others who would like to say a few words?"

An elderly little woman arose, embarrassed before the crowd, but bravely stepped forward, and, in effect, stated that she was too old to climb mountains herself, never expected to see the top of Mount San Jacinto; but there were many other mountains available by roads, and she wanted this one in particular left for those who could climb and who needed that kind of a mountain. She sat down, flustered, but she had added a little warmth to the steely tone of that room.

Near her sat a very attractive young lady who then came forward.

"That was my mother who just spoke," she told us. "I am an old maid and mother has no prospect of grandchildren. But there are many other people's grandchildren who should have the opportunity in the future to climb a few unspoiled mountains such as this one."

There could not have been a better summary of the brief of the conservationists, with which to end that meeting. But we have not won. The commercial promoters are seeking other means to win authorization of the tramway.

In the book, This I Believe, from which I quoted Alexander Bloch, Susan Cobbs, a dean of Swarthmore College, has contributed a chapter, in which she says "* * * man is more important than anything he has created and our great task is to bring back again into a subordinate position the monstrous superstructures of our society."

I like to remember a little incident in Alaska. In 1921 a group of us were walking in the Nenana Canyon, where the new Alaska Railroad was being completed. With us was a middle-aged Alaskan prospector on his way out to the States. We learned that he had spent quite a few years in Alaska, had tried prospecting for gold, had worked at other jobs, and at one time had married. But misfortunes came upon him. He lost the money he had saved. A trader on the lower Yukon had enticed his wife away from him, and now he was going outside to start over. Yet at one turn in the conversation, when we were discussing some aspect of human actions, it was he who came out with the remark:

"It doesn't cost anything to be kind."

This seems a simple thing to remember all these years, almost insignificant. But I remember those mountains rising on both sides of the Nenana River, the wilderness extending in all directions, this rough-clad man whom misfortune

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had dealt such blows, but who still had a bright gleam in his eyes, optimism in his heart. I like to contemplate the resilience of a strong character, a man who obviously was a success in the fundamental way.

Last winter near our home in Jackson Hole I was trying to back my car out of its parking place in the drifted snow onto the highway. There were other parked cars, and four young men hastened over.

"Here, we'll give you a shove."

I was struck by their alacrity and helpfulness, and I glanced at them with keen interest. They were roughly clad, their faces murky and unshaven, but there was an obvious youthful strength about them, with a friendly bearing.

"Skiers," I thought.

Later I learned they were four young mountaineers from the Sierra Club who had come to climb the Grand Teton in winter. For many days we kept looking up at the Teton Range, where the lowering storm clouds kept rolling over, covering the summits from view. Up there in the saddle in a stern world so clearly apart from the pleasant valley below, we knew these four were encamped, waiting for a break in the weather, waiting for a chance to see and to climb. Each morning we found ourselves looking up anxiously to see if this day would not relent and give those young fellows their chance. But sometimes a mountain is relentless; they never got a break in the weather all that week, and had to leave. We regretted that we did not get acquainted with them.

These hardy youths were members of one of our most devoted conservation societies, the Sierra Club. Their fundamental philosophy is—enjoy the wilderness and keep it for those who come later. It was David R. Brower, their present executive director and editor, who said:

"* * * each pleasant day in mountains should perhaps be charged against us; our account should then be credited for each day on which we extend our vision and give a nod to posterity—on which we act for unnumbered men who will have to be less prodigal than we and who are entitled to explore and enjoy mountains as pleasant as ours."

One spring we assembled at a hearing in Kalispell, Mont. This time the Army engineers had proposed to flood a considerable area in Glacier National Park and national forest land for the so-called Glacier View Dam. The testimony was overwhelmingly in defense of the sanctity of the national park, as against those who saw the gleam of the dollar sign, in the guise of the "economy of the region," the possible boom period for local communities, and industrialization. The Army stressed flood control.

I had come into the hearing with a feeling that I was entering hostile territory. Beside me sat a rugged individual with weather-beaten face, obviously an outdoorsman. I tried to size him up and concluded he was a local farmer.

"He will be on the other side," I thought to myself. "I hope some of these people in the room will be with us."

In due time my name was called and I presented my statement on behalf of the Wilderness Society. When I returned to my seat the man about whom I had wondered extended his hand, his face beaming.

"Congratulations. That was fine." And he added, "I am a member of your society."

When he in turn was called upon, he said in substance:

"I am a farmer. Part of my land is under floodwater right now. But I am opposed to this dam."

Then he went on to say why, and in my opinion presented the best statement of all of us assembled there. And we learned that he represented the State grange.

Repeatedly at such hearings we have had men such as the ones I have described here, men who have lived outdoors and who have learned what it can do for us. We have had women from diverse women's organizations, educators, scientists, and numerous businessmen—all of these pleading for the beauty of the country and the beauty of country living in its purest sense. Opposed to them has been that commercial tradition in our society that has taken unto itself an impressive sanctity of its own. This powerful traditional force appears to tolerate our national parks, wilderness, and wildlife sanctuaries only until one of these interferes with a particular commercial ambition.

When I contemplate these opposing forces in this significant debate, there comes to mind Thoreau's mention of the "success" of a pine tree, by the fact of its attainment of stature and vitality. What constitutes the success of us people? Can we know precisely? Perhaps a safe goal is simply to "grow and

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spire" like Thoreau's pine, to remember that "man is more important than anything he has created," including the dollar.

But what has the dollar to say for itself? Surely it has a place in our lives. I remember vividly that only a few dollars mean a great deal to me when I was a struggling student at Pacific.

So let's review some statistics. It is common knowledge that the millions of people seeking recreation have created an important national industry. Some large communities depend almost exclusively on recreation for their economy. Florida's No. 1 industry is the tourist trade. It is reported that the tourist business in New England amounts to more than a billion dollars each year. Some detailed studies recently showed that the State of Montana derives an annual income of $10 million incident to the coming of people to Glacier National Park and another $5 million from those visiting the Yellowstone.

This income is exclusive of the money spent in these States by the great numbers of hunters and fishermen, and those who seek their vacations in other ways on national forests and public domain.

Is not this legitimate? Is not the dollar sign here a respectable symbol? Certainly the business of serving the needs of people, whatever these may be, is a well-established part of our civilization. It constitutes that division of labor and service, with appropriate remuneration, that is the basis of our complex community structure. When tourists flock into a scenic area it is only natural that cabin camps should spring up to accommodate them. It follows that the grocer and sporting goods store and other appropriate services should prosper.

Where, then, is the dollar sign out of place? I would say when it strives to displace the quality of the substance on which it thrives. It becomes unworthy when it overreaches itself and for its own sake cheapens recreation. I would say the dollar sign is out of place when it undertakes to ride roughshod over the sensibilities of people who have dedicated a piece of country for the inspiration of its wilderness and brashly aspires to plant itself on the summit of Mount San Jacinto, for example, and vulgarly proclaim itself "the eighth wonder of the world." The dollar sign stepped out of its legitimate role when it ignored good taste and boorishly built a commercial swimming pool as close as it dared to the cone of Old Faithful Geyser in the Yellowstone. It becomes public enemy No. 1 when in subtle ways it has the effect of lowering the tone of our aspirations, when through zeal for gate receipts and the "quick buck" it degrades our athletics, lowers the quality of our motion pictures, and in numerous ways, by assembly-line technique in inappropriate places, dulls the sensitivity of the human mind.

It has been pointed out repeatedly that the most dangerous influence we have in our society is not the criminal. We can deal with him more or less. We need to fear much more the half truths, the rationalizations, and the business ethics that are just below par but so universal that we shrug them off with a humorous remark.

We were taking part in a congressional hearing in Washington, D. C., to discuss a bill designed to abolish the Jackson Hole National Monument in Wyoming. Many witnesses had pleaded to keep the monument, urging attention to the benefits for the thousands of people who would come there for their recreation. Such testimony was unselfish, on a high plane. A dude rancher from Wyoming was describing the beauty of that valley, and pointed out how it could be devastated with oil derricks in front of those mountains, and the smell of oil.

A Congressman from the Southwest broke in with a knowing smile: "Oil smells good to me!"

I am reminded of a story which I assume is mythical.

A young boy asked his father: "Daddy, what does ethics mean?"

The man thought a moment, then replied: "Well, son, it's like this. A man comes into our hardware store and buys some things, and he gives me a $10 bill. I go back to make change and discover that he has given me two $10 bills. Now, son, there is where ethics enters in: Should I tell my partner?"

There is a form of dry rot, to which we all seem susceptible, that is much less crude than this sample. It is a genteel form of hypocrisy so plausible that it can almost be defended. We who are devoted to conservation of wildlife and the beauty of natural environment must ourselves guard against it.

The North American Wildlife Conference at Milwaukee, held in 1951, was remarkable for the new tone in several of the speeches and discussions. There was repeated emphasis on our need to stress the intangible natural resources, as

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contrasted with the material products of the soil. There was talk of the spiritual content of outdoor recreation. Then several speakers urged that in our conservation campaigns it was important to state our real reasons. This though was not unanimous. Some argued:

"You've got to sell the idea that recreation brings money into the country. You're sunk if you don't."

Anything wrong with that? I suppose it is debatable. But let me give you an example of how it works.

Hawks and owls and foxes and a number of other animals are persecuted for their occasional depredations on poultry and game. We want to protect them, or at least save them from extinction. So we argue on behalf of the fox:

"Look! Fox fur is valuable on the market. Why, last year the sale of fox fur amounted to so many thousands of dollars. It's a valuable animal!"

Then you ladies decide that long-hair fur is unfashionable, and the bottom drops out of the fox market, and the animal has lost the value we depended on.

Or we argue: "Why, think of the great service to agriculture given by these creatures, the mice and insects they eat. We've got to have these hawks and owls and those other animals."

Well, there is considerable validity there. I would be the last one to deny such an ecological outlook. It ought to be more widely accepted. But let's see what happens.

Suppose by some atomic legerdemain or by less drastic means we find an easy way to do away with rodents and insects. Then where do we go with our argument? We have lost our case for the birds and mammals we wanted, and we have lost the food which they need for survival. Do we have to prove that they contribute to man's economy?

Actually our real concern about these animals is that we find them interesting and attractive, they seem to belong to the environment of nature that we too enjoy—the natural environment that would be somehing less wihout them. Deep in our hearts we know that the original western desert would not be quite whole without the song of the coyote. In the heights of the Tetons of Wyoming, in Glacier Park, in some of our national forests, we have permitted the bighorn to survive not only as a trophy but as an original mountaineer with a way of life that likewise appeals to many people of robust spirit.

So why don't we make this our plea? If this is our reason for wanting to keep these wild creatures, why don't we say so? It is the only basis on which a victory could be permanent, if we do win.

I suppose we are so thoroughly steeped in the economic, material tradition that we subconsciously conclude that we must argue on that basis.

A few years ago Congress passed a law providing that before plans for a proposed dam are completed there must be a biological survey to determine the effects on wildlife and recreation. The wildlife and recreation values before and after the structure is built must be estimated so that the gain or loss might be balanced with the commercial benefits of the dam. The engineering bureaus succeeded in interpreting this law so that the wildlife and recreation values are to be expressed in terms of dollars.

We were confronted with this first when we undertook to defend Lake Solitude in northern Wyoming, a charming lake which we assumed had the status of Government protection against the Government. But the powerful bureau made plans for its conversion by a high dam. We met in a courthouse, appropriately, since a lake was on trial for its life.

How can one express the intangible qualities of wilderness and solitude about a gem of a lake in a wild mountain setting, in terms of dollars? How could we measure the value of it to the people who enjoy it? By the money earned by the nearest grocer or hardware merchant who furnished the supplies?

The practical engineers challenged us:

"All right, if you object to the dollar standard of measurement, you give us a formula we can use. We will be glad to have it."

What formula could we offer? What units of measurement? Calories? Blood pressure of the visitors to that mountain paradise?

How does one ever place in any formula such things as happiness, the good life, the elation that comes from being in high country in free, wild surroundings? We pleaded with those practical men to accept a concept of democracy that provides diversity in our environment, that permits us freedom of choice for our recreation, that does not remove all trace of that original beauty of the American wilderness. We pleaded that our opportunities for enjoying our land be not reduced to a dead, leaden uniformity, levelled to an engineer's formula.

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Recently I was arguing the case for Dinosaur National Monument in northern Utah and Colorado, before the administrative assistants of a Congressman. This unit of our national park system is threatened with plans for two large dams. I tried to show the difference between drowned canyons behind the dams with dead placid water, and original canyons through which runs a live river; and to explain that this makes a lot of difference to many people who are sensitive to that kind of beauty. Should all such people, now and in succeeding generations, be barred from the choice of such places, by the mandate of a bureau whose particular assignment is practical engineering operation?

We are having many such experiments, trying to explain to unwilling ears those intangible concepts that we can't measure in dollars.

By this time I wonder if some would not challenge me? Am I being unrealistic, with my head in the clouds? Are we to banish the city? How about the city park, the bathing beaches, the many places where people gather and have fun? I would answer, I enjoy all of these.

In 1946 Benton MacKaye, one of the founders of the Wilderness Society, and at present a member of its Council, made this comment:

"Wild land is an integral part of a balanced, civilized territory, just as tilled land and city blocks form the other integral parts. The primeval influence is an integral part of a balanced, civilized mental state, just as the influence of the rural wayside and city street compose the other basic elements of such a state. * * * I enjoy the highlights of Broadway as also the aroma of the new-mown hayfield, and with them both the frog chorus in the dank and distant muskeg. All three elements are needed, urban, rural, and primeval, if the molecule of human living is truly to survive."

Let us for a moment explore the philosophy of others.

Sylva is a beautiful little magazine, official publication of the Department of Lands and Forests of Ontario, Canada. In one number William R. Franklin is quoted, and from this quotation, entitled "Accomplishment," I in turn glean these few words:

"Low aims and shallow thoughts are the real tragedies of life. * * * Ideals are the architects, the blueprints of the soul."

The Department of Education and Research of the Congress of Industrial Organizations is very active in conservation and collaborates wholeheartedly with the other conservation societies. In a CIO pamphlet, Healthy Soil, Healthy People, I find this:

"Man is a child of nature whose refined civilization, for all its brilliant complexity, has its roots in the soil. If those roots die, the civilization which stems from them must also die."

In another CIO pamphlet, the Foundations of Prosperity, is the following:

"We also recognize the great value of undeveloped wild country. The roadless areas in our national forests are an example of this; likewise the undisturbed regions of our national parks. * * * We all consider a beautiful environment in our homes, churches, and schools to be important. Beauty in the outdoor environment tends to be nobody's business, but is really everybody's business."

In the magazine, the Land, published by Friends of the Land, an article by Elmer T. Peterson, Rhapsody in Green, in the January 1953 number, is worthy of the attention of any earnest sociologist. I shall select only one sentence:

"I love the land because it is the basic material as well as spiritual fact in human experience."

The Chinese long ago put it this way, in the familiar proverb:

"If thou hast two bowls of rice to feed they belly, sell one, and with thy coins buy hyacinths to feed thy soul."

And now to an editorial in the New York Times for October 5, 1952, which has been quoted in Nature Conservancy News:

"But a little lonesome space, where nature has her own way, where it is quiet enough at night to hear the patter of small paws on leaves and the murmuring of birds, can still be afforded. The gift of tranquillity, wherever found, is beyond price."

Again, let us turn to Yale Conservation Studies, volume 1, No. 1, May 1952. The dean of the Yale Graduate School, Dr. Edmund W. Sinnott, writing on Conserving the Intangibles, says: "Merely to stay alive is no very exalted ambition." And he continues:

"It is of vital consequence for the future welfare of our race to keep in a relatively wild state a considerable part of the land of the globe, including regions close to the main centers of population."

And just one more: Isaiah, fifth chapter, eighth verse:

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"Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth."

Surely we here find the same word spoken in many ages, by many people.

But how do we behave in wild country? Have we learned how to find the intangible gold in those hills? Sir Richard Livingstone, as visiting professor of English and history at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, delivered an essay on "The Meaning of Civilization," published in the Atlantic Monthly for March 1953. He speaks as follows:

"Nor is it merely that airplanes and explosives and atomic energy may destroy us; a less spectacular but more imminent risk is that they may bewilder, distract, and barbarize us. I have mentioned one unfortunate use of the internal-combustion engine; let me call attention to another, lesser, and less obvious evil for which it is responsible and which can be seen on any highway in Europe or America when a car or motor coach passes with tourists. They are bent on seeing the scenery. But you can no more see scenery at 20 or 30 or 40 miles an hour than you could see a picture gallery by running through it. Beauty cannot be seen in bulk; to run one's eye over it is not to see it; it needs time and leisure to absorb and be absorbed by it. Wordsworth, wandering 'lonely as a cloud' saw more in an afternoon walk than we see in a journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Insofar, we have actually lost by the opportunities for locomotion which progress has given us, and Horace's sarcastic comment on his age, written 1,900 years ago, applies to us with infinitely more force:

" 'Navibus atque quadrigis petimus bene vivere—We look to cars and yachts for the good life.' "

One would like to quote this entire essay, which is so worthy of our study. Similar sentiments were expressed in a more homely fashion by an elderly man, probably over 80 years old, dressed in nondescript clothes, with a battered old straw hat, who was sitting on a log near Old Faithful Geyser in the Yellowstone. He hailed Park Naturalist Herbert T. Lystrup, who tells about it in the January-February 1953 number of Yellowstone Nature Notes:

"Son, come 'ere a mite. * * *

"Son, I was here 40 years ago and the Old Gal ain't puttin' out like she useta. She useta spurt every hour on the hour. I been a'clockin' her since yesterday and she sure is slowin' up. She ain't shootin' so high no more."

The naturalist refrained from speaking of the accurate records that have been kept of the geyser, but asked the old gentleman about his trip 40 years ago.

"I come in a rickety old stage and all I can remember is mud, dust, and bumps except seein' Old Faithful. Trouble with people today is they're in a danged hurry to git someplace and when they git there they wanna up and go! They can't sit still a minute. What did they come for, anyway? Lookit all these people all around here thick as flies on a lemon pie. They got too much of everything. Too much comfort. They don't know nuthin' about hard times. Today people is just a bunch of nervous wrecks. A good day's work would put 'em in bed for a week."

Next morning Mr. Lystrup saw him again on his favorite log.

"Son, I gotta see one more spurt and then I'm on my way back to Kansas. The folks I'm travelin' with got ants in their pants to git goin'. Sure had fun though. So long, son."

I suppose it could be stated more elegantly and more scientifically, but it is pretty well recognized that we are afflicted with "ants in our pants." For our own sakes, we must learn to find tranquillity.

A skilled surgeon of New York, with a heavy practice, finds it necessary each summer to come west to his favorite wilderness, to spend about a month back in the mountains. I know what it means to him, for I shared with him one of those wilderness sojourns.

One time a woman came down out of the Teton Mountains, refreshed and buoyant, and exclaimed: "Why, up there I felt as if I could not be angry with anyone in the world."

A college student spent a summer in Jackson Hole, Wyo., on a temporary job in the national park. In the fall this young man and a group of other college students were assembled at our home and the conversation turned to the confusions so prevalent among college students in this chaotic civilization, and the increasing role of the psychiatrist.

Facetiously, and rather unkindly, I referred to their dependence on those "Brain fixers." Why don't the young people make a serious attempt to do the job themselves, I wanted to know.

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"You can talk," the young man exploded. "Look where you are, right out here among these mountains. You are away from the tense and confusing atmosphere we students in the eastern colleges have been thrown into. Now I have spent the whole summer out here. You can't imagine what this has done for me. Not all of us college students have had this opportunity."

I felt justly rebuked. And I reflected, that those of us who have had over half a century of participation in history, with time in which to fit together some of the pieces in the puzzle of our society, might easily fail to understand the difficulty of the youthful mind, newly arrived in the complex turmoil of this period; a mind that is eager for order, logic, looking for personal opportunity and purpose; a mind impatient for results, questioning old beliefs which do not seem to fit with what it sees about us, contemplating inconsistencies and weaknesses in the affairs of the adult estate. As I thought of this, I felt a surge of warmth for this young man, apologetic for my flippant comment.

At the annual convention of the New York State Conservation Council, at Buffalo, on December 8, 1951, Lt. Gov. Frank C. Moore gave an address on the Adirondacks. Speaking of his trips in those mountains, he said:

"In the quietness of those moments, amid the lengthening shadows of approaching evening, I found a comfort of mind and a relaxation of nerves and muscles rare in the everyday life of the troubled world of today. You, too, have had these moments. We must preserve them for others."

The woman returning from the mountain, the Lieutenant Governor of New York, the New York surgeon on his annual trip to wilderness for recuperation, the college student spending the summer working in a national park; all of these had truly experienced what Emerson meant when he said:

"In the woods, we return to reason and faith."

I have thus endeavored to outline the growth of an idea that evidently had its origin in biblical times, an idea that has produced an American institution, founded on the natural affinity of sensitive people for the beauty and inspiration of nature's own landscape—an institution that is reflected in other countries of the world. We believe that it is important for our happiness, our spiritual welfare, for our success in dealing with the confusions of a materialistic and sophisticated civilization. Moreover, we have developed a network of public-spirited organizations devoted to preserving this American heritage.

But we need help. As the CIO pamphlet put it, "this is everybody's business." We are contending against another, understandable part of our nature, man's exuberance over the discovery of new mechanical power, man's aggressiveness at the throttle in the machine age, causing one engineer to boast: "We like to push rivers around."

We have become confused by the complexities of modern civilization since we became so numerous. So huge has become the economic pattern necessary for orderly living of millions of people in an industrial age that we have begun to look upon the dollar as an end in itself, rather than only a medium of exchange.

So we do need help to keep America a pleasant home in which to live. Glacier National Park is threatened. There are reservoir blueprints for the Bob Marshall Wilderness Area in Montana, waiting for the opportune moment. Concrete is in readiness to be dumped into the beautiful canyons of the Green and Yampa Rivers in northern Utah and Colorado. Steel cable will reach upward on Mount San Jacinto and push the machine age into the sanctity of that alpine wilderness, if present commercial plans and maneuvers succeed. Logging interests are eagerly striving to eliminate a large portion of our incomparable Olympic National Park. The easy money from exploitation of virgin timber is irresistible. Many of our established wilderness areas on national forests are in danger of being shrunk by slow attrition at the boundaries, and by invasion by mining interests. We have won no clear-cut victories so far. We have only won a stay of execution, hoping to gain time, until the people of the United States have opportunity to learn the facts and understand what is at stake.

We still have a special opportunity to save some of the spirit of the northland. It has appealed to adventurous people since northern lands were known to exist. The pioneers of northern Canada and Alaska lived a life, and had visions and insight, of a kind that we cannot afford to drop entirely from our civilization.

Those of us who have had the privilege of sharing northern living have found both cold beauty and infinite warmth; physical hardships, as well as times of plenty and fun. We believe it is a life not to be ashamed of, a life of rugged endeavor and high spiritual reward, not to be lightly discarded in the modern reach for ease and gadgets.

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Surely somewhere in the north we should find it possible to dedicate an area or two to this kind of life which has made man strong, a place where the caribou may continue to live, where the white sheep may live among the crags, where the loons may call from tundra pools, and where man may come, away from the noise of industrial confusion, and experience a little of the wilderness living that inspired the early men of adventure in Canada and Alaska.

I am not pessimistic—neither about this northland opportunity nor about our prospects for wilderness preservation the world over. Rather, I am astonished by the great progress made in the last few years. It is only a question of whether there is time—time for the best thinking in our society to become mobilized.

I do not recall who it was, but I believe it was one of the representatives concerned with the organization of the United Nations at San Francisco, who suggested that the organization meeting ought to be held in a redwood forest of California. I suppose I may sound like an idealistic, impractical college youth as viewed by the worldly, but I dare to suggest that if a group of the most hostile statesmen on all sides of the oceans, who fill the headlines today, should assemble for a sojourn in wild country, climb a noble mountain together, their hard words might soften just a little, and give the world new hope.

Mr. STONG. Thank you very much, Dr. Murie, for your statement. Do you have any comments to add?

Dr. MURIE. I do not think so, except I would like to add that there seems to be an apprehension about the administration of certain areas, but we, the people who want to use these, like to see wilderness wherever it can be found, and we are sure we, who live in the wilderness, who travel around in those areas, and know where the areas are, know that there are numerous areas and refuges. I could give you any number of them that would not harm anything; that would be wonderful to put into this system, and no one would object, none of the people.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, sir.

Dr. MURIE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. STONG. The next witness will be Kenneth B. Pomeroy, chief forester, the American Forestry Association.

STATEMENT OF KENNETH B. POMEROY, CHIEF FORESTER, AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Chairman, I am Kenneth B. Pomeroy, representing the American Forestry Association, an 82-year-old organization with nationwide membership embracing every segment of forest conservation. Throughout the association's long history it has crusaded diligently for protection and wise use of the Nation's natural resources. For twenty-odd years its Trail Riders of the Wilderness expeditions have enabled many people to know and enjoy the scenic and spiritual values of wilderness. Consequently, it is distressing to find ourselves in disagreement with friends of long standing. Yet we, too, have deep convictions and we are grateful for this opportunity to present our views.

First may we review the association's basic philosophy of multiple use as a means of attaining the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run?

Multiple-use management simply means the coordinated use of all the sources and values of the land. This does not imply that every use shall have a place on each acre. That is not possible. It does mean that every portion of the forest shall serve the purpose for which it is best suited. Furthermore, all uses shall be integrated with one an-

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other to provide the utmost return in terms of economic, esthetic, and social values. It also means that all uses shall receive equal consideration in determining which shall be paramount or subordinate on a given area.

Usually the dominant use is determined readily, but sometimes there are conflicts of interest. Management of such problem areas requires careful study of all the resources present, the ultimate needs and benefits to be obtained, followed by impartial weighing of the evidence and wise decision. This pattern has been used successfully by the Forest Service throughout its long existence. The National Park Service is coordinating its activities through its Mission 66 program, and similar plans are being developed for wildlife refuges.

How then will the proposals contained in H. R. 361, H. R. 500, H. R. 906, H. R. 1960, and H. R. 2162 affect the administration of these bureaus?

We believe that creation of a national wilderness preservation system, to include the wild portions of national parks, national forests, Indian reservations and wildlife refuges, not only is unnecessary, but it is unwise. If such a system is created, with a wilderness council to review all proposals, make surveys, prepare reports and dispense information, how then can one deny the creation of other resource councils?

A timber council perhaps to see that sufficient land is being assigned to wood production? A council of wildlife to decide when game and fish interests shall precede crop production or the utilization of water? A recreation council to make sure that national parks serve automobile tourists as well as wilderness enthusiasts? A grazing council for the benefit of the stockmen? In the end such councils would function as "built-in lobbies," create stalemates by opposing one another, and greatly impair administration of the public lands. In fact, establishment of a wilderness council would open the doors for every other special interest.

Proposals for a wilderness council bear a striking similarity to repeated efforts of grazing interests to secure a toehold on the public domain. Thirty-one years ago, the Stanfield bill, S. 2584, the first of many such bills, proposed that the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior establish local grazing boards, a majority of whose members "shall be selected by the grazing permittees." The objective was to place stockmen in a position to overrule decisions of trained, experienced administrators of the public lands. Today the effort is aimed one step higher and seeks to place "six citizens known to be interested in wilderness" between the Secretaries and Congress.

On April 6, 1926, the directors of the American Forestry Association unanimously agreed that any legislation relating to grazing on the national forests should:

Conform to the basic purposes underlying the establishment of the national forests and the principle of administrative discretion in regulating their occupancy and use, as expressed in the act of March 3, 1891, and June 4, 1897.

Conform to the principle of safeguarding the property rights of the Nation in the lands embraced in the national forests by preventing the acquirement of private rights by any means whatever, direct or indirect, that may in any way impair the permanent rights of the United States in these properties.

Conform to a form of legislation which retains in the Secretary of Agriculture the grant of broad administrative authority in contrast to specific grants which attempt to enumerate the details of administrative action.

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From time to time these principles have been reaffirmed by the directors of the American Forestry Association. They are a part of the association's present stand on wilderness proposals.

Now there are times when expert advice is desirable. Our association has no objection to the creation of advisory committees so long as they function in a purely advisory capacity. But the American Forestry Association does believe that it is contrary to the public interest to interpose a wilderness council between the legislative and the administrative branches of the Congress.

On the other hand wilderness, recreation, and wildlife are entitled to better recognition than they now enjoy. Therefore, the American Forestry Association recommends that legislation along the following lines be considered:

That it is the policy of Government that all the resources of the public lands shall be so managed, conserved, utilized, and developed as to assure maximum public multiple use thereof; that public use for purposes of recreation, including wilderness enjoyment, hunting and fishing is a beneficial and proper use of such lands; that the development and maintenance of such areas and facilities, including maintenance of wilderness areas, is a proper function of the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior for their respective Departments.

Thank you for the privilege of presenting our views.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Pomeroy.

Do you have any additional comments to make?

Mr. POMEROY. No, thank you.

Mr. STONG. The next witness scheduled is Mr. A. Z. Nelson, of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association.

Mr. Nelson is not present, but he said he would submit a statement. It will be inserted into the record at this point.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF A. Z. NELSON, OF THE NATIONAL LUMBER MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

We have given careful attention to the provisions of this legislation. The lumber industry recognizes the importance of recreation in our Federal forests and has recommended that adequate funds be made available by direct appropriations for the reasonable development of this type of use. We believe that when the establishment of areas or the delineation of area boundaries for an exclusive use, such as recreation on Federal forest land, is under consideration, full weight should be given to the principle that all such land should be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people.

The legislation under consideration is justified by its proponents on the grounds that it would "* * * secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness * * *." We can agree that certain carefully delimited areas of outstanding wilderness attraction within the public lands owned by the United States should receive primary use management for wilderness purposes. The establishment and tenure of such limited areas, however, under responsibility already accorded the executive department of the Government should continue to be discretionary, flexible, and dependent upon circumstances and conditions prevailing in each locality. We believe that action by the executive department of the Government under existing authority and policies will substantially secure the objectives of the legislation under consideration.

The legislation states that "* * * an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, is destined to occupy and modify all areas within the United States, its Territories, and possessions except those that are set apart for preservation and protection in their natural condition." To some extent this statement is true, if related to centuries instead of decades. But to those who have traveled the vast reaches of the national forests, the national parks, the Indian reservations, the Taylor grazing districts and other Federal areas, where in the hinterlands it is an adventure to see a

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human being, this statement is, at the least, debatable. Similarly, those who have traveled in the vast undeveloped and relatively unexplored parts of Alaska, Canada, and Mexico wonder if we will not always have wilderness opportunities in large sections of North America.

If the legislation is enacted, it is claimed that an adequate system of areas of wilderness to serve the recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and conservation needs of the people would be secured. It is unlikely that all of these purposes would be served by the proposed wilderness system except to a very limited extent and for only a very small proportion of the American people. Actually, all of these purposes, if defined according to Webster, would be far better served by the lands in the national forests, the national parks, and similar Federal areas outside of designated wilderness areas.

The legislation if enacted would, it is said, "provide for the protection of these areas in perpetuity and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness." The legislation, however, is so restrictive relative to the access and use of wilderness areas that fire, insects, and disease would radically change the physical character of the areas from their present state, if not in time totally destroy present wilderness attributes of many existing areas. Protection in this sense, therefore, could not be adequately provided under such a wilderness system. However, protection from all commercial use and protection from enjoyment by a substantial number of people would be afforded by the legislation. Moreover, there appears to be much information currently available on wilderness areas which has been published in the absence of such legislative mandate.

The legislation defines a wilderness "* * * as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community who visits and does not remain and whose travels leave only trails." It is difficult to understand how a wilderness area could be untrammeled by man and at the same time be visited by man. There appears to be an intent here to hold almost inviolate large areas for the enjoyment of persons so limited in number as to assure the continued untrammeled character of the areas.

The legislation provides that additional units of the national park system and wildlife refuges and ranges may be designated for inclusion in the system by Executive or administrative order, but no unit shall be removed from the system except by act of Congress. Even though review by Congress is provided with regard to additions, modifications, and eliminations, this provision appears to be inequitable and inconsistent with good administrative practice. Both inclusions and removals should be approved by the same authority.

The legislation provides, as a minimum, for the congressional establishment as wilderness or wild areas of 78 existing roadless, wild, wilderness, and primitive areas within the national forests. These would all be blanketed into the national wilderness preservation system despite the fact that the Forest Service has studies underway of many of them to ascertain current need for boundary and other changes. The legislation, therefore, is untimely and would adversely affect proper administrative discretion in this field of operation.

Again regarding wilderness areas of the national forest, current Forest Service policy and procedure as contained in the Manual of the Forest Service, relative to their establishment, modification, and elimination, shows a full recognition of the objectives and standards set forth in the legislation under consideration. The manual instructions undoubtedly reflect Forest Service experience of many years and a synthesis of informed public viewpoint. For example, they provide for public hearings and the expression of local viewpoint which is so important.

With regard to recreational use of the national forests, it has been well stated that:

"The great majority of those who go to the forest for recreation do not have either the ability or the desire to get away from the easy travel made possible by roads, and penetrate into the back country. To the extent that the land therein is suitable for nonwilderness recreation, the establishment of a wilderness means closing just so much of the national forests to the use of those who come there to seek recreation in the form of touring, picnicking, camping near their cars, or stopping at resorts, organization camps, or summer homes."

If it appears reasonable to the Congress to establish a national wilderness preservation system as proposed in this legislation, then it would appear equally reasonable that the Congress also establish with similar 15-man councils a

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national timber production area system, a national grazing area system, a national mineral area development system, etc., for water, fish, game, campgrounds, and other resources on or uses of the Federal lands. The final result might then be the elimination or complete regimentation of existing land administrating agencies. Such an outcome may be considered as unlikely, yet is there not as much justification for the establishment of these other systems as there is a national wilderness preservation system?

Under the legislation it is proposed that a total of some 165 units, with an aggregate area of 55 million acres, be placed in the national wilderness preservation system. The 55 million acres approximates the land now in Federal withdrawals or reservations, which, it is stated, are wilderness areas or have wilderness attributes. No one could reasonably deny that this vast area contains valuable water, minerals, timber, and forage, as well as scenic and recreational resources. It must be remembered that when commercial resources are locked up, our economy is deprived of additional tax dollars, pay envelopes, and needed consumer products. Many, therefore, are deprived of economic sustenance so as to provide a very limited number of individuals with wilderness pleasures. This is not to suggest that existing wilderness areas be abolished, but simply to plead for reasonableness and objectivity in developing a balance whereby a few will not gain unduly at the expense of the many. The best public interest for the long run must be the criterion that is used.

Legislation is before Congress which, if enacted, would provide for a National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission. Such Commission presumably would study carefully the type of problem which is being considered here today. Such study would take place as part of a comprehensive nationwide review of all recreation problems. Thus, the problem of wilderness area recreation would be considered by such Commission in a larger context and as part of the national recreation framework. It is suggested that action by this subcommittee, therefore, be held in abeyance until Congress decides whether or not it will pass this legislation.

In view of the foregoing, we urge that S. 1176 not be reported.

Mr. STONG. The next witness is Howard Zahniser, Trustees for Conservation, Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD ZAHNISER, TRUSTEES FOR CONSERVATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. ZAHNISER. Mr. Chairman, my name is Howard Zahniser.

I am the Washington representative of Trustees for Conservation. My address is 6222 43d Avenue, Hyattsville, Md.

Trustees for Conservation is an organization of 51 individuals endeavoring to secure the support of the people and the Government in the preservation of national parks and monuments, wildlife, and wilderness areas. We are a task force applying ourselves especially to the need for seeing conservation represented in connection with legislation. Our president is Ansel Adams. Our vice presidents are Weldon F. Heald, Wallace Stegner, and Dr. Edgar Wayburn. The secretary is Stuart R. Dole, the treasurer Clifford V. Heimbucher, and our executive secretary William J. Losh. Headquarters of Trustees for Conservation are at 251 Kearny Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Not only as Washington representative of Trustees for Conservation, but in various other capacities, I have been deeply involved in efforts to develop sound and acceptable legislation to protect our remaining resources of wilderness. As vice chairman of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, as formerly Washington representative of the Council of Conservationists, as honorary vice president of the Sierra Club, most importantly, perhaps, as executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, as well as in some other relationships, I have been much concerned with the development of the

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wilderness bill which is here under consideration. However, my appearance today is in behalf of Trustees for Conservation.

I have also been requested to express support for the wilderness bill in behalf of Friends of the Forest Preserve, an organization with headquarters at St. Davids Lane, Schenectady, N. Y., for which I am also national representative.

Mr. Paul Schaefer, of Schenectady, president of the Friends of the Forest Preserve, has sent me the following telegram:

> Please represent Friends of Forest Preserve, Inc., with membership in New York State embracing leaders of more than 1,000 organizations favoring S. 1176, H. R. 500, wilderness bill. As our national representative will you please do all you can to implement successful action on this measure.

There is a multiplicity of organizations that are involved here for whom I happen to be speaking now, and have, at one time or another in the past, because of my central situation in Washington, and my regular employment here with the Wilderness Society. This is evidence of the large number of people that are interested in the preservation of wilderness, and are glad to avail themselves of such services as we can afford.

There was considerable discussion this morning, if you will recall, of the quantity of interest in wilderness.

I would submit to you that the wilderness that we still have left and can preserve is of value to every citizen of the United States. It is not a resource that is only for the people who happen to be using it at any one time.

Here in Washington, you can go down to the National Gallery of Art, that we call the Mellon Gallery, on a hot day like this, when it is cool in there, and wander around and have an experience in solitude, but none of us feel that the National Gallery of Art is there for just the few people that happen to be in that gallery at a particular time.

We maintain it for everybody; and sooner or later anyone who is concerned can visit it.

That is also true of the wilderness areas.

The wilderness areas are maintained so every American, now, and in the future, can have the privilege of choosing to visit a wilderness area, if he wishes to do so. If he does not wish to visit the area, nevertheless, as the privilege of an American citizen, he has it there, and the very fact that it is there means a great deal to many people who do not visit it.

In the first place, a large area of wilderness has a wonderful frontier. The larger the area of wilderness the greater the frontier. The frontier values of wilderness are comparable to the values of the frontiers that receded as we settled this country. Along the edges of a wilderness area are the ideal sites for cabins, for camping grounds, for picnic places that are reached by automobile.

A few years ago I had the privilege of spending a short vacation with my wife up at Eagle's Mere, Pa. I was sitting out on a large porch of the inn there one day, and I heard an elderly gentleman tell his companion, "The reason I come up here is, I like to sit on this porch and look over across there. There are acres and acres out there, and there are no roads at all going through it. I like to sit here and look at that."

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Now that man represents the interest in wilderness that is shared by many many people who never get an opportunity to do any more than what he was doing.

A wilderness is not the sort of place that you have to go to every week in order to appreciate its value. A once-in-a-lifetime experience is enough to justify wilderness to anyone who cannot visit it again.

We tend in our urban mechanized civilization to forget about the places of our origin, and the reality of our dependence upon other forms of life.

In the wilderness we can perceive that. The adult or the young person who can, once in a lifetime, get into a wilderness has an experience that has a deep and substantial meaning to him.

So, I think that the experience of human beings with wilderness areas is something of far greater proportions than might be indicated by the percentage of people, who, at any given time, will be found within them. As was brought out this morning, when people go to a wilderness, they want to go to an area that is truly wilderness. If we put a road into such an area, we have destroyed what they seek. If we put large crowds of people in areas, we have destroyed the wilderness.

I could not sit and listen to the discussion, Mr. Chairman, this morning, without speaking of this just as soon as I had disposed of my introductory formalities, and I hope you will bear with me for having so spoken.

Mr. Chairman, our approach to this legislation has been as cooperative and constructive as we could make it.

We have not been critical in an adverse or faultfinding way of any agency, group, or interest. We have not disparaged our predecessors, nor have we bewailed any of the forces that today make wilderness preservation difficult. On the contrary, while realizing and emphasizing that the circumstances in which we live are such as to threaten any area of wilderness, we have been most appreciative of the fact that there is still remaining such a marvelous resource of wilderness. Our effort has been to make sure that we duly cherish and protect what we have, thankful to those who have so far protected these areas, and who have thus given us our opportunity.

In cooperating closely with Senator Humphrey, Senator Neuberger, and other sponsors of the wilderness bill in both Senate and House, we have sought to develop a program that could be supported by those who are concerned with natural resources for commodity purposes. There is, for example, within our proposed system of wilderness areas no area that is now available for lumbering. Giving these areas firm legal sanction and protection should thus be a measure that can be supported by any lumber interest. That is one example.

We have sought to develop a program that could be supported by the administrators of the lands that are involved. We propose no change of jurisdiction. We propose no new land administration. We respect the uses for which these lands are now being administered. Continuing to administer them in such a way as to preserve their wilderness character should certainly prove to be a convenient undertaking for the administrators, who will indeed find their hands strengthened in carrying on the programs they have developed.

USAV-00000204

Our Wilderness Preservation System

(As designated in S. 1176. Map and legend indicate present designation and administrative status of each area. The bill provides these areas will continue to be administered by the existing agencies.)

NATIONAL FOREST AREAS

ROADLESS AREAS

1 Caribou
2 Little Indian Sioux
3 Superior

WILD AREAS

4 Chiricahua
5 Cucamonga
6 Diamond Peak
7 Galiuro
8 Gates of the Mountains
9 Gearhart Mountain
10 Goat Rocks
11 Hoover
12 Kalmiopsis
13 Linville Gorge
14 Maroon Bells-Snowmass
15 Mount Adams
16 Mountain Lakes
17 Mount Hood
18 Mount Washington
19 Mount Zirkel-Dome Peak
20 San Gorgonio
21 San Pedro Parks
22 Sierra Ancha
23 Strawberry Mountain
24 Thousand Lakes

WILDERNESS AREAS

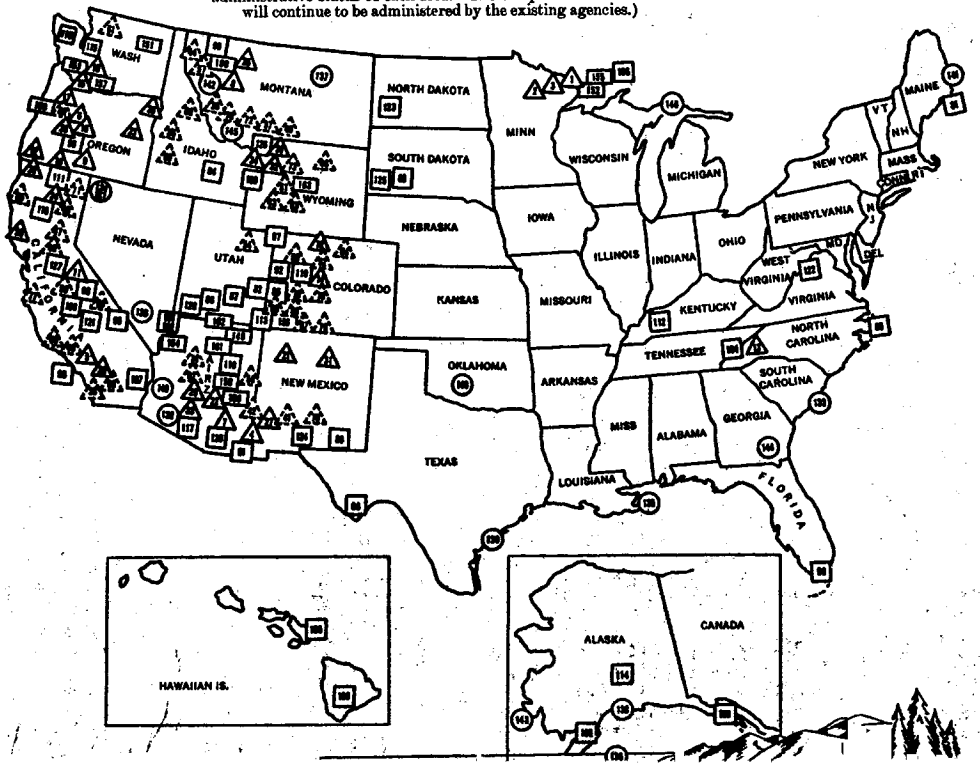
25 Bob Marshall
26 Eagle Cap
27 Gila
28 Marble Mountain
29 Mazatzal
30 North Absaroka
31 Pecos
32 South Absaroka
33 Superstition
34 Teton
35 Three Sisters
36 Yolla Bolly-Middle Eel

PRIMITIVE AREAS

37 Absaroka
38 Agua Tibia
39 Anaconda-Pintlar
40 Beartooth
41 Black Range
42 Blue Range
43 Bridger
44 Cabinet Mountains
45 Caribou Peak
46 Cloud Peak
47 Desolation Valley
48 Devil Canyon-Bear Canyon
49 Emigrant Basin
50 Flat Tops
51 Glacier
52 Gore Range-Eagle Nest
53 High Sierra
54 High Uintas
55 Idaho
56 La Garita-Sheep Mountain
57 Mission Mountains
58 Mount Baldy
59 Mount Dana-Minarets
60 Mount Jefferson
61 North Cascade
62 Pine Mountain
63 Popo Agie
64 Rawah
65 Salmon Trinity Alps
66 San Jacinto
67 San Juan
68 San Rafael
69 Sawtooth
70 Selway-Bitterroot
71 South Warner
72 Spanish Peaks
73 Stratified
74 Sycamore Canyon
75 Uncompahgre
76 Upper Rio Grande
77 Ventana
78 West Elk
79 White Mountain
80 Wilson Mountains

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

81 Acadia National Park
82 Arches National Monument
83 Badlands N.M.
84 Big Bend N.P.
85 Black Canyon of the Gunnison N.M.
86 Bryce Canyon N.P.
87 Capitol Reef N.M.
88 Carlsbad Caverns N.P.
89 Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area
90 Channel Islands N.M.
91 Chiricahua N.M.
92 Colorado N.M.
93 Crater Lake N.P.
94 Craters of the Moon N.M.
95 Death Valley N.M.
105 Hawaii N.P.
106 Isle Royale N.P.
107 Joshua Tree N.M.
108 Katmai N.M.
109 Kings Canyon N.P.
110 Lassen Volcanic N.P.
111 Lava Beds N.M.
112 Mammoth Cave N.P.
113 Mesa Verde N.P.
114 Mount McKinley N.P.
115 Mount Rainier N.P.
116 Olympic N.P.
117 Organ Pipe Cactus N.M.
118 Petrified Forest N.M.
119 Rocky Mountain N.P.
120 Saguaro N.M.

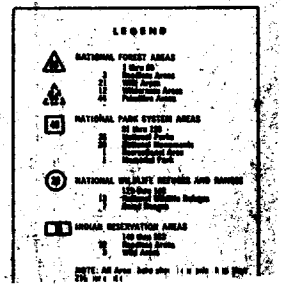


NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

129 Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge
130 Aransas N.W.R.
131 Bogoslof N.W.R.
132 Cabeza Prieta Game Range
133 Cape Romain N.W.R.
134 Charles Sheldon Antelope Range
135 Delta N.W.R.
136 Desert Game Range
137 Fort Peck Game Range
138 Kenai National Moose Range
139 Kodiak N.W.R.
140 Kofa Game Range
141 Moosehorn N.W.R.
142 Montana National Bison Range
143 Nunivak N.W.R.
144 Okefenokee N.W.R.
145 Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge
146 Seney N.W.R.
147 Sheldon National Antelope Refuge
148 Wichita Mountains W.R.

INDIAN RESERVATION AREAS

149 Black Mesa Roadless Area
150 Black River R.A.
151 Columbia-San Poil Divide R.A.
152 Fort Charlotte Wild Area
153 Goat Rocks R.A.
154 Grand Canyon R.A.
155 Grand Portage W.A.
156 Mesa Verde R.A.
157 Mount Adams W.A.
158 Mount Jefferson R.A.
159 Mount Thomas R.A.
160 Mission Range R.A.
161 Painted Desert R.A.
162 Rainbow Bridge R.A.
163 Wind River Mountains R.A.



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Bear Mountain
10 Goat Rocks
11 Hoover
12 Kalmiopsis
13 Linville Gorge
14 Maroon Bells-Snowmass
15 Mount Adams
16 Mountain Lakes
17 Mount Hood
18 Mount Washington
19 Mount Zirkel-Dome Peak
20 San Gorgonio
21 San Pedro Parks
22 Sierra Ancha
23 Strawberry Mountain
24 Thousand Lakes

WILDERNESS AREAS

25 Bob Marshall
26 Eagle Cap
27 Gila
28 Marble Mountain
29 Mazatzal
30 North Absaroka
31 Pecos
32 South Absaroka
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34 Teton
35 Three Sisters
36 Yolla Bolly-Middle Eel

Black Canyon-Bear Canyon
49 Emigrant Basin
50 Flat Tops
51 Glacier
52 Gore Range-Eagle Nest
53 High Sierra
54 High Uintas
55 Idaho
56 La Garita-Sheep Mountain
57 Mission Mountains
58 Mount Baldy
59 Mount Dana-Minarets
60 Mount Jefferson
61 North Cascade
62 Pine Mountain
63 Popo Agie
64 Rawah
65 Salmon Trinity Alps
66 San Jacinto
67 San Juan
68 San Rafael
69 Sawtooth
70 Selway-Bitterroot
71 South Warner
72 Spanish Peaks
73 Stratified
74 Sycamore Canyon
75 Uncompahgre
76 Upper Rio Grande
77 Ventana
78 West Elk
79 White Mountain
80 Wilson Mountains

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

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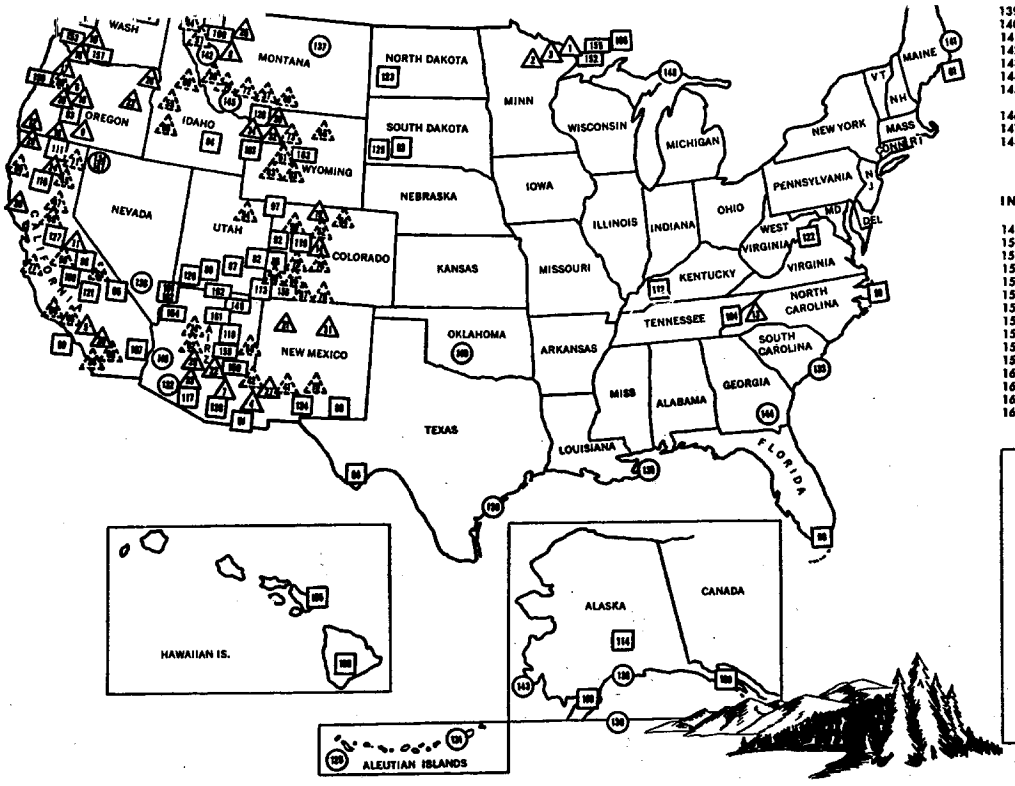
90 Channel Islands N.M.
91 Chiricahua N.M.
92 Colorado N.M.
93 Crater Lake N.P.
94 Craters of the Moon N.M.
95 Death Valley N.M.
96 Devils Postpile N.M.
97 Dinosaur N.M.
98 Everglades N.P.
99 Glacier N.P.
100 Glacier Bay N.M.
101 Grand Canyon N.P.
102 Grand Canyon N.M.
103 Grand Teton N.P.
104 Great Smoky Mountains N.P.
105 Hawaii N.P.
106 Isle Royale N.P.
107 Joshua Tree N.M.
108 Katmai N.M.
109 Kings Canyon N.P.
110 Lassen Volcanic N.P.
111 Lava Beds N.M.
112 Mammoth Cave N.P.
113 Mesa Verde N.P.
114 Mount McKinley N.P.
115 Mount Rainier N.P.
116 Olympic N.P.
117 Organ Pipe Cactus N.M.
118 Petrified Forest N.M.
119 Rocky Mountain N.P.
120 Saguaro N.M.
121 Sequoia N.P.
122 Shenandoah N.P.
123 Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park
124 White Sands N.M.
125 Wind Cave N.P.
126 Yellowstone N.P.
127 Yosemite N.P.
128 Zion N.P.



139 Kodiak N.W.R.
140 Kofa Game Range
141 Moosehorn N.W.R.
142 Montana National Bison Range
143 Nunivak N.W.R.
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157 Mount Adams W.A.
158 Mount Jefferson R.A.
159 Mount Thomas R.A.
160 Mission Range R.A.
161 Painted Desert R.A.
162 Rainbow Bridge R.A.
163 Wind River Mountains R.A.

LEGEND

NATIONAL FOREST AREAS
1 thru 80
3 Roadless Areas
21 Wild Areas
12 Wilderness Areas
44 Primitive Areas

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS
81 thru 128
36 National Parks
20 National Monuments
1 Recreational Area
1 Memorial Park

NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES
129 thru 148
13 National Wildlife Refuges
7 Game Ranges

INDIAN RESERVATION AREAS
149 thru 163
12 Roadless Areas
3 Wild Areas

NOTE: All Areas here shown comprise less than 3½ per cent of the area of the United States.

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY, 2144 P STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON 7, D.C. JUNE 1966

USAV-00000207

The sponsors of this legislation and we who have been cooperating with them, have sought to obtain the cooperation, criticisms, and suggestions of all who are involved and to modify, clarify, and correct the bill in accordance with the comments received. Successive drafts before even the bill was introduced incorporated the resulting changes. Copies of the bill were widely distributed last summer and fall, and the present bill, S. 1176, incorporates a great many results of the comments received.

We solicited comments very early in the administrative agencies. We sought to work in cooperation with the experts within the bureaus, but we were not as successful as we wished to be. We apparently were dealing in circumstances that were somewhat different from what we had imagined. The suggestions that we sought to arrive at in conferences, we often received in roundabout ways through criticisms that were indirectly reported to us. In whatever way they came to us, however, we sought, not to refute, but to explore and understand.

We have sought to use all comments and criticisms for the further development of something that we believe is of such basic and genuine importance that it is worth the time it takes to achieve the democratic consensus that is at the base of successful legislation in the United States.

This map you see behind you entitled "Our Wilderness Preservation System" has been prepared to show everyone interested just what we had in mind, both those whose enthusiasm would be aroused by seeing the opportunity this proposal represents and also those who might be jealous of our seeming to take over an unduly large area of the land.

This map has been shown at many conventions and banquets, and examined by a number of people. It has been duplicated in a different form in a number of publications. It represents the Federal wilderness preservation system.

There are about a dozen other areas in State jurisdictions that would have to be put on a map to represent all the wilderness that we have.

The Adirondacks in New York State, for example—established by the State constitution, which provided in 1894 that this land should remain forever wild—include one of the greatest wildernesses anywhere in the world.

Mr. STONG. How large an area is that?

Mr. ZAHNISER. The Adirondack Park includes about 5 million acres. But there are roads and villages within the park, and they are in private ownership. The lands in State ownership, which constitute the forest preserve, are kept forever wild, and they comprise about half this area.

The citizens of the State of New York, recently by a vote of 1,500,000 to 600,000, turned down a proposal that would have invaded the wilderness area.

These State areas all over the country are of great value to all of us.

Since the introduction of the wilderness bill, we have continued to note criticisms. Those making constructive suggestions have been embraced. Criticisms in opposition have been pondered and followed by attempts to adapt the bill so as to meet the criticism.

We are ready now to suggest some additional changes that are a response to the comments received since last February 11, when S. 1176 was introduced.

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At this time, Mr. Chairman, I should like to introduce into the record, a copy of the bill as it would be with the changes we are now proposing.

Mr. STONE. It may be included in the record at this point.

(Mr. Zahniser's redraft of a proposed bill appears at p. 270 following his comments on the position of the official agencies.)

Mr. ZAHNISER. One criticism has been against inclusion of a long list of specific areas. We had wondered ourselves whether or not to name specific areas and had concluded to do so for two reasons:

(1) It would kindle the imagination of our supporters and show inspiringly the extent of our preservation opportunity. (2) For those who might be suspicious of intentions stated in general terms, naming areas would show precisely what we meant. But, these purposes having been served, we are certainly now glad to substitute inclusive language and omit listings.

For example, with regard to national forests, in subsection (a) of section 2 of the bill, at the top of page 5, we might well say:

(a) The system shall include the areas within the national forests classified on June 1, 1957, by the Department of Agriculture or the Forest Service as wilderness, wild, primitive, or roadless.

This would make it possible to take out the rest of page 5 and all of pages 6, 7, 8, and 9, down to line 15, except that on page 6 at line 22, we should say simply:

Additional areas for inclusion in the system may be designated within national forests by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Another criticism has been that the Forest Service and other agencies that administer lands in the system would become responsible to the Council which this bill would establish. That, in part, we conclude has been based on a misunderstanding of the intention in providing that additions or changes in an area of wilderness should be reported to the secretary of the Council, and by him forwarded to Congress. This provision is in the sentence that starts in line 24 on page 6, and also is in similar language in lines 5 and 6 on page 10. It would be just as well to delete these provisions, and, as will be pointed out presently, provide for the direct submission of reports to Congress.

To make these alterations of subsection (a) complete, the word "primitive" should be inserted in line 17 on page 9 after "wild."

As regards the national park system areas, similar change can well be made. In subsection (b) of section 2 on page 10, the list of areas can be omitted and the first paragraph be changed to read as follows, beginning at line 9 on page 10:

(b) At the times and in the manner hereinafter provided for, the system shall include each park, monument, and seashore recreation area in the national park system on June 1, 1957, embracing a continuous area of 5,000 acres or more without roads.

Then there is no need for a listing of specific areas in the national park system.

To complete this alteration, the word "included" should be substituted for the first 3 words in line 8 on page 12. And, incidentally, the last word in this line should be "as" instead of the word "or" used in typographical error.

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Clarifying the role intended for the National Wilderness Preservation Council has suggested other changes. S. 1176 itself includes one addition for this purpose; namely, the explicit provision in lines 3, 4, and 5 on page 20 that the Council "shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any unit in the system nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction." Further changes can well be made to avoid any misunderstanding which might give a supervisory interpretation to the Council's purpose.

In subsection (f) of section 2, which begins at the bottom of page 17, it can be made plain that the Council is not to come between the executive departments and the Congress in any supervisory way. We can do this by providing for the direct submission to Congress of the reports referred to, with a provision for submission of copies to the Council, for the system files. This can be done by deleting from page 17 the lines 21 to 23 and the first two words of line 24 and instead inserting—

as established in accordance with subsections (a) and (e) of this section shall be reported to Congress by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, or other official or officials having jurisdiction over the lands involved.

The following sentence should then be inserted in line 5 on page 18:

A copy of each such report submitted to Congress shall at the same time be forwarded to the Secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council.

In accordance with these changes, the sentence beginning in line 10 on page 23 should be deleted.

A further move to remove the impression that this Council is intended to have superbureau powers might be the elimination at the bottom of page 23 and top of page 24 of the words—

the President, the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture, and other.

We did not mean to give the impression that the Council would have any purpose of using the President and the Secretaries to override others. The language there was the language that was used in connection with the President's Quetico-Superior Committee, which has functioned well for a number of years and has not threatened the autonomy of any Government agency or reached the excess influence that has been feared from this proposed Council.

Finally, to remove any lingering suspicion that this Council might be intended to override the Federal land-management agencies, we would suggest a change in the makeup of the Council.

As provided in S. 1176 this Council comprises 11 members, 4 of whom are bureau heads, 1 the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and 6 are citizens.

We should now like to suggest that the number of citizens be reduced to three and that the Director of the Bureau of Land Management be added. Thus the Council would comprise 5 bureau heads, the Smithsonian secretary, and 3 citizens. We are confident that it will thus serve well its true purposes and that the land-administering agencies will need fear no overriding. The first sentence of section 4 (a), beginning in line 11 of page 22, should then read as follows:

Section 4 (a). A National Wilderness Preservation Council is hereby created to consist ex officio of the persons at the time designated as the Chief of the United States Forest Service, the Director of the National Park Service, the Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, the Secretary

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of the Smithsonian Institution, and also three citizen members known to be informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness, one of whom shall be named initially for a term of 2 years, one for a term of 4 years, and one for a term of 6 years, by the President.

Mr. STONG. Do I understand you have made those changes in the draft you submitted?

Mr. ZAHNISER. Yes.

Wilderness is a character that land has. It is not a special use. "Wilderness" is a term that has significance because of the things that it negates. "Chastity" is another such term. The various kinds of lands that have their various uses can all be wilderness. Wilderness is the first basic resource that we started out with in this country, but it is the last one that we have realized would have to be conserved. When we came to that realization, we had already devised a pretty good system of land classification and management by Government agencies.

We have, in effect, a timber council now in the Forest Service. Gifford Pinchot started working more than half a century ago on that. I remember I was a very young lad when he was conducting one of his campaigns in Pennsylvania, and I remember being inspired by his zeal for forestry. We early developed what was in effect a timber council. We have the Fish and Wildlife Service, which is an excellent wildlife council. I worked for it for 11 years and sometimes wish I were still working in the quiet of a bureau rather than in the pressures of advocacy.

But wilderness is something that was not so definitely appreciated, and it is not represented in the organizations that we have. Yet we have come to realize that it is a distinct thing. It can be an area that has primary values for watershed protection and long-time timber reserves and be in a national forest. It can be in an area which is primarily for the use and enjoyment of people and be in a national park. It can be in a wildlife area, where visitors might destroy its distinct value. But any of those areas can be wilderness. And so, as we have tried to adapt a future wilderness preservation program to our present situation, we have thought of this Wilderness Preservation Council as made up of the men who are in charge of these other councils, and serving, as Senator Humphrey said this morning—and I must not get into details on this—as the focal place, the center of interest, the files for material, for reports about forests in connection with wilderness, refuges in connection with wilderness, and so forth. We are ready to adapt our language or provisions to any suggestions that respect that proposal.

We have heretofore found ourselves considering six citizens on a council with four bureau heads and another who might be looked upon as a Federal employee. But we have never intended to press issues and bring them to a 6 to 5 vote.

We are glad now to make these suggestions to the committee for its consideration in framing the legislation.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, have we who have been intimately associated with the development of this proposed legislation continued in our efforts to be cooperative and constructive and to take advantage of all criticisms and suggestions.

Mr. Chairman, there are many things that I might say in pleading the needs for wilderness areas, and the needs for wilderness preserva-

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tion legislation. I fear that I have said more of those words than I contemplated when I prepared this statement.

One consideration that has not been emphasized as much as it should be was discussed in an article in the June 1946 issue of the Living Wilderness in an article by Bernard Frank entitled "The Wilderness: A Major Water Resource." I am glad to submit for the record one of the few available copies of this article with the suggestion that it be printed at this point, with the editorial footnote on Mr. Frank which I prepared for it as editor of the Living Wilderness in 1946.

Mr. STONG. It will go in the record.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

THE WILDERNESS: A MAJOR WATER RESOURCE

By Bernard Frank[1]

The task of saving our few remaining wilderness areas is made easier by the knowledge that they represent a water resource of great importance. Wilderness preservation, in other words, is compatible with sound watershed management, and to all those concerned with either undertaking, a better appreciation of their interdependence will be of considerable benefit. For it is likewise true that the task of managing our watersheds is made easier by the knowledge that preserving the wilderness is one way to conserve our water resources.

The remnants of primitive America that now constitute the wilderness are very largely on the upper reaches of the Nation's major drainage basins. These roadless tracts of 100,000 acres or more, properly designated as "wilderness areas," and the similar tracts of 5,000 to 100,000 acres, designated as "wild areas," have been set aside for various primary purposes—recreation, esthetic appreciation, wildlife conservation, or scientific research—but they are all undeveloped, and by the accident of history most of them are also within our headwater areas. During the brief span of our growth as a Nation the most suitable localities have been preempted for settlement, agriculture, and industrialization, reducing the primitive environment to its present proportions. Civilization has always gone as far upstream as it believed profitable, and as a result the wilderness it has left is largely in the uppermost, least accessible, roughest portions of the country's watersheds—a good reason, incidentally, why civilization, for its own protection, should not seek to go further.

The remnant of the primitive that still remains in the United States constitutes a vital part of the water supply sources for the 17 Western States and for some densely populated portions of the humid East. Writing in the Living Wilderness for July 1940, William Zimmerman pointed out that there are left in the United States only 82 roadless forest areas of 100,000 acres or more. A glance at the map shows that most of them are on the upper slopes of the Continental Divide, the source of the Missouri, Arkansas, Columbia, Colorado, and Rio Grande River systems. Other areas are noted on the headwaters of the Hudson, Penobscot, St. Lawrence, and Tennessee Rivers, in the east; on the sources of the San Joaquin-Sacramento and other Pacific coast drainages, from the Olympics in northwestern Washington to the San Bernardino Mountains in southern California; and still others in the humid mountain ranges that produce the flows so precious to Utah's hardy desert civilization.

These high moisture-yielding headwaters are at last receiving attention in our rising anxiety over the control, distribution, and more beneficial use of our limited water supplies. The condition of these areas has rightly become a part of our concern over increasingly large and damaging flood flows; rapid siltation of costly reservoirs, navigable river channels, and harbors; and low or erratic stream flows with their associated problems of pollution and alarming water

[1] Bernard Frank—forester, land economist, hiker, camper, rock climber, and conservationist—writes with authority on both wilderness and water resources. With 20 years' experience in forestry, including 10 years of concern with watershed problems, he is now Assistant Chief of the U. S. Forest Service's Division of Forest Influences, engaged primarily in watershed management research. He was one of the organizers of the Wilderness Society, has been a member of the council since its beginning, and is now chairman of the executive committee. His personal interests, professional experience, and current concerns all emphasize for him the unities in wilderness preservation and water resource conservation, and he writes of these with both clarity and force. Readers will find his article informative and inspiring * * * and significant to the future of wilderness preservation.

USAV-00000213

shortages for domestic and industrial purposes, for crop irrigation, and for hydroelectric power generation. In short, continued wilderness preservation can definitely be recognized as one of our national water problems.

Our national water problems are, indeed, perplexing, and it takes only a few facts to suggest the extent and character of the difficulties involved.

More than 80 million people obtain their drinking water from nearly 13,000 public supply systems, the systems that are operated in most of our cities with more than 5,000 inhabitants. In many sections the limitations of available water sources seriously affect the future of established cities and communities. Many hundreds of millions of dollars have already been spent in attempts to obtain more satisfactory or additional supplies.

Within the 17 Western States the need for crop-irrigation water is great and pressing. Here are 2 million people on 265,000 farms served by 22,000 storage dams and 150,000 miles of irirgation canals, investments that amount to $2 billion. Although in the West as a whole much water still flows unused to the sea, local deficiencies are frequently serious and persistent, and many irrigation enterprises face losses or even total failure because of water-supply difficulties.

The Nation's flood damage bill has increased greatly during the past 20 years. As compared with an earlier average of $35 million a year, the annual losses from 1924 to 1937 alone averaged $102 million, plus the loss of 90 to 100 lives. Some 90 million people are today affected by floods from streams originating largely in forested territories. In the Misouri Basin alone more than two and a quarter million acres of farm land, and urban centers with some 730,000 inhabitants are subject to flood damages.

Sedimentation of water storage reservoirs is another threat to national security. Most of our hydroelectric power dams and 2,700 domestic water-supply dams now built represent an original outlay of well over $2,500 million. And this does not include the cost of the accessory facilities and the many industrial and community developments brought about by the water thus made available. The life of a disturbingly large number of reservoirs behind these structures is being swiftly shortened. The useful capacities of many of them have been materially reduced or used up entirely by sedimentation. As there is a limit to the total number of reservoir sites, the problem of replacing lost capacity in the future becomes increasingly serious. Together with our present structures the already planned reservoir construction projects when completed will have used up some 75 percent of our available sites including the best and cheapest ones, of course.

Similarly a steady deposition of inorganic silt, sand, and gravel in our waterways and harbors makes continuous dredging and other channel rectification measures necessary. These repeated surgical operations have already cost the people of the United States more than $2 billion.

The public is not yet sufficiently aware of the full implications of these problems. And it may be seriously questioned whether legislative and administrative agencies are fully awakened to them.

Too little thought has been given to the dangers we face as a Nation in ignoring the effects that watershed mistreatment has on our water supplies—effects felt by both upland and downstream communities. We shall not solve our water problems until we go far enough upstream to check sedimentation at its source—on the watersheds themselves. This is where destructive runoff and soil losses start, and this is where sedimentation can most effectively be stopped.

By far the greater quantity of water throughout the West comes from a relatively small area of forest or brushlands at high elevations. Colorado, for example, derives 80 percent of its total streamflow from forested slopes 7,000 feet or more above sea level, areas comprising only 25 percent of the State's land surface. Similar relations hold for other States.

How these steep water-producing lands with thin, often erosive soils are handled is therefore of vital moment to the great majority of the people of the West, at least. Yet too often the attempts to alleviate damages from floodwaters, low flows, or pollution—or even to reclaim ruined fishing streams—have been attempted to correct only the obvious and immediate causes. Some of these apparent "causes" are actually themselves effects of the real cause. Little or no attention has been paid to the roots of these troubles—the unsatisfactory condition of the watershed lands upstream.

"There was and there remains," says an editorial in the publication State Government (vol. XVIII, No. 2, February 1945), "a widespread belief that well-developed, scientific findings and experimental work in land and water manage-

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ment have not been accorded sufficient weight in the planning of water utilization."

Students of watershed management, it is true, have well recognized the role of stable soil and vegetation in maintaining favorable conditions of runoff and streamflow. Man-made disruptions of upland stability are not new by now even in this young country. Decades of cumulative damages, repeated disasters, and wholesale suffering have shocked a complacent people into a realization that farsighted preventative action is preferable to patchwork palliatives. Land managers and water-resource engineers are beginning to learn by experience that disturbing the natural balance between the soil and its cover may lead to serious consequences—particularly in localities subject to severe geologic or climatic stress, where upsets in the natural balance are sometimes swiftly reflected in devastating losses in the valleys below. Yet a general understanding of the basic causes of these difficulties is still an unrealized need.

A more enlightened public interest is indeed required if plans for large-scale public works to overcome water problems are to include proper provisions for improving—and especially for maintaining—favorable upstream conditions. Projected outlays will commit several billion dollars of the national income, and all citizens thus have a real interest in the costs and the soundness of the proposed developments. They should certainly familiarize themselves with the close relations between downstream channel works and the watershed lands upon whose stability the long-time operation of these works squarely rests.

The role of the forest in stabilizing streamflow is a matter of fundamental importance to such an understanding of these relations. Forested watersheds have a protective function to perform that is essential in the conservation of our water resources, for forests—in addition to providing timber, forage, wildlife, and recreation—have an enormous value as regulators of streamflow. Forest soils absorb, retain, and store moisture and thus exert considerable control over water movement both on and below the surface. Protection of the forest soils by an adequate plant cover may make the difference between clear steady streams and highly irregular silt-laden flows which spill over the banks at some periods and disappear altogether at others, leaving only dry river beds. This is true in most of the western mountain ranges and in large parts of the East.

The forest is not a mere collection of trees representing salable products to the timberman or pleasing scenery to the tourist. It is a highly complex biologic community, characterized by internal temperatures, humidity, and wind movement and by an undergrowth, a ground cover, and a topsoil different from those of any other major plant association. The effects of such a biologic community on the amount, distribution, and quality of the waterflow in the region where it lives are among its most important influences on man.

A well-maintained forest cover permits the maximum of water from rain or melting snow to enter the permeable soil, and this may in some sections be its greatest contribution to human welfare. Sheltered by the mass of living plants and dead plant parts, and penetrated by roots and the myriad tunnels of its organic life, the soil in such a forest is in an ideal state to receive water, filter it, and store it for subsurface release to drainage channels long after precipitation ceases. Such forest soils can hold 50 percent or more of their total volume in water, and even subsurface flow does not begin until the storage capacity of the soil is filled. Only in the hardest rains is surface runoff likely to occur—if at all.

In contrast with open lands, the forest retains more of the snowfall in storage for later spring melt. The melting process itself may be delayed a week to 5 weeks longer in the forest. Also, more of the water is absorbed and detained by the friable, frequently unfrozen soil in the forest, and a more constant usable supply is thus assured over a longer period for crop irrigation, for hydroelectric power generation, and for other consumptive purposes.

Not all forest lands exercise equally protective functions, and generalizations must be qualified in many ways when related to specific areas. It is enough here, however, to point out that those of the greatest importance are at the higher elevations in regions of scarce or variable water supplies; on steep slopes subject to heavy or concentrated rainfall; in areas with excessive and rapid snow melt; and in areas where bare soils erode quickly and heal slowly. These are the localities where the role of the forest can be most beneficial in protecting the water resource.

What we do with our forested land can have—and does have—a profound and immediate effect on our water supplies. What we do with our forests can, in

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fact, determine how efficiently they will exercise their water regulatory and protective functions. This efficiency depends above all on the kinds and densities of the trees, shrubs, grasses, and other ground cover and their influences on the entire soil mass. When a large part of the plant growth, litter, or humus-enriched topsoil is destroyed by fire, removed by heavy cutting or destructive logging practices, or trampled by an overconcentration of domestic livestock or big-game animals, marked changes appear. First of all the forest floor is exposed to the direct action of sun, wind, and beating rains. Trees sicken, die, and break, or blow down. The remaining litter and humus disintegrate, and the rich, active organic life in the soil gradually disappears. The result is soil compaction, sheet erosion, and often gullying. Less moisture can be absorbed, and less water can be stored in the natural soil reservoir. And all this is detrimental to downstream interests as well as to the plant, animal, and fish life dependent on the forest itself.

The major man-induced causes of watershed damage vary from region to region and even from locality to locality. They include fire, improper livestock grazing, and the destructive effects of deer or elk concentration resulting from inadequate game-management policies. They include placer mining, commercial logging operations, and other developmental activities, and they also include road and trail construction—a cause of watershed damage that has been overlooked by many people and underestimated by others.

Roads, according to one investigator, may be responsible for anywhere from negligible quantities to almost all of the total sediment output of a drainage. This investigator, Carl B. Brown, points out in Control of Reservoir Siltiing (USDA Misc. Publ. 521, p. 126) that—

"Modern scenic highway construction across well forested mountains in both the Appalachians and Rockies has caused soil disturbances of serious proportions for the first time since settlement of the country. In such mountain watersheds, streams that once issued almost crystal clear are now muddy with sediment derived from highway cuts and fills."

In southern California, for example—where watersupply, flood, and debris-control problems are as critical as anywhere else in the country—the Forest Service and other Federal, State, and county construction agencies face a continual struggle to overcome washouts, landslips, and slides, and enormous debris loads or mud-rock flows from mountain-road or highway slopes. The seriousness of this erosion resulting from road construction can be indicated by the increasing costs of the road work itself. Even with "truck trails" which are used for fire-fighting and low-standard travel, the problem of maintaining slope stability has become so difficult that it has been necessary to raise construction costs 900 percent—from $5,000 a mile up to $50,000 a mile.

What we already know about forest watersheds and the effects produced on them by man's activities is thus enough to warn us plainly that we cannot safely disregard the delicately balanced association of plant growth, soil, and water runoff on the critical areas of major importance. Our knowledge is still far from complete, but we know enough to recognize that the greatest caution is demanded in determining any land-use practices, especially in undertaking any construction that might weaken the protective influence of the soil-binding vegetation.

Good management of our forested watersheds requires far more than effective protection against fire, more than conservative cutting and grazing practices. It dictates that preventable disturbances be steadfastly avoided and that all disturbances be kept to a minimum. It abides by the homely precept that an ounce of watershed hygiene is worth a ton of watershed surgery.

Wilderness preservation in our headwater forests, it follows almost obviously, is watershed protection and thus a prime concern in the conservation of our water resources.

It is apparent, first of all, that the values of forest lands in a wise use of waterflow are exemplified at their highest levels in wilderness areas. As a matter of fact, in many of the localities containing wilderness areas, the function of the forest as a regulator of streamflow is more important to human welfare than its function as a provider of all forest products and other benefits in combination.

And again, it may also be pointed out that the 320 million acres of forest lands that are of major importance in watershed protection contain the great majority of wilderness areas. Certainly those who know the wilderness could not hear the importance of headwater forests in watershed management dis-

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cussed without being reminded of the wilderness. In many areas watershed management starts in the wilderness.

Furthermore, the activities of man that bring watershed damages are likewise the activities that destroy the wilderness. Once again, those who know the wilderness and the threats to its preservation could hardly hear the potential hazards to watershed protection discussed without feeling that if these hazards are eliminated simply to insure water conservation there would be few remaining threats to fear. Whether we think in terms of positive water values or in terms of flood-hazard reduction, it is indeed clear that "wilderness preservation" and "watershed protection" are for most of our wilderness areas simply two phrases describing the same course of action.

Yet the fact that our forested wilderness areas are unexcelled as water producers has had little or nothing to do with their original selection and subsequent administration for recreational purposes. By and large the great wilderness and wild areas in the national forests were so designated because of their primitive and scenic qualities and because they were largely considered in the main to possess slight worth for commercial logging. There are great roadless areas within national parks, within such State areas as the Adirondack Forest Preserve in New York, and within some national forests where the wilderness is preserved despite good timber values, yet the selection and administration of these areas also has had little to do with deliberate efforts to conserve water or to help assure regulated and clear streamflow.

This is quite understandable when it is realized not only that recreation has been most prominent in the public interest in such areas but also that the actual practice of scientific watershed management has been—and still is—virtually nonexistent in the United States. Even the basic factfinding work is yet to be done. The Forest Service, for example, has only recently begun an inventory of the climatic, soil, cover, and streamflow characteristics and the water-production services of the national forests, and similar investigations are yet to be undertaken on other public lands and on private holdings on watersheds of major importance. Overlooking the watershed protective values of wilderness areas has thus been only a part of a general tardiness in recognizing the importance of watershed management as a specific form of public enterprise and responsibility.

However explained with regard to the past, this oversight when corrected will result in an increased support for wilderness preservation, and those who are fighting for the wilderness should be well armed with the facts about watershed protection.

As a consequence for example, of such oversights in the past, water resource values have not been duly considered when conflicts were being resolved between the recreational and the commercial demands for wilderness areas—although water conservation would be much more consistent with their recreational than with their commercial use. On some national forest wilderness areas containing grass or other livestock forage, grazing is permitted subject to the restrictions deemed necessary to preserve the quality of their use as wilderness areas. "Roadless areas," as John Sieker wrote in the Living Wilderness for July 1946, "are frankly a compromise between wilderness values and commodity use in which, by the employment of special restrictions, commercial timber cutting will be limited to areas where interference with wilderness travel will be at a minimum." In the future, with a proper awareness of water-conservation values, the granting of such grazing privileges and the compromises with mining, timber harvesting, or other commodity uses may be in many instances favorably influenced as far as wilderness preservation is concerned, and it will be an obligation of those who are working for wilderness preservation to see that there is this proper awareness.

It may also be seriously questioned whether watershed values have thus far been given much weight in road-development plans on the national and State parks, and on the other public or private lands within important headwater areas. When the safeguarding of watershed values does become a clear-cut issue on such areas, new road construction will most surely be at a minimum. This will provide an additional reason for leaving the wilderness intact.

Many of our future downstream developments will inevitably give added weight to the water-producing and flood and erosion reduction functions performed by wilderness areas. It is already evident that the water requirements created by the Grand Coulee, the Central Valley, and many other irrigation, power, and domestic water-supply projects will very materially enhance the

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values of the high water-yielding forest and brush lands in northern Idaho, western Montana, Utah, Colorado, California, Washington, and Oregon. Success in minimizing the sedimentation behind such structures will determine their length of useful service to the intensively developed and densely populated agricultural and urban communities they support. Certainly the citizens of these communities will value highly the protective influences of well-maintained watershed cover above these structures, and if adequately pointed out, this in turn will mean stronger and more positive public support for wilderness conservation.

Already such considerations have made urgent a reexamination of the commercial uses being made of these watershed lands, the types of construction installed or projected for them, and any intensive practices or developments which may create additional fire risks. This holds especially for the wilderness areas, which for the most part are more susceptible to serious damage than the rest of the watersheds in which they are located.

Thus in many ways considering water conservation means intensifying efforts to preserve the wilderness and to protect it from other than recreational and scientific uses—uses that by reason of their extensive nature and their imperceptible effects on the land present no conflict with the objectives of water-resource management.

Recreationists themselves, nevertheless, have a direct responsibility in helping to prevent an overuse of wilderness areas that would be detrimental to water conservation. Even where roads are kept out, foot and horseback trail systems too intensively developed contribute to erosion and encourage an excessive use by hikers, horsemen, and campers. Some readily accessible primitive or natural areas have already been injured by these means. Both recreational and watershed values may thus be adversely affected.

To minimize these dangers it may be desirable for recreational agencies and groups to define standards of use-intensity for areas of varying types and sizes—for both the extensive and intensive use. The immediate advantage of such a procedure would be to provide a sounder basis for indicating the number of additional outing facilities required to spread the use over a larger acreage.

Now is the time to start. It will be far better and in the long run less costly to establish more recreational outlets, even if lightly visited at first, than to expose existing ones to detrimental use. Additional areas should also be sought in localities with minor watershed values, where the danger of impairment could be met more readily and where intensive forms of recreation could more wisely be encouraged.

Summarizing these considerations, we can conclude that the highly important water-producing and protective services of wilderness areas provide an additional, powerful reason for maintaining them in their present undisturbed condition. Their suitability for primitive recreation and their quality as a water resource are equally sensitive to abuse. Furthermore their use for extensive—not intensive—recreation is entirely consistent with the administration of watershed lands for the benefit of the great majority of the people who are the water consumers concerned and whose interests are second to none.

Demands for additional sources of water supply may lead to proposed encroachments on the wilderness, and if so every reasonable alternative should be thoroughly explored. Few plans exist that cannot stand revisions. When the public becomes fully awakened to the need for continuous watershed management, however, such threats to the wilderness should be less likely. If wise watershed management keeps soil and streamflow conditions satisfactory and waterways free from silt and pollution, there will be less pressure for developing additional storage on wilderness areas.

In the past when land and water developments were being planned the long-run needs of both water consumers and recreationists have been largely overlooked. Planning has too often ignored the watershed problem altogether. Yet the wisdom of dealing with the watershed as a single unit is at least receiving wider recognition.

We are still a long ways from actually putting the right kinds of upstream soil and plant stabilization measures into practice hand in hand with downstream developments. Here is a constructive opportunity for wilderness recreationists to exert an influence by keeping informed and making known their concern with all plans or projects involving watersheds and the wilderness lands within them. In this they will find common ground with those directly involved in maintaining the fish and wildlife resources.

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The task of saving the few remaining wilderness areas is thus made easier by the knowledge that they constitute a water resource of outstanding importance. Nevertheless, until this knowledge is more widespread and until the implications are more generally understood, the advocates of wilderness preservation must remain vigilant and plead their own cause earnestly. And, for both wilderness preservation and watershed protection, they can well take a positive part in furthering the expansion of all types of outdoor recreational opportunities, especially those that, when realized, will help prevent demands for intensive uses of wilderness areas that would prove detrimental to both the wilderness and the critical watershed—which in so many instances are indeed one and the same area.

Mr. ZAHNISER. There are many other things that I might say in interpretation of the wilderness bill, which we urge should be clarified, corrected as necessary, and enacted. But Senator Humphrey and others, either in their remarks or in materials submitted for your examination, have explained the bill, its purposes, and the needs for it so fully that I hesitate to anticipate your further interest and instead might better at this time conclude my remarks in hopes that questions, either now or later, may reveal any further contribution I might make at this time.

I would like to have a half dozen items included in the record at this point and, if desired, I should be glad to prepare an extension of my remarks to include detailed information about the proposed system and the areas within it.

I would solicit an invitation to prepare such a statement with regard to the reports that were presented by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. STONG. Well, you have that invitation.

Mr. ZAHNISER. Thank you.

On March 1, 1949, I prepared a memorandum for the Legislative Reference Service in response to a questionnaire on wilderness preservation, answering 10 questions. This memorandum, I believe, would be of value to all who will be consulting the record of this hearing, and I should like to include it here. It is entitled "A Statement on Wilderness Preservation in Reply to a Questionnaire."

Mr. STONG. It will go in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY,
Washington, D. C, March 1, 1949.

Memorandum for the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress

A STATEMENT ON WILDERNESS PRESERVATION IN REPLY TO A QUESTIONNAIRE

EPITOME

The Wilderness Society has as its prime purpose the preservation of wilderness—in perpetuity—for the educational, scientific, and recreational benefit of the people, not only those of the present generation but also those in future years.

For the purpose of specific meaning, where this is important, the society in its bylaws defines "wilderness" as applying "to areas retaining their primeval environment or influence, or to areas remaining free from routes which can be used for mechanized transportation." It considers size as a third important characteristic of wilderness areas. Yet the society's interest is broad enough to include any area with a quality of wildness so little modified by human action as to impress its visitors with their relationship to other forms of life rather than their dependence on human inventions and contrivances.

So relatively scarce are such areas and so apparently definite is the trend toward the "development" of all lands, that this society cherishes every existing area of wild land and every scene with a quality of wildness. If such an area

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is in public ownership, its wildness should be preserved against any threat which results from a demand that can be satisfied, so far as the public interest is involved, elsewhere or in a manner not destructive of wilderness values. If the public need—that is, the need of the whole people, rather than the desire of individuals or groups—cannot be satisfied elsewhere or otherwise, the wilderness involved may be sacrificed if the conflicting need warrants and if the area involved is not the last remaining wilderness area of its kind. For the last remnant of a type of the primeval, this society believes that preservation as wilderness will in the long run prove to be the most likely policy for realizing the area's dominant human values.

Such an area—more broadly, a national, continental, or earth-round system of such areas—has unique scientific, educational, and recreational value, including recreational benefits that are physical, mental, and spiritual.

The area should, therefore, be devoted only to scientific, educational, or recreational use, and only those kinds of such use should be permitted which are consistent with the maintenance of the wilderness character of the area.

Wherever the public has ownership of such lands, its governmental agencies—whether Federal, State, county or municipal, as the case may be—should protect the public interest in preservation of the lands as wilderness.

It should be national policy—that is, the policy of the dominant governmental unit—to see that the maximum area of wilderness consistent with other demands of the public is maintained in its wildness and that no type of the primeval still in existence is permitted to be "exterminated."

Essentially, the Wilderness Society advocates that as promptly as possible a national zoning program should be adopted, wherein areas of wilderness—after adequate observation and careful consideration of all needs—should be designated for preservation in perpetuity and removed from consideration for other purposes that would threaten their existence as wilderness. The society, accordingly, advocates the special designation of wilderness and other wild areas wherever possible and is engaging in an effort to determine the areas suitable for such designation, as well as the areas which, in a comprehensive zoning program, should be enlarged or contracted, in the public interest, mindful not only of present demands but also of the needs of future generations.

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY VIEWPOINT

Question 1. Does your organization advocate or approve of the preservation of wilderness areas as such?

Yes. The prime purpose of the Wilderness Society is the preservation of wilderness areas. Sections 2 and 3 of article I of the society's bylaws are as follows:

Section 2: This society shall be composed of individuals who feel that the entire Nation and they themselves are losing something of value when a highway is built in a wilderness, when a primeval forest is logged, when airplanes bring the noise of urban life into a wilderness and destroy the charm of remoteness, or when mechanical civilization encroaches in any way on the last remnants of wildness left for themselves and their posterity. The society shall be composed of individuals who want to do something to forestall this destruction of the remaining wilderness, who because of their human sentiments toward the primeval out of doors are determined to protect and preserve such areas, and who therefore are united on these principles:

(1) The wilderness is a valuable natural resource that belongs to the people, and the people must be enlisted in its preservation.

(2) Wilderness areas must be forever kept free from the sights and sounds of mechanical civilization—motorized transportation, commerce, and all the influences which clash with the primeval environment or detract from its full enjoyment.

(3) Wilderness preservation is a part of the conservation of soil, water, forests, and wildlife, and the conservation of all these resources is essential to the survival of our civilized culture.

Section 3: The objects of this society shall be as follows:

To secure the preservation of the American wilderness wherever found and for this purpose to make or to initiate or cause to be made scientific studies and investigations concerning wilderness areas, their values and uses to the public, and the best methods for their protection, preservation, and use in the public interest;

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To enlist the aid and personal services of individuals and of popular and scientific organizations, schools, universities, institutions, and government agencies in making these scientific studies and investigations, and in protecting and preserving wilderness areas;

To educate the public concerning the value of wilderness as a national resource and how it may best be used and preserved in the public interest; and

To promote nationwide and international cooperation in resisting the invasion of wilderness by the sights, sounds, and other influences of a mechanized civilization.

In the initial issue of this society's magazine, the Living Wilderness, published in September 1935 (vol. 1, No. 1), an 11-point "platform" was published, announcing the following propositions to which the society is still dedicated, though they are not part of the formal bylaws:

1. The wilderness (the environment of solitude) is a natural mental resource having the same basic relation to man's ultimate thought and culture as coal, timber, and other physical resources have to his material needs.

2. The use of this resource should be considered a public utility and therefore its commercialization should not be tolerated.

3. The time has come, with the brutalizing pressure of a spreading metropolitan civilization, to recognize wilderness environment as a human need rather than a luxury and plaything.

4. This need is being sacrificed to the mechanical invasion of its various killing forms.

5. Scenery and solitude are intrinsically separate things; the motorist is entitled to his full share of scenery, but motorway and solitude together constitute a contradiction.

6. Outing areas in which people may enjoy the nonprimitive forest are highly desirable for many pentup city people who have no desire for solitude, but such areas should not be confused in mental conception or administration with those reserved for the wilderness.

7. Since primeval succession can never return once continuity has been severed, it is manifestly the duty of this generation to preserve under scientific care, for the observation, study, and appreciation of generations to come, as many, as large, and as varied examples of the remaining primitive as possible.

8. The wilderness remaining in America has shrunk to such a small remnant of the country's total territory that what area does remain is all-precious and its preservation a vital need.

9. Encroachment upon our remnant American wilderness in any one locality is an attack upon the whole and creates an issue of national moment and not for local action alone.

10. Since the invasion of wilderness areas is generally boosted by powerful, countrywide organizations, it is essential that individuals and groups who desire to preserve the wilderness must unite in a countrywide defense.

11. The means of achieving our objectives should be positive and creative as well as merely defensive, and hence a long-range plan should be evolved toward bringing forth its mental and ultimate human use.

Robert Sterling Yard, first president of the society, who established and for 10 years edited the Living Wilderness, also wrote (in 1937) a statement which he published several times in this magazine under the title "Wilderness Society Creed." It is as follows:

"Today's progressive view of nature conceives the American people using and enjoying it for the needs of everyday living, for pleasuring, and as an inspiration for happiness and achievement; but it specially conceives it necessary to save those parts of our slender remaining roadless areas which are worth more for study, relaxation, and the wilderness type of recreation than for picknicking, motoring, and commercial activities; also it believes that remaining primeval areas which are museums of creation, often also remarkable for scenic grandeur and extraordinary natural beauty, should be carefully protected, undisturbed, for observation, scientific study, and appropriate types only of enjoyment.

"Every type of human use should be assigned its ample quota of appropriate area while there is area still available for all uses, and no areas should be seized for the irrevocable benefit of any one type of use, no matter how popular such use may be at the time until all types have been fully and fairly considered for it with all the evidence presented. And before final decision is made, consideration should be given the fact that primitive areas are easily destroyed; but, while primitive conditions may develop again in from 600 to a thousand years, the broken continuity will never be restored.

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"The inherent rights of succeeding generations to study, enjoy, and use fine examples of primeval America is a responsibility of this generation."

A more recent statement regarding the society, published in the Journal of Forestry for January 1947 under the title "The Wilderness Society: What It Is, Does, and Hopes To Accomplish," emphasizes the concluding sentences in an article by Robert Marshall published in the February 1930 Scientific Monthly under the title "The Problem of the Wilderness," as follows: "There is just one hope of repulsing the tyrannical ambition of civilization to conquer every niche on the whole earth. That hope is the organization of spirited people who will fight for the freedom of the wilderness." Referring to this quotation the Journal of Forestry article, by Howard Zahniser, says:

"The Wilderness Society—in many ways the embodiment of Bob Marshall's vision—is a realization of that hope. It is an organization of spirited people, and its objectives could no more broadly be stated in a phrase than by saying it is 'for the freedom of the wilderness.'

"In the first place, we members of the Wilderness Society are fighting to keep the wilderness that we still have—our most precious remnants of primitive America—free from the encroachments of civilization, free from the invasions and desecrations that would destroy or impair it. That meaning is clear to all of us and central in any statement of our reasons for existing as an organization.

"Then, too, we all want the freedom to enjoy life in the wilderness, to have wild areas accessible and available, not only to ourselves but to all other men and women—for recreation and spiritual as well as bodily escape from the customary restraints. That to us is also 'the freedom of the wilderness,' just as in another context we might speak of giving someone the freedom of the town.

"Finally we have a broad social objective—to make possible the sort of freedom that society as a whole can realize if it maintains its access to wilderness and bases its programs on the very real understanding that man is essentially part of the wildness of the earth, actually only one member of an interdependent community of all the plant and animal life that together makes a successful use of the solar energy on this planet. The broadest wilderness society of men and women is thus the human race, yet somehow or other there is within it a tendency that we would like to see neutralized—a tendency to exchange a slavery to convenience for its true freedom. That, too, is the freedom of the wilderness, just as in another context we speak of the freedom of democracy. It must have been the sort of thing Thoreau had in mind when he wrote, "In Wildness is the preservation of the World,' capitalizing both 'wildness' and 'world'."

The article quotes Dr. Olaus J. Murie, director of the society, as pointing out that "unless we can have a genuine desire for the wilderness values of America in the hearts of its citizens, we can never hold these values for future Americans." It continues:

"In these circumstances, the Wilderness Society aspires to a leadership in mobilizing the wilderness-minded Americans whose sentiments are not now being made effective and seeks to cooperate with all conservation organizations to the end that wilderness preservation may become a fixed and enduring public policy. * * *

"It is not for the sake of any privileged few that we are thus working so strenuously for wilderness preservation, but rather for all Americans. We feel that the privilege of a wilderness experience is something to which every American is entitled, including those who are not yet born. There is no person that we should like to see excluded. We are indeed trying to keep out buildings, roads, airplane-landing fields, mechanical vehicles, motorboats, and all the things that make the wilderness not the wilderness. That often makes it look as though we are trying to keep out people because these 'things' would all bring people. But, as we see it, they would not bring them to the wilderness because the wilderness would no longer be there for anyone. We believe that the United States can have its wilderness areas and at the same time its outdoor recreation with conveniences, and we hope earnestly to perpetuate the choice. We are, in fact, working for more recreational areas to meet the demands of those who need the outdoors without hardship. We want everyone to have the kind of outdoor recreation he wants. And so we want the wilderness saved for those who want the kind of outdoor recreation that can be obtained only in such areas—as well as for its research values, its historical or monumental importance to the Nation, and its value to those who may never hope to explore a wilderness yet through reading, through photography, in imagination, find a relief and inspiration that make them among the most zealous of wilderness defenders."

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This question here answered, despite its possible one-word answer, has thus been responded to at length because the very existence of such an organization as the Wilderness Society seems of great significance to a study of the kind to which this statement is being contributed. In as much as the society—within our democratic scheme for a representation of each interest of the public—is essentially a concrete expression of the popular will for the preservation of wilderness, it has appeared of considerable significance to point out in some detail the form that this expression has taken. It may also be specially noted that many other organizations have referred to and are relying upon this society for guidance as to wilderness-preservation policy, as well as for recommendations as to specific actions. A somewhat detailed understanding of the nature of this society is thus conceived of as valuable in appraising the wilderness sentiment of a large segment of the organized conservation forces of the Nation.

WILDERNESS DEFINITIONS

Question 2. What, in your opinion, are the characteristics of a "wilderness area" which may make its preservation in its present state desirable?

The bylaws of the Wilderness Society define the term "wilderness" as applying "to areas retaining their primeval environment or influence, or to areas remaining free from routes which can be used for mechanized transportation."

The two outstanding characteristics of a wilderness that make its preservation desirable are implicit in this definition; namely, the persistence of the primeval environment or influence and freedom from mechanized and related aspects of the urban, industrial life to which modern man is increasingly confined. Any area with these two characteristics, or with either, should be most thoughtfully considered for preservation before it is permitted to be altered.

A third, highly desirable characteristic is the presence within the area of an environment impressing the visitor with a sense of remoteness. This characteristic is in most instances a function of the size of the area. Diminishing the size of a wilderness is definitely damaging to this characteristic, and thus the boundaries of such an area to be preserved should be as far flung as possible. This characteristic also, however, seems to be a function of the nearness of the area to centers of population, or perhaps a function of the abruptness with which evidences of urban, industrial influences disappear. Thus a tract of absolute wildness rather near to a city or other densely populated, industrialized area affords a deep sense of remoteness and must be assigned this characteristic of wilderness even though its size does not meet such arbitrary standards as have been established for areas that are surrounded by many miles of thinly populated lands.

It is also characteristic of wilderness to impress its visitors with their relationship to other forms of life, and to afford those who linger an intimation of the interdependence of all life. Thus to the most sensitive wilderness visitors the gadgets, the inventions, and the contrivances by which men have seemed to establish among themselves an independence of "nature" all appear as distractions.

In brief, one might define a wilderness in the qualitative sense as an area with a quality of wildness so little modified by human action as to impress its visitors with their relationships to other forms of life rather than their human prowess resulting from inventions and contrivances. As applied to a definite land-management category the term "wilderness area" has both qualitative and quantitative aspects and refers to an area that is large, primeval in environment or influence, and free from mechanized transportation and human installations.

It is not surprising that the use of the same word "wilderness" both as a description and as a designation should result in some confusion, when it is realized that cultural values have only comparatively recently been placed on the quality of wildness and that attempts to apply this sense of values to practical land management is much more recent. The terminology of both the philosophy and the land-management technic is still formative. It is still necessary to be aware of context in using precisely the vocabulary of the movement. It is not yet feasible to insist on limited usage of the term "wilderness," nor is it expedient to restrict one's own use of the word. The Wilderness Society is both encouraging the appreciation of wilderness values in natural areas of small size and at the same time endorsing the assignment of the precise term "wilderness" only to areas of magnitude.

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As recent definitions of wilderness and wilderness areas have all been attempts to describe the concept of a thing considered to be of value, it seems logical to present such definitions as statements of the characteristics making preservation seem desirable. The following definitions are particularly pertinent: First of all, the definition used by Robert Marshall in his epochal Scientific Monthly paper the Problem of the Wilderness (1930) should be stated. Said Mr. Marshall:

"* * * I shall use the words 'wilderness' to denote a region which contains no permanent inhabitants, possesses no possibility of conveyance by any mechanical means, and is sufficiently spacious that a person in crossing it must have the experience of sleeping out. The dominant attributes of such an area are: First, that it requires anyone who exists in it to depend exclusively on his own effort for survival; and second, that it preserves as nearly as possible the primitive environment. This means that all roads, power transportation, and settlements are barred. But trails and temporary shelters, which were common long before the advent of the white race, are entirely permissible."

Under the heading "The Types of Wilderness Recognized," the initial number of the Living Wilderness (issued in September 1935) pointed out that—

"In order to define more specifically what we want to preserve, it seems desirable to divide what might broadly be termed the wilderness into five types.

"Extensive wilderness areas are regions which possess no means of mechanical conveyance and which are sufficiently spacious that a person may spend at least a week of travel in them without crossing his own tracks. They may include timber, rangelands, bare rocks, snowfields, marshes, deserts, or water. The dominant attributes of such areas are: First, that visitors to them must depend largely on their own efforts and their own competence for survival; and second, that they be free from all mechanical disturbances.

"Primeval areas are virgin tracts in which human activities have never modified the normal processes of nature. They thus preserve the native vegetative and physiographic conditions which have existed for an inestimable period. They present the culmination of an unbroken series of natural events stretching infinitely into the past, and a richness of beauty beyond description or compare. Consequently, primeval areas not only are of surpassing value from the standpoint of scenery, but of great scientific value.

"Superlatively scenic areas are localities with scenic values so surpassing and stupendous in their beauty as to affect almost everyone who sees them. They may also include natural features of unique scientific interest, such as the geysers of Yellowstone.

"Restricted wild areas are tracts of land in regions of concentrated population which, even though not having great size, virgin conditions, or superlative scenery, are at least free from the sights and sounds of mechanization. They are the closest approximation to wilderness conditions available to millions of people.

"Wilderness zones are strips along the backbone of mountain ranges or rivers which, although they may be crossed here and there by railroads and highways, nevertheless maintain primitive travel conditions along their major axes. Such zones not only are primarily free from man-made sights and sounds, but also permit long journeys under the impetus of one's own energies instead of those of a machine."

The Convention on Nature Protection and Wild Life Preservation in the Western Hemisphere, which became effective on May 1, 1942, has as an objective "to protect and preserve scenery of extraordinary beauty, unusual and striking geologic formations, regions and natural objects and aesthetic, historic, or scientific value, and areas characterized by primitive conditions in those cases covered by this Convention." This treaty, to which the United States is committed by signature on October 12, 1940, and subsequent ratification, includes in article I the following "description of terms":

"1. The expression 'national parks' shall denote: Areas established for the protection and preservation of superlative scenery, flora, and fauna of national significance which the general public may enjoy and from which it may benefit when placed under public control.

"2. The expression 'national reserves' shall denote: Regions established for conservation and utilization of natural resources under Government control, on which protection of animal and plant life will be afforded insofar as this may be consistent with the primary purpose of such reserves.

"3. The expression 'nature monuments' shall denote: Regions, objects, or living species of flora or fauna of esthetic, historic, or scientific interest to which strict

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protection is given. The purpose of nature monuments is the protection of a specific object, or a species of flora or fauna, by setting aside an area, an object, or a single species, as an inviolate nature monument, except for duly authorized scientific investigations or Government inspection.

"4. The expression 'strict wilderness reserves' shall denote: A region under public control characterized by primitive conditions of flora, fauna, transportation, and habitation wherein there is no provision for the passage of motorized transportation and all commercial developments are excluded."

It may be noted that the two characteristics of wilderness as defined by this society—primeval and free from mechanization—are here recognized as definitive of the "strict wilderness reserves." It may also be noted that each of the terms here defined, with the probable exception of "national reserves," applies to a sort of area that might include wilderness. Thus the first issue of the Living Wilderness (Sept. 1935) pointed out: "No national park is a wilderness area, but most national parks contain wilderness * * * many of the finest wildernesses in the United States." Thus also the society maintains consistently that wilderness is to be valued wherever it persists, though the term as a designation for a specific kind of land area for management purposes is properly limited.

The "nomenclature of nature protection" has been the concern of special international committees, but the results are ignored in this statement as not having been in any practical sense applied in this country, either in land management or in the literature.

The final definitions to be here quoted (as stating the characteristics of a "wilderness area," etc.) are in many ways the most significant of all because they have been officially adopted for application to the wilderness system of the national forests, which system contains the greatest area of the Nation's wilderness resource being protected. These definitions are incorporated in regulations U-1 and U-2 of the Secretary of Agriculture, the regulations designed to govern the wilderness system. As these regulations contain not only definitions but also statements as to permitted uses which are pertinent to later parts of this statement, they are here quoted in full [as modified November 4, 1955]:

Regulation U-1 reads:

"(a) Upon recommendation of the Chief, Forest Service, national forest lands in single tracts of not less than 100,000 acres may be designated by the Secretary as 'wilderness areas,' within which there shall be no roads or other provision for motorized transportation, no commercial timber cutting, and no occupancy under special use permit for hotels, stores, resorts, summer homes, organization camps, hunting and fishing lodges, or similar uses; *Provided*, That roads over national forest lands reserved from the public domain and necessary for ingress and egress to or from privately owned property shall be allowed under appropriate conditions determined by the forest supervisor, and upon allowance of such roads the boundary of the wilderness area may be modified without prior notice or public hearing to exclude the portion affected by the roads.

"(b) Grazing of domestic livestock, development of water storage projects which do not involve road construction, and improvements necessary for the protection of the forest may be permitted subject to such restrictions as the Chief deems desirable. Within such designated wildernesses when the use is for other than administrative needs and emergencies the landing of airplanes and the use of motorboats are prohibited on national forest land or water unless such use by airplanes or motorboats has already become well established and the use of motor vehicles is prohibited unless the use is in accordance with a statutory right of ingress and egress.

"(c) Wilderness areas will not be modified or eliminated except by order of the Secretary. Except as provided in paragraph (a) of this section notice of every proposed establishment, modification, or elimination will be published or publicly posted by the Forest Service for a period of at least 90 days prior to the approval of the contemplated order and if there is any demand for a public hearing, the regional forester shall hold such hearing and make full report thereon to the Chief of the Forest Service, who will submit it with his recommendations to the Secretary."

Regulation U-2 reads:

"Suitable areas of national forest land in single tracts of less than 100,000 acres but not less than 5,000 acres may be designated by the Chief, Forest Service, as 'wild areas,' which shall be administered in the same manner as wilderness areas, with the same restrictions upon their use. The procedure for establishment, modification, or elimination of wild areas shall be as for wilderness areas, except that final action in each case will be by the Chief."

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Thus in national forest land management "wild" becomes a diminutive of "wilderness," and both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the concept are recognized in practical terms.

Eventually it may be possible to have a consistent and clear nomenclature that will thus give a precise meaning to the word "wilderness," and substitute other terms for it in those uses which now conflict with its best meaning. The adoption of such a nomenclature for the language in general does not, however, at this time seem expedient.

Returning from this excursion into definitions as suggestive of wilderness characteristics, we may again summarize these characteristics by saying that essentially a wilderness is an area of land and water that is extensive, primeval in environment or influence, and free from mechanized transportation and human installations.

CRITERIA IN CHOOSING BETWEEN EXPLOITATION AND PRESERVATION

Question 3. What are the determining factors which would decide whether a particular area should be preserved as a wilderness against other uses?

"Where conflicting interests must be reconciled the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run." This rule, which was included in the letter of instruction from Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to the Forester, Gifford Pinchot, when the national forest reserves were transferred to the Forest Service, in 1905, has been generally accepted for guidance by all who have dealt with land administration in the public interest. The Wilderness Society endorses this rule, and in so doing lays special emphasis on the concept of "the greatest good," stresses the significance of the phrase "in the long run," and points out that the numbers of persons directly involved in questions of wilderness preservation are both difficult of comparison and of less than normal significance. Wilderness areas being so extremely scarce, it is maintained by this society that these areas should be considered as serving their highest use as wilderness, that they are when devoted to this use serving all the people, and that their perpetuation will be found "in the long run" to outweigh the value of other proposals that would sacrifice the wilderness. It seems particularly important to emphasize that the total of the numbers of people who visit a particular wilderness or the total man-days of recreational use is not a significant criterion. The wilderness may well be the scene of a "once-in-a-lifetime" experience, the background of wildness for more popular recreation at its boundaries, the means of perpetuating the choice that all Americans have of seeking wilderness recreation if they so wish; in all these respects the importance in wilderness justification of the actual visitors counted is minimized. Similarly comparisons of so-called benefits in terms of money is misleading, it being impossible to state with any validity the value of wilderness in terms of money. The values to be preserved are esthetic and no more susceptible than beauty to appraisal in monetary terms. As John Ruskin wrote in the second volume of Modern Painters, published in 1846:

"* * * beautiful things are useful to men because they are beautiful, and for the sake of their beauty only; and not to sell, or pawn, or in any other way turn into money. * * *"

As Dr. Olaus J. Murie, director of this society, pointed out when asked to comment on how to measure the intangible values of areas threatened by reclamation projects:

"* * * the first step toward a solution is a full realization of the inadequacy of a strictly financial formula, and the importance to our people of these so-called intangibles."

Scientific uses of the wilderness cannot be otherwise served, and the educational values of the wilderness likewise are unique; there is thus also with regard to these concerns a lack of a valid basis of comparison with the importance of wilderness-destroying uses to which an area may be devoted.

So relatively scarce are wilderness areas and so apparently definite is the trend toward the "development" of all land that the Wilderness Society believes in preserving any designated wilderness area against any threat which results from a demand that can be satisfied, so far as the public interest is involved, on some other area or in a manner not destructive of wilderness values—even though this satisfaction elsewhere or otherwise may involve additional costs.

If the public need that threatens a wilderness area cannot be satisfied elsewhere or otherwise, this society recognizes that the perpetuation of the wilderness may properly be questioned. It emphasizes, however, that such a need

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should be that of the whole people, not merely the desire of individuals or groups. If this conflicting need thus seems to pertain to the "greatest good of the greatest number in the long run" this society recognizes that the wilderness involved may justifiably be sacrificed if it is not the last remaining wilderness of its kind.

For the last remnant of a type of the primeval, this society believes that preservation as wilderness will in the long run prove to be the most prudent policy for realizing the area's dominant human values. Such remnants should be preserved in the face of any threat.

Whenever the preservation of a wilderness is questioned the chief determining factor is the interest of the whole people—whether it will be better and longer served by wilderness preservation or by the alternative proposed. This is true whether the "whole people" in a specific instance be the Nation when a Federal area is involved, a State when a State area is involved, or a city or community when a municipal or other local area is involved. The issue is not properly whether an area in question will be used by more people, or more intensively, if devoted to a conflicting use. Rather it is whether the total needs of the whole people will be more nearly or better met with the area in a wilderness condition or used for the conflicting purposes. Thus, even though a specific area if developed would accommodate more visitors and be more profitable in monetary terms to those in its immediate neighborhood, the whole people would suffer if the development removed the peculiar opportunities afforded by the wilderness. In brief, it is not in the public interest to sacrifice a resource that is unique for the sake of further duplicating what is already available. The total resources of a people should be so handled (zoned) as to see that every kind of need is met.

It is, however, with reference to specific areas and particular threats that experience becomes most valuable in establishing valid criteria, and the Wilderness Society has faced, and is facing, typical conflicts from whch such experience is gained. The most significant aspects of this experience during the current and most recent years are, therefore, here summarized:

CONFLICTING RECREATIONAL DEMANDS

Conflicting recreational demands were exemplified in a controversy over the San Gorgonio Primitive Area in the San Bernardino National Forest in California that came to a crisis early in 1947 when the United States Forest Service gave notice of a proposal to develop the area with accommodations and mechanical conveyances for skiers and announced a hearing to determine whether or not the requests of the California Chamber of Commerce, the national and State ski associations, and many local ski groups represented in fact the highest use of this area, or whether other values which would be lost by development were of greater importance. The issue was thus drawn between mutually worthy purposes; wilderness defenders were not critical of skiing, and skiers recognized wilderness values.

Four months later, in announcing a decision that preserved the primitive area, United States Forester Lyle F. Watts said:

"I fully appreciate the great public demand and need for additional downhill skiing areas in southern California, and I recognize skiing as an appropriate form of forest recreation that should be encouraged by the Forest Service. I also recognize that San Gorgonio is an area well suited for a downhill skiing development. At the same time, were the area opened as proposed the loss of other public values such as wilderness skiing, ski touring, summer wilderness use, organized camping, and watershed values combined, would be greater than the public gain through development for downhill skiing."

The Wilderness Society during this controversy did not fail to establish the importance of wilderness areas as monuments of the past, as research and study areas, as watershed protection, and as remnants of the primeval of inspirational value. Nor did it fail to point out the importance of each unit in the national system of wilderness reservations. Yet it recognized that the peculiar San Gorgonio issue was drawn between rival but worthy recreational needs, and it focused its study on this issue.

The determining factors that made the preservation of the primitive area seem desirable were the uniqueness of the wilderness in that region together with the availability of other skiing opportunities. The Society earnestly recommended the preservation of the primitive area "in order to perpetuate the choice that all southern Californians now have—along with other Americans—to seek

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their recreation in wilderness surroundings if they so wish." Said the society's statement:

"If there were abundant opportunities for wilderness recreation in this region, it might then be valid to balance 100,000 skiers against 10,000 wilderness users at a specific site and conclude that skiing facilities would be for the good of the greater number. But when we are considering a precious wilderness remnant, we are in fact balancing 100,000 skiers against the entire population, for we are threatening to deprive everybody forever of a choice that is the right of every American. And we are threatening to do this for a part of the population that has elsewhere reasonably good opportunities, and still better prospects, for the sport they most enjoy. 'For the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run,' we must certainly perpetuate such a unique wilderness recreation opportunity as that which the San Gorgonio Primitive Area affords here in southern California."

The society further pointed out:

"Skiers themselves will, in fact, suffer a serious loss if the San Gorgonio primitive area is invaded by the proposed highway, hotel-resort, and ski tow. They will lose what all southern Californians will lose—the choice of finding their outdoor recreation in a wilderness if they so wish. Leave San Gorgonio primitive, and southern Californians will soon have adequate opportunities for all kinds of skiing. Destroy the heart of this primitive area now, and within a generation southern Californians will find that they have plenty of commercial ski resorts but no wilderness skiing. The wilderness slopes that now attract many skiers each winter will have become as civilized as the auto camps in summer, and the freedom of choice now enjoyed will have been denied to all southern Californians for generations to come, winter and summer alike."

Other things being equal, when rival recreational demands bring the preservation of a wilderness into question, a determining factor in making the decision is thus the possibility of perpetuating the choice of seeking wilderness recreation if desired.

DEMANDS FOR LUMBER

Demands for lumber that threaten the preservation of wilderness are exemplified in the recent, and continuing, pressure to eliminate large areas of primeval rain forest from the Olympic National Park in Washington. This pressure was at first rationalized by references to national needs for lumber, especially for housing. When lumbermen themselves, in a trade publication, claimed that there was enough timber available in the Douglas-fir region to build two houses for every family in the United States, this basis for exploiting the park crumbled. (In fact, in present circumstances the total amount of timber in all the dedicated wilderness of the country is relatively so small in its proportion of the total timber or the total timber needs that it is very difficult to establish any national need to use these areas for lumber.) A more nearly valid basis for the Olympic National Park lumbering demands is the need for raw material by mills in the vicinity of the park, in order to postpone the closing of their operations. Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug said in a July 30, 1948, report to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"To us the issue seems clear: Shall Olympic National Park be stripped eventually of all but the least accessible and least valuable of its magnificent 'rain forest' in order to sustain for perhaps 6 years longer the local lumber economy; or shall that portion of the forest now in the park, which constitutes an infinitesimal portion of the Nation's total timber resources, and which is the property of the American people, be preserved for the benefit and enjoyment of this and future generations?"

Referring to hearings held on September 16 and 17, 1947, on proposals to remove timber areas from the park, Secretary Krug said:

"It was made equally clear at these hearings that conservation organizations throughout the Nation set so high a value upon these forests, as the last remaining example of the spectacular 'rain forest' which once clothed most of the Pacific slope of the Olympic Peninsula and Grays Harbor regions, that they were strongly opposed to any modification of the boundaries. Their conclusions, with which we agree, were that there is no economic necessity which would justify the elimination of any of the forest from the park."

The determining factors that lead the Wilderness Society to consider preservation of a wilderness desirable in the face of this lumber demand are (1) the national interest taking precedence over local or regional interest, and (2) regard

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for the general welfare of future generations taking precedence over nonessential, additional, and temporary advantages for certain individuals of the present.

DEMANDS FOR OIL AND GAS LEASES

Demands for oil and gas leases are exemplified by applications made in 1947 for such privileges on the Teton wilderness area, in Wyoming. When the granting of such permits was protested by conservation and related organizations, the problem was given special consideration by the Department of the Interior. It was subsequently announced that leasing privileges for oil and gas prospecting in the Teton wilderness area would be withheld and that explorations to be permitted elsewhere in the Teton National Forest would be rigidly controlled and limited in amount.

The determining factor in the Wilderness Society's effort to preserve this wilderness against oil and gas drilling is the lack of a compelling national need for these products requiring the drilling in the wilderness. Only in the face of a compelling need for oil and gas which could not be satisfied without resort to such areas would this society feel justified in condoning the operations necessary for its removal.

It should be further emphasized that the compelling factor must be a need for the products themselves. No considerations of monetary profit, either to individuals or to the Government, should lead to a tolerance of such exploitation.

It has, for example, been suggested that discovery of a pocket of oil beneath a wilderness area and adjoining private lands would require the public land administering agency, in the interest of public prudence, to see that the oil would be drilled for on the wilderness area in order to prevent the private interests from draining the entire pocket. This society insists that this should not be a determining factor in such a case, that a wilderness should not be violated for monetary profit (public or private), and that only a need for the product that could not be met by operations elsewhere could possibly justify the exploitation.

IRRIGATION CONFLICTS

Irrigation demands for impoundments, which constitute potential wilderness threats in various places, have been faced by wilderness preservers in a controversy still unresolved over a proposal of the Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of the Interior, to create a reservoir on the site of Lake Solitude in the Cloud Peak Primitive Area of the Big Horn National Forest in Wyoming.

Lake Solitude is the outstanding feature of this wilderness, and the proposal involves the construction of a road as well as a dam. The Wilderness Society has been deeply concerned. The determining factors in the society's defense of this wilderness in the face of the reclamation demands have been not only the national interests as opposed to the profits of a few irrigators but also the superlative scenic, recreational, and inspirational values which such an organization as this could not willingly see destroyed for simply economic purposes.

Following a typical pack trip into this area, a writer in the Living Wilderness (autumn 1947) commented as follows:

"The wilderness had surely been both nourishment and tonic. It had indeed justified its existence, and not one returned from this excursion without a keen appreciation of its values, without the earnest hope that the wilderness would always be there—perhaps for one's own return, certainly for the excursions of others.

"Who that had thus lived in this wilderness would willingly see destroyed or disturbed the earth's own setting for the majesty of Cloud Peak, the rugged grandeur of Blacktooth?

"Who that had once known the serenity of Lake Solitude would never willingly sacrifice its tranquillity or alter its aspect of beauty?

"Who could doubt that this majesty, this rugged grandeur, this tranquillity, this beauty, and indeed the very wildness of the wilderness itself, had long ago become qualities with such profound human meanings that men ought always to cherish them, and safeguard forever?"

The late Francois E. Matthes, geomorphologist of the United States Geological Survey, who mapped this area half a century ago and at that time named Lake Solitude, wrote as follows regarding the article from which the preceding comment is quoted:

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"Your article on the Cloud Peak region has thrilled me as few things in print have recently. It has thrilled me because it renders so vividly the awesome grandeur and utter wildness of that boldly sculptured mountain country, and also because you felt as I did, 48 years ago, that Lake Solitude is one of the most beautiful mountain lakes in existence. * * * When I beheld that lovely tranquil lake on Paint Rock Creek, I broke my vow to abstain from naming any feature of the country, and I named it Lake Solitude."

Threatening the wilderness feature thus described and indeed, by virtue of the road project involved, threatening the entire wilderness is a relatively small reclamation project on lands that can be expected, according to the Bureau of Reclamation, to be only "fairly productive after development has taken place." The Bureau says:

"The initial development under consideration by the Bureau of Reclamation will provide a supplemental water supply for approximately 4,580 acres of land now inadequately irrigated along Paint Rock Creek. The plan under consideration also provides for the development of 2,300 acres of new land along Lower Nowood Creek. * * * The soils in the area are typical of those found in mountain valleys. There is comparatively little class 1 land. Most of the area has been given a lower classification because of surface rock, water logging, unfavorable topography, or shallow soils."

As regards determining factors making wilderness preservation seem desirable, the Lake Solitude controversy is outstandingly significant as representing the futility of trying to determine such an issue on the basis of comparative-value estimates in terms of money. William Voigt, Jr., who represented the Izaak Walton League of America at a special hearing on Lake Solitude, reported as follows in the Living Wilderness:

"It was the apparent intention of the Bureau of Reclamation personnel present to try to force consideration of the project largely from the standpoint of economic benefits, things that could be put into dollars and cents. Those speaking in favor of keeping Lake Solitude as it is resisted this to a large extent and pointed out repeatedly that the wilderness area and the wilderness concept have values that cannot well be translated into cold cash."

In a subsequent statement on this issue, Dr. Olaus J. Murie, director of the Wilderness Society, described as "a first step toward a solution" * * * "a full realization of the inadequacy of a strictly financial formula."

It may be stated that no monetary profits would be admitted by this society as a determining factor justifying the destruction of Lake Solitude.

As in similar cases involving other products or commodities, only the prospects for a significant production of food would be considered by the Wilderness Society as a justifying factor for a reclamation project threatening a wilderness area that has been correctly designated for preservation. Each reclamation proposal involving conflict with wilderness preservation, it is recognized, should be examined on its merits, and the validity of the wilderness reservation affected by each such proposal should be reexamined in the light of the newly existing circumstances. In circumstances now existing it does not seem likely that the food-production possibilities dependent on a reservoir in a wilderness area will be found great enough to warrant the destruction of a correctly designated wilderness.

The determining factor is the greater need for the wilderness area involved than for the amount of food to be afforded by the reclamation project—assuming the validity of the not-by-bread-alone philosophy and assuming also the availability of adequate agricultural lands.

[This controversy was later resolved in favor of preserving this wilderness; the Bureau of Reclamation, after a public hearing, withdrew the impoundment proposals.]

FLOOD CONTROL

Flood-control engineering projects, particularly impoundments and resulting reservoirs, as threats to wilderness are exemplified in the proposed Glacier View project, which would destroy a large and significant area within Glacier National Park. As described by Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug in a letter of December 3 to Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall opposing the project:

"* * * construction of this proposed dam would create a reservoir 4 or 5 miles wide and some 25 miles long, with a fluctuating water level, which would blot out forever 19,840 acres of forest, streams, and lakes in some of the finest wilderness area of the park and would seriously reduce the park's winter range

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for wildlife. Glacier already suffers from insufficient winter range for wildlife, which has always been a major management problem. The loss of the winter range that would be flooded by the proposed reservoir would probably mean the loss of 70 percent of the white-tailed deer in the park—which species is becoming increasingly rare in the northern Rocky Mountains—20 percent of the mule deer, 20 percent of the elk, and 80 to 90 percent of the moose. In addition, it would eliminate 70 percent of the beaver from the western side of the park and would destroy the park's finest fishing stream. It would kill a considerable area of the finest Ponderosa pine forest found in the northern Rocky Mountains, leave construction scars that would not heal for centuries, and would bring into the park industrial developments that are wholly inconsistent with the purposes for which it was established."

Secretary Krug described the park's legal status, as follows:

"Glacier National Park was established by the act of May 11, 1910 (36 Stat. 354), which set it apart 'as a public park or pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States.' The act of August 22, 1914 (38 Stat. 699), under which the United States accepted exclusive jurisdiction over the lands within the park, provided for the protection of the park by this Department and 'especially for the preservation from injury or spoliation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities or wonderful objects within said park, and for the protection of the animals and birds in the park from capture or destruction, and to prevent their being frightened or driven from the park.' The act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), establishing the National Park Service specified that the purpose of the national parks is 'to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.' "

Accordingly Secretary Krug opposed the flood-control project that threatens this park and in stating his opposition phrased a statement of the determining factor in such cases, as follows:

"It seems quite clear, from the acts just quoted, that large power and flood-control projects, such as the Glacier View, should not be recommended for construction in national parks, unless the need for such projects is so pressing that the economic stability of our country, or its existence, would be endangered without them."

Earlier, at an October 4, 1948, meeting of park superintendents and National Park Service officials, Secretary Krug made a similar statement applied also to reclamation projects. Mr. Krug said:

"I am opposed to projects which would make such use of park or monument lands unless there can be a clear showing of absolute need. This need must be measured by weighing the value of the proposed reservoir in integrated development of the particular river system against the value of the area as now constituted in the great national-park system. I have often said that the land area in national parks certainly is not too large for the present and future needs of all the people of the United States. The great need of many areas adjacent to the national parks for water and power must be recognized and met, but before any park values are sacrificed, every possible alternative means of accomplishing the necessary development of water and power resources should be fully explored."

Wilderness Society director, Olaus J. Murie, at a May 25, 1948, hearing on the Glacier View project held in Kalispell, Mont., testified that "so far as we have been able to estimate this project, the values that would be sacrificed far outweigh the proposed benefits." After describing the Nation's increasingly great recreational needs and pointing out that Glacier National Park contains "the values, the esthetic and recreational resources that I have described," Dr. Murie continued:

"It belongs to the people of the United States, to all of them. Today, when we contemplate placing a scenic portion of Glacier National Park under water, we must be sure that the expected benefits far outweigh the important values that would be sacrificed, values of national as well as local importance. We must consider the loss of forest growth by construction of this dam, the loss of land surface, the loss of substantial game resources for the sportmen on the border of the park, the loss of wildlife attractions to the park visitors. We should also give considerable weight to the sanctity of an important national park, an American institution."

As national parks are created and as other areas of wilderness are firmly established, the sanctity of such dedications becomes a prominent determining

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factor in their preservation. Eventually, when wilderness designations have been critically reviewed over a period of years and confirmed by time, when national policy has been definitely formed, it is to be expected that a system of areas will be zoned for preservation in perpetuity. Then—for it is to be expected that such areas will always have to be guarded alertly—such a zoning will be itself a compelling factor for preservation, readily prevailing over any threat except those, in the words of Secretary Krug, the need for which "is so pressing that the economic stability of our country, or its existence, would be endangered without them." The Wilderness Society maintains that the national park system should now be accorded this sanctity, and it believes that certain of the longer established parks—Yellowstone, Yosemite, Glacier, for examples—do now in fact have such a sanctity in the minds of the national public.

The Glacier View case is an outstanding current illustration of the sanctity of the designation as a determining factor, though even with regard to this long-established park it is noted that the dedication is not complete, the possibility of the area's use in part for a reclamation project being included in the basic act. (The Glacier View project, which now poses the threat, is, however, not a reclamation project.)

Because such projects when definitely formulated (and they are so formulated at public expense) gain momentum, particularly in mobilizing the support of local or special parties at interest, this Society believes also that the consideration of a national park site for such purpose should be permitted only by special authorization of Congress. This insistence is a phase of the sanctity of the parks as a determining factor. With regard to this consideration, the Society has commented as follows on the Glacier View proposal, in a letter of December 30 to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors:

"* * * the proposal and the speculated concurrence in it by any official of the Government are in violation of congressional policy and contrary to this country's international obligations under the Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere, which has been in force since May 1, 1942. In brief, no national park may lawfully be used for such a purpose as here proposed. Before this project could be lawfully considered the area proposed would have to be removed from the park, and this could be accomplished only by act of Congress. We are confident that the people of the United States would by no means tolerate a proposal to curtail so seriously this park, and it is thus not difficult for us to imagine the fate of a bill in Congress to permit this project. In these circumstances it is a matter of grave concern that the Corps of Engineers or any other agency of the Government should even be considering a violation of this park by a concurrence of officials in the executive department of our Government."

It should be emphasized that for flood-control purposes, as well as for other purposes, a dam or other installation should not be permitted within a national park or other wilderness area if an alternate site is available. And it must be emphasized that the cost in money of the alternate site should not be a consideration prevailing against the preservation of the wilderness, which cannot be replaced at any cost.

An interesting aspect of this is illustrated by the Glacier View project, concerning which the Corps of Engineers public notice itself says: "Should its construction not be authorized after reasonable consideration, further study of feasible alternates will be made." The Wilderness Society's comment on this aspect of this threat, as phrased in the letter of December 30 previously referred to is as follows:

"We should like to call special attention to what seems to us to be a fundamentally false evaluation in assuming that because the lands threatened by the Glacier View project are in public ownership there would be an economy in choosing this site in preference to one where land purchases for the purpose would have to be made. To lower the apparent costs of the proposed project in this way is not only so misleading as to be readily resented when revealed but it is also assuming that the national park, national forest, wildlife, and wilderness resources are of less value than the money required to provide for the 'feasible alternates.' If it was hoped also that these public lands could be obtained with less protest than lands elsewhere we should like to emphasize that, in our opinion, the concern of American conservationists throughout the country for the preservation of the resources here threatened has in that case been seriously underestimated."

This society thus considers the presence of a feasible alternate site for a wilderness-threatening installation as a determining factor for the preservation

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of the wilderness. A further determining factor in conflicts with flood-control projects is the presence (or absence) of a need "so pressing that the economic stability of our country, or its existence, would be endangered" should the need not be met by the wilderness-threatening project.

POWER PROJECTS

Power projects in this analysis of wilderness-preservation threats and determining factors in controversies may be represented currently by the Panther Mountain dam and reservoir proposal of the Black River Regulating District Board in New York State, though the board's pretext for the project is stream regulation. This dam is the "lesser-evil" substitute for a projected Higley Mountain dam, both dams having been threats to the Moose River region in New York State's Adirondack wilderness until, as a result of public protests, the Higley Mountain proposal was abandoned.

Of the wilderness so threatened Paul Schaefer, secretary of an Adirondack Moose River Committee specially formed to oppose the dam projects, wrote in the March 1946, issue of The Living Wilderness as follows:

"Situated in the southwestern part of the Adirondack Park, this Moose River region comprises nearly a thousand square miles of heavily forested mountain country with gemlike lakes and innumerable rivers and streams. It is considered by many to be the finest remnant of primitive woodland left in eastern America, and it is the largest area in New York not yet bisected by a highway.

"Near the heart of this extensive region are the famous Moose River Plains, comprising about 700 acres. Much of the area is open grassland, but it has peninsulas of trees reaching out from the heavy surrounding forest. Also there are what may be called oases of evergreens, which thickly cover portions of the plains that drop 30 or 40 feet below the general level of the land. Adjacent to the plains, and in the Beaver Lake and Indian River regions nearby, are magnificent stands of the original pine and spruce forests, with pines more than 5 feet in diameter and nearly 150 feet tall.

"This is the heart of the most extensive winter yarding ground for white-tailed deer in the State, with a herd of more than 2,000 animals estimated to be in an area 10 miles long by from ½ to 2 miles wide. * * * Other animals and birds, both large and small, probably maintain a primitive natural balance as nearly here as in any place in the East, and certainly the profusion of wildlife surpasses that of any other region in New York State. * * * Trails reach the interior from four points of the compass. Even now it is an important Adirondack recreation land, and probably it is New York State's best potential for the hiker and camper who has a yen for the wilderness."

Mr. Schaefer asked:

"What greater tragedy could there be than to destroy such irreplaceable landscapes and waterscapes, so rich with wildlife, so abundant with the requirements of posterity?"

Protests and demonstrations that benefits from the power project would be realized principally by only a few manufacturing interests and at the best by those in a comparatively small area, whereas the wilderness destruction would affect large numbers of citizens from all parts of the State and even from elsewhere in the Nation, led to an abandonment of the larger, the Higley Mountain project. The Panther Mountain proposal remains a project of the Black River Regulating District Board. It was opposed by more than 30 State and national organizations as well as individuals when the Board held hearings, and when the board despite overwhelming opposition approved the project, it was challenged in the State courts, where it is now pending.

The Wilderness Society has joined with others in opposing both the Higley and Panther Mountain dams. This society believes that, so far as the stream regulation is concerned, an alternate site near Hawkinsille would be preferable, and it has not been convinced that there is not also an alternate site for the power purposes in the Black River Valley. However, this society believes that the public need for power is in this case by no means sufficient to warrant the destruction of the Moose River wilderness region even if there is no other site in this particular valley. So far as the public interest is concerned, somewhat more distant sources of power are being and can be realized, and the destruction of the public's wilderness is by no means justified by a savings in cost or a monetary profit for individual industries.

Thus the determining factors for wilderness preservation in this controversy with power interests are the possibility of an alternate site, so far as the public

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interest is concerned with stream regulation, and the greater importance of preserving the wilderness rather than exploiting the area for the monetary benefit of private or local interests.

To these particular, or peculiar, determining factors are added the general values in wilderness preservation, which are to be the more emphasized in this Adirondack area so near to so many centers of population. There is also the realization that specific projects here concerned, if successful (and possibly anyhow), will be followed by other and similar proposals—that if the Moose River exploitation can be perpetrated other State areas will also be in jeopardy. This precedent value, which always is a determining value, is described by Mr. Schaefer in Ad-i-ron-dack for March–April 1948 as follows:

"To think of the problem of flooding the river basins in the Adirondacks as isolated reservoirs, such as Panther, rather than to grasp the picture of scores of completed reservoirs located in the choice river and lake regions of these mountains, is to be blind to the mortal danger these developments are to the natural wild character of the forest preserve."

Wherever power projects threaten the wilderness there is also the tense realization that unless a secure basis of wilderness defense against such threats is achieved, unless wilderness is admitted by the public to be a more important resource where it exists than the additional power which can be generated on its site, there is a deepening jeopardy for all natural areas that likewise are potential reservoir sites. This realization is a strong determining factor in influencing conservationists to consider such a threatened wilderness as that in the Moose River area of the Adirondacks more desirable than the power project that would replace it.

AIRPLANES AND OTHER MECHANICAL TRANSPORTATION THREATS

Airplane-resort threats to wilderness preservation have been dramatically exemplified in the tense effort to rescue the Superior canoe country from the hazards to its future resulting from this advanced means of transportation used in conjunction with areas of privately owned land within the Federal roadless area. The roadless area was established before the airplane threat was sensed and thus before the peculiar importance of acquiring the still privately held areas was realized. Dependent on success in dealing with this problem is also the project for the Quetico-Superior International Peace Memorial Forest, which would include a central area extending from the Superior Roadless Area in the United States northward into the Quetico Provincial Park in Canada and zoned as wilderness.

This situation was observed by Harold H. Martin, Saturday Evening Post writer during the summer of 1948 and reported by him in an article in the September 25, 1948, issue of that magazine entitled "Embattled Wilderness." Mr. Martin found that:

"Today, in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the roadless-area order, seaplanes are dropping down on lakes once as inaccessible except by canoe as the craters of the moon, depositing thereon cargoes of happy characters wearing floppy white fishing hats. To the loneliest hinterlands of the American north country the airplane has brought such anachronisms as pretty waitresses, white napery, soft mattresses, and indoor plumbing."

Both the desirable characteristics of the wilderness that make it worth preserving and the aspects of the airplane and resort invasions that destroy the wilderness as such were clearly perceived by Mr. Martin and described by him as follows, in part:

"The canoeman's antipathy to the airplane is understandable to anyone who has ever made the journey on the border lakes in the old and simple way. It is bruising to the spirit of a man who has paddled for days seeking some sanctuary where he may commune in peace with the waters and the ancient rocks, to have a plane suddenly roar down into the silence bringing a load of jovial fishermen fresh from their paneled offices in the Chicago Loop. It is equally depressing to round some rocky headland in the gloaming and see the lights of a new fishing lodge shining from a campsite where for hundreds of years canoemen had built their cooking fires.

"The airplane by its noise destroys for the man in the canoe the intangible, almost indescribable quality of the wilderness, a quality compounded of silence and solitude and a brooding sense of peace that sinks into the spirit. It also robs its user of all chance to know the magic spell the wilderness casts upon those who slowly paddle and portage their way into its heart. To the canoeman,

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aware of every facet of the lake country's wild beauty, the fisherman who roars down upon the wild for a 15-minute flight from Ely no more comprehends the land and the life about him than would a Finnish lumberjack suddenly dropped by parachute into Broadway at 42d Street."

Mr. Martin not only thus described the subtle, psychological human feeling of and for wilderness that is shattered by the airplane and by that which follows in its course. He also reported the damage done to the wilderness itself. Wrote Mr. Martin:

"The spirit of the wilderness is too fragile to survive for long in a resort atmosphere. The howling of the airplane engines and the sputter of outboards not only rend the veil of silence that gives to the wilderness its cathedral calm; they cause the moose, the bear, and the beaver to high-tail for distant parts unknown, depriving the canoe camper of the pleasure of their company. * * * So long as the lake country is traversed only by the canoe, the animal population will remain as it is now, according to the ecologists—an ecologist being a man who has made a scientific study of the relationship of animals to their environment. * * * If thrown open to plane and motorboat traffic, the game will flee, and even the most primitive lake country will in a decade or two become just another backwoods resort area, similar to a hundred others throughout the Midwest."

Wilderness preservers have a "simple solution," reports Mr. Martin. "There are 11,000 lakes in Minnesota outside the wilderness area," he points out, "where the scenery is beautiful and the fishing still is good." The solution thus in the public interest is to preserve the wilderness free from these intrusions, knowing that those wishing resorts and airplane accessibility can still realize these, while if these intrusions in the wilderness are permitted to continue those who wish wilderness will be denied, and the entire public will lose its present freedom to choose wilderness recreation if it so desires.

The determining factor in thus preserving wilderness against airplane threats is the possibility of meeting elsewhere the needs of those using airplanes coupled with the impossibility of preserving wilderness areas unless the airplane is excluded.

Mechanical transportation threats of all kinds—roads and motor vehicles, motorboats, jeeps—are exemplified by the airplane threat. The determining factors in all cases are similar in principle—the inconsistency of wilderness preservation in the presence of mechanical transportation and the opportunity still open in America of meeting both the need for outdoor recreation with conveniences and the need for wilderness recreation. These are aspects of the zoning principles which are in general the central determining factors indicating that designated wilderness areas should be preserved against other uses.

DETERMINING FACTORS IN CONNECTION WITH OTHER THREATS

Mining claims under the present Federal mineral laws are potentially perhaps the most serious type of threat to the national forest wilderness system now established. Furthermore, the possibilities under the present laws for prospecting and establishing claims have operated to prevent the creation of wilderness areas that would be known to be in jeopardy from this threat. While this conflicting interest may not at present be represented by any specific case involving an established wilderness, the presence of minerals subject to such prospecting has been the deterrent factor in frustrating the creation of the proposed Glacier Peak Wilderness Area in the Cascade Countains of Washington, for example.

The Wilderness Society believes that within established wilderness areas, and within areas suitable for establishment as wilderness, there should be no mining operations permitted at present and provisions as to the future should allow for such operations only when the minerals present should be critically needed. Prospecting and exploring for minerals in such areas should be carried on by public agencies and should not be permitted as private enterprise.

There is urgent need for a revision of the mineral laws.

This urgency is all the more apparent when it is realized that under the present system it is possible to establish a claim, gain an access road, and then continue the occupancy without continuing to produce minerals. In other words, prospecting at present may be simply a pretext for private exploitation of lands within a designated wilderness area.

This situation should be the subject for special investigation and earnest consideration in connection with any survey of wilderness needs.

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The determining factor in this conflict of interests with regard to a wilderness should be the public importance of the wilderness, as compared with the private gains from mining operations. Only when there is a public need for the mineral involved, and this a need not otherwise to be satisfied, would the destruction of a wilderness for this purpose be warranted.

Grazing by domestic livestock is another presently legal threat to the wilderness areas within the national forests that should be eliminated. In wilderness areas as well as in national parks such grazing should be excluded, not simply because of the effects on vegetation and soil wherever there is intensive grazing within the usually high-country regions of such areas but also because of the competition with wildlife and with the pack animals involved in the recreational use of the areas.

A program for the elimination of this grazing use of the wilderness, which has been permitted largely for reasons of expediency in avoiding opposition to the wilderness program, should be consistently pursued until completely successful.

The determining factor in this conflict of interests is the fact that use of the forage by wildlife and by pack animals in connection with recreation in these areas is a higher use than that of livestock grazing, which is a use inconsistent with the preservation of the area in a natural condition.

WILDERNESS VALUES

Question 4. What are the values of such an area?

Values of wilderness with which this society is concerned are human values. For specific areas of wilderness the values are inherent in the character of each area and in its situation with reference to other such areas and to human populations. These particular reasons for appreciation are not here listed, but general values of the wilderness may be stated in broad terms. There are important incidental (perhaps "multiple-purpose") benefits such as wildlife conservation, which is part of wilderness preservation, and watershed protection, which was discussed at length by Bernard Frank in the June 1946 issue of the Living Wilderness in an article entitled "The Wilderness: A Major Water Resource." The distinctive wilderness values, however, may be described as monumental (or historical), scientific, educational, and recreational—embracing benefits that may be described as physical, mental, and spiritual. In other categories these values are individual, social, and national.

BERNARD DE VOTO'S EVALUATION

These various aspects of the value of wilderness may be discussed separately, but it may be helpful to consider first an expression by Bernard De Voto that to some extent includes all these. Writing on "The National Parks" in Fortune for June 1947, Mr. De Voto said:

"For a Nation that grows more metropolitan and industrialized every year the experience of solitude, even the simple fact of quiet, has become inestimable. It is the more exigent in that the memory of the American people keeps alive a need for the wilderness that shaped us, that was our birthright and that we have despoiled. It is imperative to maintain portions of the wilderness untouched, so that a tree will rot where it falls, a waterfall will pour its curve without generating electricity, a trumpeter swan may float on uncontaminated water—and moderns may at least see what their ancestors knew in their nerves and blood."

It seems significant to note that the national parks, which once were thought of primarily as spectacles, are viewed by Mr. De Voto as dedicated "to the cause of preserving the wilderness." Increasingly this service of the national parks is being emphasized, indicating in a manner as convincing as subtle the increasing value that is being attributed to wilderness as such.

Answering his own question "What justifies the national parks?" Mr. De Voto writes as follows:

"First of all, silence. In any park 3 minutes' walk will permit you to be alone in the primeval, and this single fact is enough to justify the entire national park system. Moreover you will enjoy the intimacy of nature as your forefathers knew it. * * * Our civilization excludes steadily increasing numbers of Americans from firsthand knowledge of nature—streams, plants, forests, animals, birds, even the effects of storms—and yet their need of it can never be extinguished. The parks are at once preserves, exhibits, and theaters of nature

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going on. The proof of their value is in the wonder of tourists at so simple a thing as a beaver dam, their eagerness for instruction in anything from ecology to volcanology or from glaciers to the habits of jays, and the speed with which their naivete becomes intelligent inquiry.

"The national parks preserve not only the organic relationships of nature, they also preserve the extreme of natural spectacle and beauty. * * * The fulfillment that beauty and spectacle have for the human spirit is not easily phrased—it relates to the depths of consciousness and to the unconscious. If the simple experience of uncontaminated nature is inestimably good, so is such an equally simple experience as glimpsing the processes of creation. * * * No one can say fully what sublimity means, or how the awe or terror or exaltation inspired by the earth in torment affects him; but anyone, even the shallowest sightseer, the strident and aggressive woman in purple rayon slacks shouldering others aside to look at the Great White Throne, is enlarged by the experience. The sightseer may lack vocabulary, even concept, to speak of the one in the many, eternity moving through forms of change, the flowing away at once of time and earth, but there remain mystery and the fulfillment of identity, and he will be richer than he was. It is the same with esthetics: One may lack words to express the impact of beauty but no one who has felt it remains untouched. It is renewal, enlargement, intensification. The parks preserve it permanently in the inheritance of the American citizen."

HISTORICAL VALUES

Monumental (or historical) values of the wilderness are closely related both to educational and recreational values. The wilderness has been described as "a piece of the long ago that we still have with us," and it is highly prized by many people as such. It perpetuates not only the scene of the pioneering activities of the first white men in this hemisphere but also a still more ancient scene. The areas preserved are monuments to the pioneers' conquests, but they also are samples of the natural world without the influence of modern man. They have deep values, too, in the continuing opportunity they afford to relive the lives of ancestors and thus, with also the anticipation of posterity's similar interest, to participate in the immortality of the generations.

Richard Jefferies, writing in the 19th century of England's Forest, in an essay now included in the volume the Open Air, said: "Sit down on the root of this oak (thinly covered with moss), and on that very spot it is quite possible a knight fresh home from the Crusades may have rested and feasted his eyes on the lovely green glades of his own unsurpassed England."

The Reverend William H. H. Murray w[illegible]ng in 1869 his Adventures in the Wilderness; or Camp-Life in the Adirondacks, declared:

"I know of nothing which so carries the mind so far back toward the creative period as to stand on the shore of such a sheet of water, knowing that as you behold it so has it been for ages. The water which laves your feet is the same as that which flowed when the springs which feed it were first uncapped. No rude ax has smitten the forests which grow upon the mountains; even the grass at your side is as the parent spire which He who ordereth all commands to bring forth seed after its kind. All around you is as it was in the beginning."

Sig Olson, writing in the autumn 1948 issue of the Living Wilderness, said:

"Historical museums full of quaint and dusty exhibits often lack personal significance and identification. They seem removed from our lives. How different to travel down the lakes and portages of such an area as the Quetico-Superior country, knowing one is actually following the unchanged trail of the voyageurs, seeing the shorelines they saw 200 years ago. The realization that this was the America these intrepid adventurers knew when our civilization was but a thin line of struggling villages along the Atlantic seaboard gives meaning to their exploits and dreams. To camp where they camped, using the very same rocks for our fireplaces, to follow the ancient portages that felt the tread of their moccasined feet, to read the old diaries while listening to the sounds of the wild they knew, gives one a feeling for early America that can come in no other way.

"To ride perhaps with a packstring down the primitive trails of the Rockies, knowing that this was the way Lewis and Clark and the mountainmen knew the West, makes one share their experience. The peaks and breath-taking vistas are still the same. 'The Shining Mountains' as bright as ever. But more important than all else is the feeling of remoteness and solitude that can still be found there. To live such a life even for a few days means a new appreciation

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of exploration, gives us faith in the purposes and ideals which drove these men to their goals. Somehow we get a new understanding of the meaning of courage and the vision which prompted these men to leave the comforts of established communities to fight their way across a wild and hostile continent to the Pacific. It gives dignity to the whole concept of democracy, makes us prouder of our heritage. To the youth of America this is a type of education beyond price."

SCIENTIFIC VALUES

Scientific values of the wilderness are similar to those of historical importance in depending on the preservation of areas as they existed, and exist, without the influence of modern man. These values, too, have an educational aspect, but their more precisely scientific importance is in relation to research. Their research uses are dual: They afford the scenes for fundamental investigations of the natural world of living creatures unmodified by man; they afford also "check" areas where none of the factors being compared in land-use research (for example) have been operative. So Aldo Leopold said in the Living Wilderness for September 1965:

"The long and short of the matter is that all land-use technologies—agriculture, forestry, watersheds, erosion, game and range management—are encountering unexpected and baffling obstacles which show clearly that despite the superficial advances in technique, we do not yet understand and cannot yet control the long-time interrelations of animals, plants, and mother earth. Some of these problems, such as 'soil sickness' in forestry, will merely retard a part of the technical advance in that field. Others, notably some of the deeper aspects of range management and erosion control, foreshadow the possible permanent loss of whole geographic regions."

Actually, said Professor Leopold, the scientific need for wilderness is "both urgent and dramatic."

Victor H. Cahalane, National Park Service biologist, in a plea for the preservation of Mount McKinley National Park made before the American Society of Mammalogist in 1946, spoke of the research values of such areas as follows:

"As civilization makes rapid inroads into the remaining frontier * * * natural areas are becoming more scarce. As this encroachment continues, science will find the few remaining natural areas of ever-increasing value. The science of wildlife management will need check areas against which the trends of artificialized, game-producing lands can be measured."

The American Society of Mammalogists, at the same meeting which Mr. Cahalane thus addressed, adopted the following resolution (in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 20, 1946):

"Whereas the few remaining representative areas of the American wilderness are of value not only as a heritage of the past and as unique recreational areas, but also as the scenes of research and as locations for check areas in connection with scientific investigations involving comparisons of conditions on natural areas with those on farms, rangelands, and other areas under management; and

"Whereas as the encroachments of civilization have continued, science has found the few remaining natural areas of ever-increasing value, as specifically illustrated by the current pressing need of the science of wildlife management for check areas against which the trends of artificialized, game-producing lands can be measured; and

"Whereas the preservation of such remnants of the American wilderness with its primitive fauna is threatened by the development of roads, landing fields for airplanes, and other features of a highly mechanized civilation: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the American Society of Mammalogists, assembled in annual meeting in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 20, 1946, endorses the national movement for wilderness preservation and commends those organizations that are actively representing this movement before the public; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be presented to the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the heads of the National Park Service, the Forest Service, and the Fish and Wildlife Service, with the society's recommendation that these land-administering agencies vigilantly guard such wilderness areas against all invasions that would destroy or impair their primitive character."

Similarly, the Wildlife Society—professional organization of technicians and other scientists concerned with wildlife management—at its 1947 meeting held in San Antonio, Tex., on February 3, adopted the following resolution:

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"Whereas the remnants of primitive America are of irreplaceable value to science as sites for fundamental research and as check areas where none of the human factors being compared by investigators have been operative; and

"Whereas the science of wildlife management is peculiarly concerned with the perpetuation of such primitive areas as check areas against which the practices in game production on lands under management can be measured; and

"Whereas the perpetuation of primeval areas with their primitive fauna and flora is threatened by the construction of roads and airplane landing fields, by timber-cutting and mining enterprises, by the impoundment of waters, by the development of intensive recreation facilities, and by other influences of a highly mechanized civilization: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, The Wildlife Society in the interests of the science of wildlife management and in the public interest endorses the movement for wilderness preservation, commends the Wilderness Society and other conservation agencies for their work in this behalf, and urges the individual members of the Wildlife Society to make known to their political representatives and to administrative officials their interest in the preservation of such specific wilderness areas as may from time to time be subjected to immediate threats."

More recently the secretary of the Wildlife Society, George A. Petrides, of Texas A and M College, has reiterated this resolution and has pointed out that "scientifically, wilderness areas provide standards for measuring the effectiveness of soil, forest, grassland, water, and wildlife management practices." And Dr. Jean M. Linsdale, speaking for the American Ornithologists Union, has said that: "Values of a wilderness are as a record of near primitive conditions on the land, as locations for study of natural conditions, as samples to be compared with land modified by use, and as places for inspirational recreation."

Wilderness areas insure for research workers a source of information on the original state of vegetation, wildlife populations, undisturbed soil conditions, plant succession, animal population cycles, and the natural interplay of ecological factors. Such proving grounds for science are invaluable.

EDUCATIONAL VALUES

Educational values of the wilderness are closely related to its historical and scientific values and also to those recreational values that are most profound. In fact, it might be demonstrated that the central importance of the wilderness in modern culture is educational, inclusive of recreation, and Aldo Leopold visualized a higher form of recreation in the unity of study and research that he called ecological observation. Writing on Wilderness Values in the March 1942 issue of the Living Wilderness, Professor Leopold said:

" . . . fallacy lies in the assumption that all ecology must be professional, and that wilderness sports and wilderness perception are two things rather than one. Good professional research in wilderness ecology is destined to become more and more a matter of perception; good wilderness sports are destined to converge on the same point."

"As a matter of fact," he declared, "there is no higher or more exciting sport than that of ecological observation."

Sig Olson in the article which has already been quoted has effectively described the educational-historical importance of wilderness as follows:

"The further we are removed from our primitive era of development, the more important these last reservations become from an educational standpoint. Such regions are living pictures of the America that was, the type of continent our forefathers knew. It is impossible to understand fully our social structure or our economy without recognizing the part of wilderness in its development. Here was opportunity as well as threat. It eliminated the weak, gave power and influence and often wealth to those strong enough to exploit it.

"We are apt to forget the part it played in shaping our destiny as a nation. Those days already seem legendary. We think of the founders of our country in terms of the dim past, see no connection between what they did and the problems of today. We take all we have for granted, have become blase and content, even critical of the ideals for which former generations fought and died. In order to understand, we must see the old backgrounds at firsthand. Only then can we appreciate the present and evaluate the future intelligently. We cannot lose sight of our past without losing our perspective. It is good for us to have places which show us the road over which we have come."

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Scientific values pertain not only to research and original investigation but also to the study and observation that are essentially educational in their purpose. Wilderness areas, including the smaller natural areas and also the extensive wild regions, should accordingly be preserved for the sake of the field study that they make possible for students in each generation. They serve this purpose for the summer camps of youth organizations, for field stations of college summer-school classes, and also for the more advanced excursions of graduate students.

Finally, wilderness preservation is of profound educational importance as the asurance of a base of reference to natural reality in an increasingly urbanized, industrialized, mechanized culture. (It is significant to note here that a photograph of the wild Rockies entitled "October in the Rockies: Also an Island" was used by Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine in its October 11, 1948, issue as a suggestive illustration with its report that: "At Amsterdam's first Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Time, September 13), Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr had gloomily commented: 'There is so little health in the whole of our modern civilization that one cannot find the island of order from which to proceed against disorder.'") The survival and further enrichment of modern culture is increasingly dependent on the wilderness as a base of reference, or as the Reverend Mr. Niebuhr might say as "an island of order." As human achievements in creating safeguards from natural discomforts increases, human beings find themselves increasingly threatened with a complete separation from natural realities. As the so-called conquest of nature progresses, men and women so separated from the realities become less and less aware of their dependence on other forms of life—more and more misled into a sense of self sufficiency and into a disregard of their interdependence with the other forms of life that together derive an existence from the solar center of their universe. Wilderness experiences can most effectively correct this ingrowing delusion—this unconscious arrogance. So long as wilderness exists in reality, providing actual resorts for human beings, giving a sense of actuality to pictorial and literary representations of the wilderness, and affording the scenes for further search, so long will the safeguards against an urban, industrialized ignorance of the facts of human life be effective. Among these facts are the physical and psychic and spiritual needs of human individuals that are served by the wilderness as a recreational resource. A knowledge and understanding of these needs are educational essentials. It will be increasingly important for students of future generations in a culture like that which we now call modern to know what the wilderness has to teach—either through their own experience; through educators that are constantly corrected by wilderness experiences; or through photographs, motion pictures, and other educational materials with a validity insured by a still living wilderness.

RECREATIONAL VALUES

Recreational values are generally understood as representing the dominant importance of wilderness in our modern civilization. This is altogether fitting and proper. Only in a society that produces the erosion of human beings, the wearing away of soul and body and spirits that is so familiar in modern circumstances, does the concept of recreation appear. The wilderness represents the antithesis of all that produces these conditions which recreation remedies. It not only provides the kind of recreation most needed by the increasingly large number who seek wilderness, but it also affords the background for outdoor recreation where conveniences and accommodations are provided—the frontier where those who may not wish to experience the rigors of wilderness living and travel may still know in some degree the tonic benefits of its wildness. Its recreational values are thus not only intrinsic but also pervasive throughout the outdoor recreation program of a society with the tastes and resources of the United States. Wilderness preservation is thus a part of a comprehensive recreational program, a very important part of such a program's provision for outdoor recreation, the ultimate resource for that phase of outdoor recreation that ministers to the individual as such.

Philosophers of education who describe their goals in such terms as "life adjustment" and "personality development" find in the wilderness a most valuable resource, and recreational values in such a context become profoundly educational. Wilderness recreation is not so likely to be merry as to be joyous, not so likely to be exciting as to be refreshing, not so likely to be diverting as to be engrossing. Its rewards are satisfactions. There is thus a seriousness about its recreation and an earnestness among many of those who seek it. Its educa-

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tional implications are apparent in the profound influences of such recreation on the individual.

In the wilderness, it may be said, the principles of the kindergarten are applied to a higher and continuing educational program. The kindergarten concept itself was, indeed, a wilderness inspiration of Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel. Writing on Froebel, in the Encyclopedia Britannica (11th edition) the Reverend Robert Herbert Quick, who was lecturer on education at the University of Cambridge, made this connection apparent, as follows:

"* * * Friedrich was apprenticed for 2 years to a forester (1797-1799).

"Left to himself in the Thuringian Forest, Froebel began to study nature, and without scientific instruction he obtained a profound insight into the uniformity and essential unity of nature's laws. Years afterward the celebrated Jahn (the 'Father Jahn' of the German gymnasts) told a Berlin student of a queer fellow he had met, who made out all sorts of wonderful things from stones and cobwebs. This queer fellow was Froebel; and the habit of making out general truths from the observation of nature, especially from plants and trees, dated from the solitary rambles in the forest. * * * when he left the forest at the early age of 17, he seems to have been possessed by the main ideas which influenced him all his life. The conception which in him dominated all others was the unity of nature. * * *"

This article describes in some detail Froebel's later pedagogical experience, including his establishment of the kindergarten. The article concludes as follows:

"In the kindergarten the children's employment should be play. But any occupation in which children delight is play to them; and Froebel invented a series of employments, which, while they are in this sense play to the children, have, nevertheless, as seen from the adult point of view, a distinct educational object. This object, as Froebel himself describes it, is 'to give the children employment in agreement with their whole nature, to strengthen their bodies, to exercise their senses, to engage their awakening mind, and through their senses to bring them acquainted with nature and their fellow creatures; it is especially to guide aright the heart and the affections, and to lead them to the original ground of all life, to unity with themselves.'"

Too tense a concern with a rationale for wilderness preservation, however, can mislead one into after-the-fact appraisals philosophical or reflective that result in evaluations so earnest as to be solemn. Rather to the contrary, general appreciation of the wilderness is based more on the spontaneous enjoyments that truly characterize wilderness experiences as recreational.

These enjoyments are first of all those of physical exertion that give tone to the muscles and to the entire system. The exhilaration of this is testimony to the physical or animal basis of the human personality—the basis that is so easily obscured by the layers of urban or cultured living. It is a fundamental recreational value of the wilderness that it permits and requires bodily exertion in surroundings where such exertion is natural.

Concurrently with this physical exertion and its sensory awareness there is a mental, psychic, or psychological release. So closely are they associated that the interdependence of so-called physical and mental health is emphasized. One may, in fact, with much justification, ascribe dominant importance to the therapeutic resources of wilderness in preventing and healing the mental disorders resulting from too continuous crowding with other people and from the tensions in abstracting mental activity from physical exertion, which is so characteristic of modern living. Psychiatry, it may be speculated, may come to recognize in the testimony of those who visit the wilderness an evidence of profound medical value in their experiences, and psychiatry itself may become less urban and more natural. Certain it is that wilderness recreationists can verify that their vacations are profound influences in helping to realize the ancient ideal of a sound mind in a sound body—mens sana in corpore sano. And to them it seems that the complete absence of the urban, industrialized, mechanized, organized influences—which absence is a characteristic of wilderness—is of great importance to such a vacation.

SPIRITUAL VALUES

Suffused through all the wilderness experience are its spirtual values, which may be esthetic, which may be religious, which may be obscured—but which would seem in our civilization to be a certain characteristic of wilderness influences. The Reverend William H. H. Murray in his Adventures in the Wilder-

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ness, or, Camp Life in the Adirondacks (1869) gave fervent expression to this, writing as follows in a chapter on Sabbath in the Woods:

"If a person would know how sensitive his nature is, how readily it responds to every exhibition of beauty and power, how thoroughly adapted it is, in all its faculties, to religious impressions, he must leave the haunts of men—where every sight and sound distracts his attention, and checks the free exercises of his soul—and, amid the silence of the woods, hold communion with his Maker. It is the silence of the wilderness which most impresses me. The hours of the Sabbath pass noiselessly. No voice of conversation, no sound of hurrying feet, no clangor of bells, no roll of wheels, disturb your meditations. You do not feel like reading or talking or singing. The heart needs neither hymn nor prayer to express its emotions. Even the Bible lies at your side unlifted. The letters seem dead, cold, insufficient. You feel as if the very air was God, and you had passed into that land where written revelation is not needed; for you see the Infinite as eye to eye, and feel Him in you and above you and on all sides."

These words, it may be emphasized, were based on many experiences of real wilderness travel in the Adirondacks, and the physical and mental values were in fact aspects of the Reverend Mr. Murray's spiritual evaluation. Wilderness trips were specially recommended by him for the clergy, and the recommendation is an expression of much of the recreation value that is today ascribed to wilderness. "It is in the ministry," he says, "that you find the very men who would be the most benefited by this trip." He continues:

"Whether they should go as sportsmen or tourists, or in both capacities, a visit to the north woods could not fail of giving them precisely such a change as is most desirable, and needed by them. In the wilderness they would find that perfect relaxation which all jaded minds require. In its vast solitude is a total absence of sights and sounds and duties, which keep the clergyman's brain and heart strung up, the long year through, to an intense, unnatural, and often fatal tension. There, from a thousand sources of invigoration, flow into the exhausted mind and enfeebled body currents of strength and life. There sleep woos you as the shadows deepen along the lake, and retains you in its gentle embrace until frightened away by the guide's merry call to breakfast."

As he was writing these words in what would now seem the comparative quiet of mid-19th century Boston, he complained of the urban noises that interrupted his recollections of the wilderness. "How harshly," he exclaimed, "the steel-shod hoofs smite against the flinty pavement beneath my window, and clash with rude interruptions upon my ear as I sit recalling the tranquil hours I have spent beneath the trees." He concluded his revery with a pointed recommendation:

"If every church would make up a purse, and pack its worn and weary pastor off to the North Woods for a 4 week's jaunt, in the hot months of July and August, it would do a very sensible as well as pleasant act. For when the good dominie came back swarth and tough as an Indian, elasticity in his step, fire in his eye, depth and clearness in his reinvigorated voice, wouldn't there be some preaching! And what texts he would have from which to talk to the little folks in the Sabbath school! How their bright eyes would open and enlarge as he narrated his adventures, and told them how the Good Father feeds the fish that swim, and clothes the mink and beaver with their warm and sheeny fur. The preacher sees God in the original there, and often translates him better from his unwritten works than from his written word."

Robert Marshall, who also derived his initial concepts of wilderness from experience in the Adirondacks and who became the prophet and leader of the present wilderness preservation movement, was explicit in his evaluations of the wilderness. Outstandingly, in his dissertation on the Problem of the Wilderness published in the February 1930 issue of the Scientific Monthly (reprinted in the May 1947 Sierra Club Bulletin) Mr. Marshall analyzed wilderness benefits in "three broad divisions: The physical, the mental, and the esthetic."

Most obvious physical benefit, he wrote, is "the contribution which the wilderness makes to health." This, he explained:

"This involves something more than pure air and quiet, which are also attainable in almost any rural situation. But toting a 50-pound pack over an abominable trail, snowshoeing across a blizzard-swept plateau, or scaling some jagged pinnacle which juts far above timber all develop a body distinguished by soundness, stamina, and elan unknown amid normal surroundings."

He viewed "the character of physical independence" as something that is "more than mere heartiness." It can be "nurtured," he said, "only away from the coddling of civilization." He insisted that:

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"As long as we prize individuality and competence it is imperative to provide the opportunity for complete self-sufficiency. This is inconceivable under the effete superstructure of urbanity; it demands the harsh environment of untrammelled expanses."

Closely allied to his appreciation of a sense of physical independence was "the longing for physical exploration which bursts through all the chains with which society fetters it." Adventure, he wrote:

"Whether physical or mental, implies breaking into unpenetrated ground, venturing beyond the boundary of normal aptitude, extending oneself to the limit of capacity, courageously facing peril. Life without the chance for such exertions would be for many persons a dreary game, scarcely bearable in its horrible banality."

Of mental—or psychological—benefits this great exponent of the wilderness wrote as follows:

"One of the greatest advantages of the wilderness is its incentive to independent cogitation. This is partly a reflection of physical stimulation, but more inherently due to the fact that original ideas require an objectivity and perspective seldom possible in the distracting propinquity of one's fellow men."

Using the phrases in Thoreau's journal for April 2, 1852, Mr. Marshall pointed out a necessity to "have gone behind the world of humanity, seen its institutions like toadstools by the wayside." And, he continued:

"This theorizing is justified empirically by the number of America's most virile minds, including Thomas Jefferson, Henry Thoreau, Louis Agassiz, Herman Melville, Mark Twain, John Muir, and William James, who have felt the compulsion of periodical retirements into the solitudes. Withdrawn from the contaminating notions of their neighbors, these thinkers have been able to meditate, unpredjudiced by the immuring civilization.

"Another mental value of an opposite sort is concerned not with incitement but with repose. In a civilization which requires most lives to be passed amid inordinate dissonance, pressure, and intrusion, the chance of retiring now and then to the quietude and privacy of sylvan haunts becomes for some people a psychic necessity. It is only the possibility of convalescing in the wilderness which saves them from being destroyed by the terrible neural tension of modern existence.

"There is also a psychological bearing of the wilderness which affects, in contrast to the minority who find it indispensable for relaxation, the whole of human kind. One of the most profound discoveries of psychology has been the demonstration of the terrific harm caused by suppressed desires. To most of mankind a very powerful desire is the appetite for adventure. But in an age of machinery only the extremely fortunate have an occasion to satiate this hankering, except vicariously. As a result people become so choked by the monotony of their lives that they are readily amenable to the suggestion of any lurid diversion. Especially in battle, they imagine, will be found the glorious romance of futile dreams. And so they endorse war with enthusiasm and march away to stirring music, only to find their adventure a chimera, and the whole world miserable. It is all tragically ridiculous, and yet there is a passion there which cannot be dismissed with a contemptuous reference to childish quixotism."

"In examining the esthetic importance of the wilderness I will not engage," said Mr. Marshall, "in the unprofitable task of evaluating the preciousness of different sorts of beauty." Such a rating, he explained, "would always have to be based on a subjective standard, whereas the essential for any measure is impersonality." Instead of such "useless metaphysics" he wrote of "several respects in which the undisputed beauty of the primeval, whatever its relative merit, is distinctly unique." He wrote as follows:

"Of the myriad manifestations of beauty, only natural phenomena like the wilderness are detached from all temporal relationship. All the beauties in the creation or alteration of which man has played even the slightest role are firmly anchored in the historic stream. They are temples of Egypt, oratory of Rome, painting of the Renaissance, or music of the Classicists. But in the wild places nothing is moored more closely than to geologic ages. The silent wanderer crawling up the rocky shore of the turbulent river could be a savage from some prehistoric epoch or a fugitive from 20th century mechanization.

"The sheer stupendousness of the wilderness gives it a quality of intangibility which is unknown in ordinary manifestations of ocular beauty. * * * Anyone who has stood upon a lofty summit and gazed over an inchoate tangle of deep canyons and cragged mountains, of sunlit lakelets and black expanses of forest,

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has become aware of a certain giddy sensation that there are no distances, no measures, simply unrelated matter rising and falling without any analogy to the banal geometry of breadth, thickness, and height. A fourth dimension of immensity is added which makes the location of some dim elevation outlined against the sunset as incommensurable to the figures of the topographer as life itself is to the quantitative table of elements which the analytic chemist proclaims to constitute vitality.

"Because of its size the wilderness also has a physical ambiency about it which most forms of beauty lack. One looks from outside at works of art and architecture, listens from outside to music or poetry. But when one looks at and listens to the wilderness he is encompassed by his experience of beauty, lives in the midst of his esthetic universe.

"A further peculiarity about the wilderness is that it exhibits a dynamic beauty. A Beethoven symphony or a Shakespearean drama, a landscape by Corot or a Gothic cathedral, once they are finished become virtually static. But the wilderness is in constant flux. A seed germinates, and a stunted seedling battles for decades against the dense shade of the virgin forest. Then some ancient tree blows down and the long-suppressed plant suddenly enters into the full vigor of delayed youth, grows rapidly from sapling to maturity, declines into the corky senility of many centuries, dropping millions of seeds to start a new forest upon the rotting debris of its own ancestors, and eventually topples over to admit the sunlight which ripens another woodland generation.

"Another singular aspect of the wilderness is that it gratifies every one of the senses. There is unanimity in venerating the sights and sounds of the forest. But what are generally esteemed to be the minor senses should not be slighted. No one who has every strolled in springtime through seas of blooming violets, or lain at night on boughs of fresh balsam, or walked across dank holms in early morning can omit odor from the joys of the primordial environment. No one who has felt the stiff wind of mountaintops or the softness of untrodden sphagnum will forget the exhilaration experienced through touch. 'Nothing ever tastes as good as when it's cooked in the woods' is a trite tribute to another sense. Even equilibrium causes a blithe exultation during many a river crossing on tenuous foot log and many a perilous conquest of precipice.

"Finally, it is well to reflect that the wilderness furnishes perhaps the best opportunity for pure esthetic enjoyment. This requires that beauty be observed as a unity, and that for the brief duration of any pure esthetic experience the cognition of the observed object must completely fill the spectator's cosmos. There can be no extraneous thoughts—no question about the Creator of the phenomenon, its structure, what it resembles or what vanity in the beholder it gratifies."

Mr. Marshall then quoted Irwin Edman's statement in the World, the Arts and the Artist: "The purely esthetic observer has for the moment forgotten his own soul." He has "only one sensation left," Mr. Marshall commented, " and that is exquisiteness." He concluded his discussion of wilderness benefits with the following sentence:

"In the wilderness, with its entire freedom from the manifestations of human will, that perfect objectivity which is essential for pure esthetic rapture can probably be achieved more readily than among any other forms of beauty."

There can be little added to such an inspired and authentic evaluation—except perhaps to conclude with the reiteration that such an appreciation must not obscure the simple, immediate fact that wilderness recreation primarily is something that one likes. Going to the wilderness is something one does because he likes to do it. A philosophy of enjoyment can follow, but it is the enjoyment rather than the philosophy that is motivating.

NATIONAL VALUES

National values of the wilderness are highly significant—particularly in the United States. This, of course, is to enter into a new set of categories. Essentially wilderness benefits are individual experiences. They do have social implications, however. As C. Edward Graves observed in appraising the values of a wilderness trip that he described in the winter of 1947–48 issue of the Living Wilderness under the title "In the Three Sisters Primitive Area:"

"* * * we returned to this civilization with the usual undercurrent of eagerness for home. * * * We wished that all—if only once in a lifetime—might have such an experience, and we speculated that even the most perplexing problems of civilization might be better faced by a people so influenced. * * * Its

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influence on us had certainly been healthful, and most surely we returned better able to take up again the responsibilities of civilized living. We wondered if perhaps this might be, after all, the real value of wilderness in our American way of living."

Similarly among the group whose wilderness excursion is narrated in the autumn 1947 issue of the Living Wilderness in the article, Cloud Peak's Primitive Area and People, it was noted that during the return trip:

"* * * one could perceive in the conversations and countenances not only an aroused sense of the richness of the beauty of the earth but also a renewed zest for the living that awaited each farther down the mountain in the great and complicated civilization of which each was a part."

It is not only in returning individuals to their stations in society with better health, better spirits, that the wilderness has social values in the United States, however. In this American democracy, of still greater importance is the development of individual personality, a development that wilderness experience well advances. Such development is both a goal of democratic life and a contribution to its endurance, the wilderness influence for individuality being the apparent antithesis of the modern temptations to surrender personal independence for the lures of totalitarianism. At a time of scrutiny for un-Americanism such a positive influence for an Americanism so historically and naturally established as is the Americanism of the wilderness should have deep meaning. Promoting wilderness recreation is a sure means for encouraging the virtues which are those of a good citizen of this America. There is likewise profound national significance in the patriotism inspired by a familiarity with such grandeur and such beauty as those who seek the wilderness find. It is a love of the land which they come to know—that informed love of the land that is the basis of the most devoted patriotism. Nor are the historical, the monumental, values of the wilderness without their aspects of patriotism, for there is indeed high inspiration toward all that is most noble in patriotism when to a deep-felt love of the landscape there is added the sense of following in the pioneering footsteps of the forefathers of one's country. Wilderness thus has values that well deserve the national interest which is constantly increasing in the United States.

NO DOLLAR SIGNS

No dollar signs, however, are for wilderness. Wilderness values, it may be reiterated, are not to be stated in dollars and cents. In fact, it may again be repeated, in concluding this discussion of wilderness values, that these values for which wilderness areas are preserved are no more susceptible than is beauty to an appraisal in monetary terms. Reference may be made to the discussion on page 172 of this report of the futile attempts to appraise conflicting uses of wilderness in terms of their monetary benefits. John Ruskin is there quoted in pointing out that beautiful things, "useful to men because they are beautiful," are "not to sell, or pawn, or in any other way turn into money." Dr. Olaus J. Murie's statement when asked to comment on how to measure the intangible values of areas threatened by reclamation is there quoted as emphasizing that:

"* * * the first step toward a solution is a full realization of the inadequacy of a strictly financial formula, and the importance to our people of these so-called intangibles."

In the order and magnitude of wilderness values as properly suggested in this memorandum it is apparent that their equivalents are not in dollars and cents. Great and precious as the wilderness is its values are not to be estimated in the market. Its price is above rubies.

WILDERNESS USE

Question 5. What do you consider permissible uses of wilderness areas?

Use of wilderness areas should be a realization of wilderness values and should be consistent with continued preservation of the areas as wilderness. Such areas should therefore be devoted to monumental, scientific, educational, or recreational use, and only those kinds, or those degrees, of such use should be permitted which are consistent with the maintenance of the wilderness character of the areas.

Other purposes not inconsistent with these uses may be served, of course—watershed protection and wildlife conservation, for example—but even such excellent "byproduct" benefits of wilderness preservation should be recognized

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as rather incidental thereto and should not be allowed to assume an importance within a preserved wilderness that would seem to justify a modification of the wilderness for their furtherance.

Wilderness should in no sense be viewed as a commodity, nor as a source of commodities. It should not be used for lumbering, for mining, for grazing, nor for commerce. The wilderness properly viewed has, in fact, many significant aspects of the temple where buying and selling are so violently inappropriate as to be sacrilegious. Exclusion of commercial enterprise and commodity use along with exclusion of mechanized transportation and permanent structures seems to assure, as well as any negative action can, the preservation of the wilderness.

Where considerations of expediency or recognition of existing practices have permitted inconsistent wilderness use—such, for example, as domestic stock grazing within designated wilderness areas in the national forest system—such uses should be recognized as nonconforming and looked upon as subject to termination as soon as this can be done and done equitably for those immediately concerned. Such nonconforming uses should be permitted only when their temporary sufferance appears to be a means of insuring future values of the area.

All uses, it may be emphasized, must be in harmony with the wilderness and its preservation. Educational projects within such areas would thus have to exclude installations inconsistent with or damaging to the wilderness. Likewise research uses would be restricted from damaging modifications. And the recreation within the wilderness must also be so controlled as to safeguard the resource which is its lure.

Avoiding recreational overuse creates severe administrative problems that seem certain of becoming more complex as increasing demands are made on limited areas. These problems emphasize the need for preserving all the wilderness possible. At the same time they forecast a necessity to limit the intensity as well as kinds of use made of the wilderness resource. Conditions already are such that considerable thought is being given to ways in which recreational uses may be kept within the carrying capacity of a wilderness. Numbers of users is obviously a factor, but likewise the intensity and frequency of the use made of the wilderness are factors.

Pack trips with both saddle and pack horses, for example, make a demand on forage resources greater than those made by groups who use pack animals only and travel themselves by hiking, and the hiker who carries all on his own back makes no forage demands at all. Campers who establish base camps in the limited favorite sites and make excursions from these camps make an intense use beyond those who daily move their camps and thus disperse the effects of their camping and in this way give the vegetation a better chance to obscure their traces.

These are examples of the factors to be considered in providing for a control of worthy uses that nevertheless threaten the wilderness because of their frequency and/or their intensity.

The specific uses of wilderness that are permissible include hiking (with or without pack animals), canoeing and boating with paddle or oar, horseback travel, mountain climbing, skiing (especially ski touring) and such other activities which may be a part of the outdoor living when one is dependent on equipment he carries on his own back or on pack animals and is unaided by motorized transportation. Ecological recreation, nature study in all its phases, and photography are common and appropriate. Fishing is permissible, according to present regulations, in national parks as well as in national-forest wilderness areas, while hunting is prohibited in the parks and permitted in the national forest areas. Both of these activities are subject to regulations as to seasons and methods, in accordance with the abundance or scarcity of the fish and wildlife, yet each is recognized as permissible as such within a wilderness.

It is interesting to note that in New York, where the State constitution requires wilderness preservation in the Adirondack and Catskill Forest preserve areas, Justice Harold Hinman of the Third Appellate Division, New York State Supreme Court, in 1930 quoted and interpreted this constitutional provision as follows:

"Giving to the phrase 'forever kept as wild forest lands' the significance which the term 'wild forest' bears, we must conclude that the idea intended was a health resort and playground with the attributes of a wild forest park as distinguished from other parks so common to our civilization. We must preserve it in its wild state, its trees, its rocks, its streams. It was to be a great resort for the free use of the people in which nature is given free rein. Its uses for

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health and pleasure must not be inconsistent with its preservation as forest lands in a wild state. It must always retain the character of a wilderness. Hunting, fishing, tramping, mountain climbing, snowshoeing, skiing or skating find ideal setting in nature's wilderness. It is essentially a quiet and healthful retreat from the turmoils and artificialities of a busy urban life."

Wilderness is highly appropriate as a scene for the scientific study and such research as is related to the wilderness and primeval conditions or involves the observation of wilderness for comparisons with land-use practices elsewhere. It seems likely that true wilderness areas—that is, areas that qualify as to size as well as wilderness—can serve both recreational and research purposes without serious conflict. Smaller areas and possibly also designated tracts within larger areas may need to be safeguarded from recreational use in order to serve science properly. Frederick Law Olmsted, discussing this problem in correspondence, wrote as follows on January 22, 1949:

"In some cases, perhaps in many cases, an area worthy of preservation as a 'wilderness' (especially, perhaps, where it is a large one) can reasonably be so managed as to be, and to remain in perpetuity, highly valuable in both these quite different ways, but in many cases I think it will be found important for satisfactory results to discriminate very sharply and permanently between those entire areas, or designated parts of larger wilderness areas, which are to be administered primarily as 'ecological museum pieces' and those which are to be administered primarily for human enjoyment of wilderness conditions in essentially recreational ways; and to subject visitors to the former to more rigid control over what they may and may not do therein than is necessary or desirable in the latter."

Mr. Olmsted commented also that even in areas preserved primarily for recreational purposes:

"* * * limitations on what visitors may properly be permitted to do must vary greatly with different types of wilderness in order to avoid progressive deterioration of the special qualities that give each particular type of wilderness its special 'recreational' value. For instance: In a relatively arid or 'desert' type of wilderness even minor scars and blemishes caused by human action are relatively permanent and cumulative in their deleterious effect on its wilderness values of an inspirational and recreational sort—as contrasted with the relatively quick healing or obscuring of such scars by burgeoning vegetation in a humid wilderness."

Thus it may be concluded that even the obviously permissible uses must be subject to and conditioned upon the preservation of the wilderness itself. Frequent resorts to the wilderness, for example, would be a most ideal arrangement for living in our modern civilization, yet it seems apparent that the wilderness resource will not be able to sustain such use as it continues to become attractive to more and more people.

Eventually it may be that wilderness use will have to be rationed. This would seem to be the alternative to administering the wilderness for the accommodations of large numbers of people at a time, which would jeopardize the wilderness itself and the wilderness "atmosphere" and at the same time would require regulation or regimentation of the visitors in such a way as to destroy "the freedom of the wilderness" and to nullify the escape from restrictions that is so important a part of the wilderness experience.

In the broad sense it may thus be postulated that the most certainly permissible use of wilderness is to give to the maximum number of individuals a true wilderness experience, with emphasis on the authenticity of the wilderness rather than on the duration of the experience. Such observations that are made, such understandings as result will remain as a base of reference or comparison and as a lifelong memory. Assuming an availability of other outdoor recreation areas and a continuing program for developing public parks and preserving rural beauty, one can thus visualize a system of true wilderness areas maintained as a reference base not only for the research of scientists but also for development of individual personalities. On this basis it seems altogether worthwhile to visualize the perpetuation of wilderness if only for the sake of once-in-a-lifetime experiences—of course, for as many individuals as possible.

John Muir, in an ecstatic June 23 comment in the journals he later published in My First Summer in the Sierras, declared:

"Nevermore, however weary, should one faint by the way who gains the blessings of one mountain day; whatever his fate, long life, short life, stormy or calm, he is rich forever."

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Permissible uses of wilderness should be determined in a sober realization of the practical truth of Muir's exclamation.

It is not yet necessary to invoke the sort of program here faced as an ultimate necessity. It is, however, important immediately to orient a direction of permissible uses. Imminent, for example, in some areas is the dilemma of administrative restriction to preserve wilderness—limit the numbers of users at any one time or surround users with such restrictions as are required in "crowded" natural areas of parks. The true wilderness choice seems certain to be the limitation of numbers of users of such an area at a time, on the basis of preserving not only the wilderness but also the authenticity of the wilderness experience.

This is one practical problem that now seems forbidding, yet its first step may not be so difficult as feared; that is, requiring that reservations be made in advance for wilderness area entry.

This seems appalling on first thought, yet it is realized on reflection that already Americans have adapted themselves to such a necessity in obtaining hotel accommodations. Neither in large city nor in resorts does one expect to arrive without previous arrangement and obtain accommodations, yet all are willing to undergo an advance inconvenience and perhaps an adjustment of the time of arrival when this results in comfort on arrival—preferring the making of reservations, for example, to the sharing of rooms with numbers of people on cots and sofas. The analogy is rather close, for in the circumstances that would require it, a system of reservations for wilderness entry would likewise be accompanied by a more "convenient" experience on arrival—freedom, for example, from crowds and from the regimentation that crowds would make necessary.

In some such fashion the permissible uses of wilderness should be determined by administrators of the areas and regulated on the dual principles of wilderness preservation and the insurance of the validity of the wilderness experience.

WILDERNESS ADMINISTRATION—A FEDERAL AND STATE DUTY

Question 6. Does your organization believe this is to be a State or Federal responsibility or both?

Both. Wherever wilderness is in public ownership the governmental agency—Federal, State, regional (the Tennessee Valley Authority, for example), county, municipal, or other—that is administering the area involved should include in its responsibility the preservation of wilderness and wilderness values. Private agencies should likewise recognize these values, including, for example, universities that own or control lands and clubs and individuals who have extensive tracts of wild land.

Such wilderness as the Adirondacks in New York, the Porcupine Mountains in Michigan, the Katahdin area in Maine's Baxter State Park, in the opinion of this society, can be adequately administered as wilderness by the States, and it is the purpose of this society to develop an appreciation of wilderness values among all land administrators rather than to work for the separate administration of a single national system to include all wilderness. Thus this society supports the national wildlife refuge system's preservation of such areas as the Okefenokee Swamp, as well as the national park system and the wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas of the national forests—concerned that wilderness be preserved in all these systems to the fullest extent possible rather than in a separate, special system. Nor does the society advocate Federal acquisition of the State areas which the States involved prize as a part of their park or forest systems.

Were an objective choice to be made with regard to an area to be newly acquired and to be placed under public administration for the first time, however, it would seem wise to recommend Federal acquisition and administration if the area should be of size and character to attract national interest. The security of a wilderness depends on its appreciation by a sufficient number of those who have a voice in its administration. The threats to its preservation, in most instances, come from the enterprise of those who wish to exploit it, and such enterprise is usually (and rather naturally) of a local or State character. When a wilderness of national interest is in Federal ownership it has the effective support of a larger number of people than the same area would have if in State ownership. At the same time the exploitation demands are relatively less

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threatening to the wilderness preservation when they are made on Federal authorities instead of on the State officials nearer at hand. Thus, from both points of view, the larger, more inclusive government is more likely to serve the purposes of wilderness preservation—and a comparison that would hold true for State versus municipal ownership also.

The fact is, however, that wilderness is now in both State and Federal hands, and both State and Federal Governments should properly recognize a public responsibility for its preservation.

It should be a responsibility of each State to make sure that the maximum possible area of wilderness within its borders is preserved, and that no last remaining sample of a type of wilderness within the State is allowed to be destroyed.

It should be a Federal responsibility to see that the maximum possible area of wilderness in the United States is preserved, that so far as possible every type of land and water area is represented in the wilderness preserved, and that no last remaining sample of a type of the American wilderness is permitted to be destroyed.

AREAS OF WILDERNESS TO BE PRESERVED

Question 7. Does your organization engage in any activities favoring or opposing creation or extension of these areas?

Question 8. Are there any areas or regions which you may consider suitable to be preserved as wilderness areas which are not now receiving special protection as such?

Question 9. Are there any extensions or contractions of present reservations which you would suggest?

Separately a file of statements on specific areas is submitted in response to these questions. Essentially the Wilderness Society advocates that as promptly as possible a national zoning program should be effected, wherein areas of wilderness—after adequate observation and careful consideration of all needs—should be designated for preservation in perpetuity and removed from consideration for other purposes that would threaten their existence as wilderness. The society, accordingly, advocates the special designation of wilderness and other wild areas wherever possible and is engaging in an effort to determine the areas suitable for such designation as well as the areas which, in a comprehensive zoning program, should be enlarged or contracted, in the public interest—mindful not only of present demands but also of the needs of future generations.

The society is similarly concerned with smaller wild areas for local preservation. In a memorandum to all members of the society on November 9, 1947, Benton MacKaye, president, said:

"The Wilderness Society council at its 1947 annual meeting held last June in the Quetico-Superior country, in the heart of North America, took occasion to launch from this pivotal area a campaign for renewed effort to extend throughout the continent a system of wilderness areas. The spots of wilderness that would result should be in every type of country from Alaskan tundra and Canadian conifer to Floridian everglade. They should be large and small. The large spots require the special attention of the Wilderness Society council and staff. The small spots should concern our individual members in their respective neighborhoods.

"With this in mind, and as part of our North American campaign, the council decided to canvass our members on the possibilities in their home localities of finding and protecting small areas of ridge, marsh, intervale, and other wildland patches. Here is a project for the membership rather than the staff—a little job for each in his own backyard.

"On such a job, I myself, not as president of the society but simply as a member in Massachusetts, have been working on a project to preserve a wildland belt along a litle stream (the Squannacook) in our own little township of Shirley. Here is a canoe lane through a secluded patch of woodland with a genuine wilderness lure. It winds in between a series of rural villages yet is well insulated from them. There are hundreds of such chances throughout the continent if we will only look for them.

"What are the chances in your neighborhood? * * * If you as a 'lone wolf' would gather a crew and explore your bailiwick for a wildland area (some secret stream or marsh or ridge) and then seek some local means for getting it pre-

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served, you would thus be taking part in a continentwide campaign. * * * Then if you would send your findings to the Living Wilderness it would make a news item to encourage lone wolves everywhere to gather crews and get busy."

A symposium of reports of such activities was published in the Winter 1948–49 issue of the Living Wilderness under the title "On Preserving Our 'Wildland Patches.'"

A WILDERNESS POLICY

Question 10. Do you have any suggestions as to what a national wilderness policy would or should be?

Stating concisely the Wilderness Society's suggestions regarding a national wilderness policy is essentially a summarizing of this entire statement, which has been prepared as a contribution toward the establishment of a sound national policy of wilderness preservation. The viewpoint of the Wilderness Society is that of a national organization concerned with the public interest. Its policies as explained in response to the first question of this questionnaire are those it has considered of national importance and validity, and its answers to the other questions are likewise based on an earnest regard for the public interest as of dominant importance. In all candor we would thus submit this entire memorandum as a comment on what a sound national wilderness policy would and should be.

Such a policy would be based first of all on the need for wilderness and on the recognition that this need can be met only by public action to restrain, in the common interest, the individual and group proposals to exploit the wilderness in ways that would destroy it as wilderness. Such a policy would be based also on the recognition that, in the face of modern development possibilities, no wilderness will remain except those that are deliberately retained for preservation.

A first concern of a national wilderness policy is thus the designation for preservation of an adequate system of wilderness areas. This society at its 1947 annual meeting adopted the recommendation of its president, Benton MacKaye, that it work for the extension throughout the continent of a system of wilderness areas for permanent preservation that would include representative units of every type of wilderness remaining. The society is now working toward this end, and is cooperating with others sharing this purpose—including scientific organizations concerned with preserving samples of the smaller ecological subdivisions of the land in its original state for research purposes.

It should be national policy to see that such a system of wilderness areas is located and zoned for preservation.

A first step should be a survey of the Nation for this purpose, an inventory of the suitable areas still in existence, and the preparation of an annotated working map of wilderness preservation possibilities.

This should be followed by coordinated action among land-administering agencies to formulate recommendations regarding the areas to be incorporated in a national system of wilderness, and such a system, when established by Congress, should be mapped thoroughly. Individual areas within the system should be administered by the most appropriate agency—Forest Service, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, or other agency, as the case might be—in accordance with such overall national land-management policies as might be in force, and all agencies administering lands embracing areas designated for wilderness perpetuation should be responsible for the preservation of the wilderness in its charge.

Congressional establishment of this system should have the effect of a protective zoning, and wilderness-destroying practices within areas so zoned should be prohibited by law—including privately owned and State lands within such areas. (Just as private lands within residential sections may not be used for business properties under municipal zoning laws.) Such areas should be acquired as rapidly as possible, and with the zoning prohibition of nonconforming uses such acquisition would be more feasible than at present.

Areas within the wilderness system should be exempt from inconsistent public uses also. Laws authorizing surveys for flood-control, power, and reclamation projects should, for example, include a proviso that no such surveys should be made in areas of the national wilderness preservation system, and providing that no consideration of such areas is authorized in connection with such surveys.

A national wilderness policy should include a revision, or special superseding,

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of mineral laws to prevent entry of designated wilderness for mining or prospecting. It should include provision for protection of wilderness against airplanes, "jeeps," and other means of invasion that would destroy the wilderness as such. It should preclude the commercialization of wilderness areas and provide for the administration of the areas in accordance with their specific purposes. For wilderness areas where recreation becomes in great demand, administration provisions should include measures for regulating use and protecting the wilderness. Permissible uses should be defined and should be educational, scientific, and/or recreational.

All uses of the wilderness areas for such purposes as wildlife conservation and watershed protection that are not inconsistent with preservation of the wilderness should be encouraged. Where such a use is of major importance the area should be administered from its point of view, an outstandingly important wildlife area belonging, for example, in the national wildlife refuge system under the Fish and Wildlife Service. In no such areas which are parts of the national wilderness preservation system, however, should management for any purpose be permitted to include the modification of the wilderness character of the area. Management for wildlife could, to continue this example, involve exclusion of recreational use to such extent as might seem necessary, but it should not include the installation of water-control or other structures modifying the wilderness, even though these might be deemed to be measures to increase the area's wildlife.

Not only should the wilderness system be adequately mapped for guidance in wilderness preservation and as definite indications of the areas reserved from consideration by those concerned with other programs, but also each area should be mapped for the guidance of wilderness users. The system and the individual areas should also be described in a series of Government publications and represented in collections of photographs and motion pictures, and through these means, the radio, television, and other information media, the knowledge of the people regarding the wilderness and its importance should be furthered as a matter of national policy in promotion of the general welfare.

Finally, it must be emphasized most strongly that a national policy for wilderness preservation should be an aspect of a national program for the conservation of all natural resources, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, an aspect of a broad national policy of land administration in the interest of outdoor recreation. In fact, it is the faith of the Wilderness Society that the establishment of a sound wilderness preservation policy will inevitably lead to, if not accompany, a more secure conservation of all natural resources and a more effective recognition of the social, national importance of outdoor recreation.

Most narrowly viewed and concisely stated, a national wilderness policy should be to insure the maintenance in its wilderness condition of the maximum area of wilderness consistent with other needs of the public, and to see that no type of the primeval still in existence is annihilated. Most broadly viewed, a national wilderness policy should be to secure for all citizens the benefits of the wilderness, persisting in the midst of our industrialized, urbanized, mechanical way of living as an essential in the survival of our civilized culture—in the sense in which Thoreau declared: "In wildness is the preservation of the world." It is with these immediate, more specific objectives and also with these broad and ultimate purposes that the Wilderness Society has concerned itself with the preparation of this report which is hereby——

Respectfully submitted.

HOWARD ZAHNISER,
Executive secretary and editor.

Mr. ZAHNISER. On May 24, 1955, before a meeting of the national citizens planning conference on parks and open spaces, I spoke on the need for wilderness areas. In a somewhat edited form this paper appears in the winter-spring 1956–57 issue of the Living Wilderness, and I should like to suggest that in that form it be included here.

Mr. STONG. It will be included.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[From the Living Wilderness, Winter-Spring 1956-57]

THE NEED FOR WILDERNESS AREAS

(By Howard Zahniser)

Provocatively stimulating as described in Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's article on page 15 of this issue of the Living Wilderness this paper by The Wilderness Society's executive secretary and editor introduced a chain of circumstances that, following years of preparatory study and discussion, led finally to introduction of the wilderness bill by Senator Humphrey and others. The paper itself was a synthesis of discussions on many previous occasions, including notably the series of biennial wilderness conferences sponsored by the Sierra Club and the annual meetings of the council of the Wilderness Society. As explained in introductory apologies here omitted, this paper delivered on May 24, 1955, at the national citizens planning conference on parks and open spaces held in Washington, D. C., by the American Planning and Civic Association was concerned with—not the concrete experience * * * but rather the abstract one that relates to our concepts of wilderness and our policies of reservations. It was described at the time as an attempt to probe deeper into our fundamentals, to see if there really is a need that if unsatisfied would lead to deprivations or sacrifices that would be profoundly tragic or even destructive of our way of living. As a sort of relief to the paper's abstractions, its concluding discussion of a preservation program with proposals for congressional legislation was copied from a 1951 address at the Sierra Club's second biennial wilderness conference. Thus with serendipity Senator Humphrey's interest in this discussion of "The Need for Wilderness Areas" led to the drafting of the wilderness bill under the auspices of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources and the Council of Conservationists and with the cooperation of the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club, the National Wildlife Federation, Trustees for Conservation, National Parks Association, Wildlife Management Institute, and others.

In addition to our needs for urban and suburban parks and open spaces, in addition to the need for a countryside of rural loveliness, a landscape of beauty for our living, and in addition to the needs for parkways and parks and well-developed areas for all kinds of outdoor recreation, there is in our planning a need also to secure the preservation of some areas that are so managed as to be left unmanaged areas that are undeveloped by man's mechanical tools and unmodified by his civilization.

These are the areas of wilderness that still live on in our national parks, national forests, State parks and forests, and indeed in various other categories of land likewise.

These are the areas with values that are in jeopardy not only from exploitation for commodity purposes and from appropriation for engineering uses. Their peculiar values are also in danger from development for recreation, even from efforts to protect and manage them as wilderness.

There is a great need that resides in the desires of so many people for wilderness experiences, a need that should certainly be met. There is likewise a practical need for realizing our ideal of preserving for everyone the privilege of choosing to enjoy the wilderness if he or she so wishes.

There is another practical or immediate need in our compulsion to save from destruction whatever is best. Some of our strongest determination to preserve wilderness arises from this motive.

Robert Marshall, whose memory I honor with admiration and deep gratitude, conveys such an appreciation of the wilderness as a superlative in a short essay found among his papers by his brother, George Marshall, and published posthumously as the editorial in the summer 1954 issue of the Living Wilderness. Essaying a demonstration of "certain distinctive values" that come to a person with a return for a time to the primitive life of the wilderness, he places before us authoritatively the benefits of wilderness and suggests the need for preserving it as something superlative. Note the variety of superlatives in these paragraphs—"best," "ideal," "perfect," "unique," "most perfect." He says:

"The wilderness furnishes the best environment which remains in the country for physical adventure. It is difficult to overestimate the importance adventure assumes in the longings of innumerable vigorous people. Lack of opportunity to satisfy such longings undoubtedly is responsible for much unhappiness, for a considerable portion of the crime which is so often committeed as a means of self-expression, and, if we are to believe William James and Bertrand Russell, even for war.

"A wilderness journey provides the ideal conditions for developing physical hardiness. In the wilderness a person cannot buy transportation or services. He must provide them for himself. He cannot find machinery to relieve him of the need for expending his own strength and energy. If he gets into trouble he must get himself out of it or take the consequences.

"The wilderness also furnishes the perfect environment for peacefulness and relaxation. This is of no consequence in an environment which has been devel-

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oping through an unbroken chain of natural sequences for millions of years. In the true wilderness there are no jarring notes, no discordant clashes with one's instinctive sense of what is fitting and proper.

"From an esthetic standpoint the wilderness is unique because in it alone immensity is a major quality of the beauty which one enjoys. The values which one gets in a view from some lofty mountain top cannot be comprehended at all if one tries to reduce them to color or form or pattern.

"All these esthetic values are present, but they are blended with the dominant value of being a part of an immensity so great that the human being who looks upon it vanishes into utter insignificance.

"The wilderness is also unique esthetically in that it stimulates not just the sense of sight, as does art, or the sense of sound, as does music, but all of the senses which man has. The traveler wandering at evening to the shore of some wilderness lakelet senses through his sight the pink sunset sky and the delightful pattern which the deep bay makes among the spruce trees which rise from its shores; senses through his hearing the lapping of the water against the rocky shore and the evening song of the thrush; senses through his smell the scent of balsam and the marsh flowers at the water's edge; senses through his touch the gentle wind which blows on his forehead and the softness of the sphagnum beneath his feet. The wilderness is all of these senses harmonized with immensity into a form of beauty which to many human beings is the most perfect experience of the earth."

Who that can see clearly these superlative values of the wilderness through the perceptions and interpretations of Robert Marshall can fail to sense a need for preserving wilderness areas?

Who in a democratic government that seeks to serve the public interest even for the sake of minorities would wish to lose an opportunity to realize a policy for wilderness preservation?

Who that looks on into the future with a concern for such values would not wish to insure for posterity the freedom to choose the privilege of knowing the unspoiled wilderness?

But are these superlative values essential?

Is the exquisite also a requisite?

I think it is.

I believe that at least in the present phase of our civilization we have a profound, a fundamental need for areas of wilderness—a need that is not only recreational and spiritual, but also educational and scientific, and withal essential to a true understanding of ourselves, our culture, our own natures, and our place in all nature.

This need is for areas of the earth within which we stand without our mechanisms that make us immediate masters over our environment—areas of wild nature in which we sense ourselves to be, what in fact I believe we are, dependent members of an interdependent community of living creatures that together derive their existence from the sun.

By very definition this wilderness is a need. The idea of wilderness as an area without man's influence is man's own concept. Its values are human values. Its preservation is a purpose that arises out of man's own sense of his fundamental needs.

Wilderness to most of us is vacation country, thought about for the most part in connection with occasional good-time escapes from a civilized life which itself somehow or other seems to be reality. It is usually only after reflection that one perceives the true reality in the wilderness.

It is, of course, not surprising that recreational values are generally understood as representing the dominant importance of wilderness in our modern civilization. Only in a society that produces the erosion of human beings, the wearing away of soul and body and spirit that is so familiar in our modern circumstances, does the concept of recreation appear.

The wilderness represents the antithesis of all that produces these conditions which recreation remedies. It not only provides the kind of recreation most needed by the increasingly large number who seek wilderness, but it also affords the background for the kind of outdoor recreation for which conveniences and accommodations are provided—the frontier where those who do not wish to experience the rigors of wilderness living and travel may still know in some degree the tonic benefits of its wildness.

Recreational values of the wilderness are thus not only intrinsic but also pervasive throughout the outdoor recreation program of a society with the tastes

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and resources of the United States. Wilderness preservation is a part therefore of a comprehensive recreational program—a very important part of such a program's provision for outdoor recreation—and it is the ultimate resource for that phase of outdoor recreation that ministers to the individual as such.

But wilderness vacations have those overtones that make them more than narrowly recreational. They are more likely to be joyous than merry, more refreshing than exciting, more engrossing than diverting. Their rewards are satisfactions. There is likely to be a seriousness about wilderness recreation and an earnestness among those who seek it. So philosophers of education who describe their goals in such terms as life adjustment and personality development may find in the wilderness a most valuable resource, and recreational values in such a context become profoundly educational.

Deeper and broader than the recreational value of wilderness, although indeed encompassing it, is the importance that relates it to our essential being, indicating that the understandings which come in its surroundings are those of true reality. Our lives seem so derivative from the wilderness, we ourselves seem so dependent on a renewal of our inspiration from these wild sources, that I wonder sometimes if we could long survive a final destruction of all wilderness. Are we not truly and in reality human, essentially, as spiritual creatures nurtured and sustained—directly or indirectly—by a wildness that must always be renewed from a living wilderness?

Is it not with some such understanding as this that we realize the essential importance of our wilderness areas?

Is it not thus that we can explain the fact that a wilderness vacation is remembered as more than sport, more than fun, more than simple recreation?

Are not these the understandings which give such profound significance to the longer sojourns that a civilized man or woman occasionally spends in a return to the wilderness—gaining experiences that so often prove interesting to so many of us?

It is characteristic of wilderness to impress its visitors with their relationship to other forms of life, and to afford those who linger an intimation of the interdependence of all life. In the wilderness it is thus possible to sense most keenly our human membership in the whole community of life on the earth. And in this possibility is perhaps one explanation for our modern deep-seated need for wilderness.

Because we are so well able to do things, we forget that we can do them only because something else is done. We forget that we can continue only so long as other men, other animals, and other forms of life also keep on doing things. We forget that the real source of all our life is not in ourselves, not even in the earth itself, but more than 90 million miles away, in the sun. And not one of us is able alone to live on this great source. We live only as members of a community.

If for a time some of us might seem to do well at the tragic expense of other life in this community, we can be sure that it would likewise be at the expense of our children, our grandchildren, and our great-grandchildren through the generations that might live. For we know that we can live on in our descendants only if our earth community lives on with them. We not only exist but we are immortal on the earth only as members of a great community.

These are facts and understandings that have been known to us only a comparatively short time—through the observations and studies made by our scientists—and not all of us have appreciated them rightly. It is not long since man thought of himself as the center of the universe, though even of the sun—the very source of all our life—as a light by day revolving about the earth. As our new understand'ng has come—through science—science also has brought us many other new and wonderful discoveries, and the new knowledge of what we are has been overlooked by many of us in our eagerness for the new knowledge of what we can do. We have become as proud over what we can do as ever our ancestors could have been over themselves as the center of the universe.

We deeply need the humility to know ourselves as the dependent members of a great community of life, and this can indeed be one of the spiritual benefits of a wilderness experience. Without the gadgets, the inventions, the contrivances whereby men have seemed to establish among themselves an independence of nature, without these distractions, to know the wilderness is to know a profound humility, to recognize ones' littleness, to sense dependence and interdependence, indebtedness, and responsibility.

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Perhaps, indeed, this is the distinctive ministration of wilderness to modern man, the characteristic effect of an area which we most deeply need to provide for in our preservation programs.

Thus, the most profound of all wilderness values in our modern world is an educational value.

As the so-called conquest of nature has progressed, men and women—separated by civilization from the life community of their origin—have become less and less aware of their dependence on other forms of life and more and more misled into a sense of self-sufficiency and into a disregard of their interdependence with the other forms of life with which they—together—derive their existence from the solar center of the universe.

In the areas of wilderness that are still relatively unmodified by man it is, however, possible for a human being, adult or child, to sense and see his own humble, dependent relationship to all of life.

In these areas, thus, are the opportunities for so important, so neglected a part of our education—the gaining of the true understanding of our past, ourselves, and our world which will enable us to enjoy the conveniences and liberties of our urbanized, industrialized, mechanized civilization and yet not sacrifice an awareness of our human existence as spiritual creatures nurtured and sustained by and from the great community of life that comprises the wilderness of the universe of which we ourselves are a part.

Paradoxically, the wilderness which thus teaches modern man his dependence on the whole community of life can also teach him a needed personal independence—an ability to care for himself, to carry his own burdens, to provide his own fuel, prepare his own food, furnish his own shelter, make his own bed, and—perhaps most remarkable of all—transport himself by walking.

In these lessons are further the lessons of history—a stimulus to patriotism of the noblest order—for in the wilderness the land still lives as it was before the pioneers fashioned in and from it the civilization we know and enjoy.

With these lessons come also the understanding that physical, psychic, and spiritual human needs are such that wilderness recreation should always be available and, in fact, should be enjoyed to a much greater extent than at present.

Thus recreational and educational values of the wilderness merge.

In a culture like that which we call modern we can be sure that it will be increasingly important for students, of the present and of future generations, to know what the wilderness has to teach—through their own experiences; through educators who are informed and corrected by wilderness experiences; through photographs, paintings, writings, and other educational and informational materials with a validity insured by a still-living wilderness.

So long as wilderness exists in reality, providing actual resorts for human beings, giving a sense of actuality to pictorial and literary representations of the wilderness, and affording the scenes for further research, so long will the safeguards against an urban, industrial, mechanized ignorance of the facts of human life be effective.

There are monumental or historical values of the wilderness also, values which are closely related both to educational and recreational values. The wilderness I once described as "a piece of the long ago that we still have with us." It is highly prized by many people as such. It perpetuates on our continent not only the scene of the pioneering activities of the first white men in this hemisphere but also a still more ancient scene. The areas preserved are monuments to the pioneers' conquests, but they also are samples of the natural world without the influence of modern man. They have deep values in the continuing opportunity they afford to relive the lives of ancestors and thus, with also the anticipation of posterity's similar interest, to participate in the immortality of the generations.

The wilderness has profoundly important scientific values. These are similar to those of historical importance in depending on the preservation of areas as they existed, and exist, without the influence of modern man. These values too have an educational aspect, but their more precisely scientific importance is in relation to research. Their research uses are dual: They afford the scenes for fundamental investigations of the natural world of living creatures unmodified by man; they afford also check areas where none of the factors being compared in a particular study (land-use research, for example) have been operative.

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The scientific values pertain not only to research and original investigation but also to the study and observation that are essentially educational in their purpose. Wilderness areas, including the smaller natural areas and also the extensive wild regions, should accordingly be preserved for the sake of the field study that they make possible for students in each generation. They serve this purpose for the summer camps of youth organizations, for field stations of college summer-school classes, and also for the more advanced excursions of graduate students.

And Aldo Leopold exclaimed: As a matter of fact, there is no higher or more exciting sport than that of ecological observation.

So we have various needs for wilderness that are all derived from a need to maintain an awareness of our human relationships to all life, the need to guard ourselves against a false sense of our own sufficiency. We need to draw ourseles constantly toward the center of things and not allow our eccentricities to carry us off on a tangent, toward increasing unhappiness.

We are a part of the wildness of the universe. That is our nature. Our noblest, happiest character develops with the influence of wildness. Away from it we degenerate into the squalor of slums or the frustration of clinical couches. With the wilderness we are at home.

Some of us think we see this so clearly that for ourselves, for our children, our continuing posterity, and our fellow men we covet with a consuming intensity the fullness of the human development that keeps its contact with wildness. Out of the wilderness, we realize, has come the substance of our culture, and with a living wilderness—it is our faith—we shall have also a vibrant vital culture—an enduring civilization of healthful, happy people who, like Antaeus, perpetually renew themselves in contact with the earth.

This is not a disparagement of our civilization—no disparagement at all—but rather an admiration of it to the point of perpetuating it. We like the beef from the cattle grazed on the public domain. We relish the vegetables from the lands irrigated by virtue of the Bureau of Reclamation. We carry in our packs aluminum manufactured with the help of hydroelectric power from great reservoirs. We motor happily on paved highways to the approaches of our wilderness. We journey in streamlined trains and in transcontinental airplanes to conferences on wilderness preservation. We nourish and refresh our minds from books manufactured out of the pulp of our forests. We enjoy the convenience and comfort of our way of living—urban, village, and rural. And we want this civilization to endure and to be enjoyed on and on by healthful, happy citizens.

It is this civilization, this culture, this way of living that will be sacrificed if our wilderness is lost. What sacrifice!

Our only hope to avert this loss is in our deliberate effort to preserve the wilderness we have . The ramifications of our developing mechanical enterprises are such that only those areas which are set aside for preservation will persist as wilderness.

It behooves us then to do two things: First we must see that an adequate system of wilderness areas is designated for preservation, and then we must allow nothing to alter the wilderness character of the preserves.

We have made an excellent start on such a program. Our obligation now—to those who have been our pioneers and to those of the future, as well as to our own generation—is to see that this program is not undone but perfected.

In our marvelous national park system: in the wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas of our national forests; on extensive tracts of Indian reservations; in certain units of the national wildlife refuge system, and in State parks, and some others too, we have areas that have either been set aside as wilderness or that are being protected in a way that safeguards wilderness.

The process of designation of areas of wilderness for preservation, however, is not complete as yet. There are still some to be added—especially grassland, seashore, and desert. There is no doubt, so far as I know, about the correctness of the designation of any of the areas now being preserved. There are, I understand, some boundary adjustments that need to be made for certain areas that were established without opportunity for adequate care as to exact boundaries. There are zoning questions in some of our parks. There are some additions that can be made to established areas. There are private holdings within these public areas that should be acquired.

These aspects of the perfection of the designations should be cared for in a persisting program. And the other potential units in this system of wilderness should be sought out as soon a possible.

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For these areas of wilderness we should obtain the maximum possible degree of security. We need congressional action, to provide for their preservation as wilderness, and we should move forward as steadily as we can toward this action.

(Here followed the outline of a proposed bill, which, with the modifications of many suggestions and criticisms, has been realized in the wilderness bill.)

Conservation is both practical and idealistic, as is well demonstrated in our concern with wilderness preservation.

It is good and sound to realize that in preserving areas of wilderness we are recognizing our own true human interest. It seems good, ethical, to consider ourselves as members of a community of life that embraces the earth—and to see our own welfare as arising from the prosperity of the community.

Yet there may be danger in too conscious, too deliberate, too intent an effort to see all in terms of our own welfare. Jesus suggested that self-seeking is not the way to self-realization; not deliberately but through indirection human beings realize their best welfare, by losing sight of themselves.

It is a great satisfaction to be able to demonstrate to another that an unspoiled wilderness is important because it serves man's need for "escape," but going to the wilderness to escape from something is no certain way of actually being in the wilderness at all. The only way to escape from one's self in the wilderness is to lose one's self there. More realistically, the true wilderness experience is one, not of escaping, but of finding one's self by seeking the wilderness.

The sum of this moralizing may be in forsaking human arrogance and courting humility in a respect for the community and with regard for the environment.

The central human importance of such experience, I believe, constitutes profound evidence of need for wilderness areas.

An understanding of these fundamental needs, as well as the so-called more practical needs to meet recreational demands of people for wilderness experience—this understanding should inspire us anew to work for the perfection of a national program for wilderness preservation—a program to serve not only our own human needs but also those of the generations to follow.

Mr. ZAHNISER. On May 19, 1955, before the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives I presented a statement on "Protecting Our Wild Places at the End of the Road." I should like to suggest that this statement, which emphasizes the importance of timely planning for wilderness preservation in connection with other programs, be included here.

Mr. STONG. It will be included.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

PROTECTING OUR WILD PLACES AT THE END OF THE ROAD

A statement by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, a national conservation organization with headquarters at 2144 P Street NW., Washington 7, D. C., presented to the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives during the committee's consideration of a bill (H. R. 4260) to create a Federal highway corporation for financing the construction of a National System of Interstate Highways, May 19, 1955

The imagination of the American people has been stirred by the highway program that this committee has been considering, and I have indeed in many ways shared this enthusiasm. I spent my college summers, in the Allegheny River Valley of northwestern Pennsylvania, as an employee of the Pennsylvania State Highway Department, and I thus had opportunity to learn at first hand the challenge and satisfactions of highway construction. No one could be more appreciative than I for the great system of roads we enjoy in this country, and I count it a good fortune that I have been able to enjoy traveling on these roads in every State of the Union.

Yet it is my special purpose at this time, Mr. Chairman, to call attention to what is at the end of the road. I wish to emphasize the values of the areas of our land that are being deliberately preserved as roadless in accordance with well-developed, public policies, and finally, therefore, I wish to urge the safeguarding of this basic national policy in any legislation that is here developed.

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The Wilderness Society, by provision of its bylaws, is composed of individuals "who feel that the entire Nation and they themselves are losing something of value when a highway is built in a wilderness, * * * or when mechanical civilization encroaches in any way on the last remnants of wilderness left for themselves and their posterity." The society undertakes to serve and represent the public interest in the protection of the areas in our national parks, in our national forests, and elsewhere that have been set aside for protection from roads, from buildings, from all permanent habitation, for the preservation of their natural conditions, for the use and enjoyment of the people, now and in the long future—the people who will wish to continue to seek out the wilderness experiences which have always meant so much to Americans.

It is this interest and this undertaking of the Wilderness Society that make me welcome so eagerly the opportunity to testify before this committee.

The purposes of the Wilderness Society are summarized, along with the society's related purposes, its basic beliefs, and its program of activities, on the back page of the winter 1954-55 issue of the Living Wilderness a copy of which is herewith submitted for each member of the committee. I cite this particular, recent publication because it also reports, on page 49, a resolution of the governing council of the Wilderness Society, at its meeting in September 1954 near the Gila wilderness are in New Mexico, "to look into highway and other programs which might threaten roadless and other areas being specially protected."

In connection with this New Mexico meeting of the council, a meeting which it was my privilege to attend last September, there was dedicated a special memorial to the late Aldo Leopold—"forester and wildlife manager—outdoorsman—ecologist—philosopher and practical idealist—interpreter of nature—pioneer in wilderness preservation"—for his pioneer influence in developing our national policy for the preservation of a system of wilderness areas. It was our great privilege on that occasion to have the Honorable Clinton P. Anderson, United States Senator from New Mexico, deliver to us a special address paying tribute to Aldo Leopold and to his ideal of wilderness preservation. Referring to the Gila wilderness area as the type which Aldo Leopold liked and which he sought to preserve, Senator Anderson described this type as—"a wilderness not crossed and recrossed by oiled roads and excellent means of transportation, but a great tract that was almost pathless forest where a man traveled best if he traveled on foot or in the saddle."

Senator Anderson called Aldo Leopold "a dominant influence in the move not only to preserve the Gila wilderness but also wilderness areas throughout the country," and, speaking of Leopold, Senator Anderson testified:

"Thirty years ago he enlisted me in the cause of preservation of wilderness areas in general. I shall never forget how he poured out his heart on the subject of primitive tracts which seemed likely to be destroyed with the development of the auto, the truck, and the speedier methods of transportation."

Mr. Chairman, this public-interest program that started so long ago, this cause in which Senator Anderson testifies to enlistment 30 years ago, has resulted now in the designation of some 79 wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas in our national forests. It has enriched the values that are being realized in the preservation of our National Park System. It has included the designation of 12 roadless areas and 4 smaller wild areas by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on Indian lands. Some of the national wildlife refuges and many State areas (including the great New York State Forest Preserve in the Catskills and Adirondacks) include significant tracts of lands that are being preserved free from roads. Altogether there are 200 or more such specially protected areas of wilderness in the United States.

Protecting these primitive remnants of our past does not, as a matter of fact, involve any significant sacrifice. They total only about 1 percent of all our public lands. They are not needed for any purpose that would destroy them. All such purposes are well served on the areas not so protected. But these specially protected roadless lands do serve a great and increasingly important public purpose in their natural condition and they merit your consideration. I assure you they do!

A few years ago the Honorable Raymond H. Burke, a Member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, who was chairman of the Subcommittee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, in the 80th Congress, instigated a special inquiry regarding our national policy of wilderness preservation. In response to this inquiry the Legislative Reference Service conducted a study and prepared a 114-page report which was printed

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with the title "The Preservation of Wilderness Areas: An Analysis of Opinion on the Problem," by C. Frank Keyser, regional economist, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. In this study there are listed and briefly described some 204 areas, and the development of national public opinion with regard to wilderness preservation is well represented.

It is not my purpose to discuss this policy in any detail here, of course, but I did wish to indicate its scope and its definite form and something of the traditions it already has. Clearly it is a policy that can not be endangered without threatening a serious public loss, nor without a resulting protest from the public. No single one of these relatively few areas of still remaining wilderness in America could be violated without engendering a most earnest controversy. Thus it is my purpose, in the interest of all concerned, to urge this committee to add a consideration of this policy to the many aspects of the public interest that are here under study and to include in any basic authorization of a Federal highway program a provision for respecting the few areas that, as a matter of deliberate public policy, are being carefully kept roadless. And I am sure that there can thus be avoided many unnecessary controversies in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I well remember a bitter and frustrating controversy some 4 years ago that came all unexpectedly when sportsmen and other conservationists became suddenly aware that the New York State superhighway called the thruway had been so planned as to cross the Montezuma National Wildlife Refuge. This national refuge, a 9-square-mile area at the northern end of Cayuga Lake, 4 miles northeast of Seneca Falls, N. Y., when thus in jeopardy, proved to be an area of concern not only in New York State and in Washington, D. C., but nationally. The ensuing controversy was time consuming and embarrassing to the State Department of Public Works, yet thruway plans had gone so far that a rerouting could not be agreed upon. Superintendent Bertram D. Tallamy of the state agency, meeting with President Donald M. Tobey of the New York State Conservation Council and H. A. Sinclair, New York president of the Isaak Walton League of America, as reported on page 34 of the Living Wilderness for autumn 1951, did give assurances that the conservation aspects of future plans of his department will be given special consideration and discussed in advance with representatives of conservation groups." It was most unfortunate that such a simple lesson should have to be learned at the expense of bitter controversy.

Mr. Chairman, this is but one example out of many that might be cited indicating that controversies might well be avoided if the issues and policies involved could be understood in advance and considered during planning stages. In too many instances our national planning has been from viewpoints that do not allow vision for the total public interest but rather obscure from view some of our very important national goals. Then construction programs in their later phases are beset with controversies. It is my suggestion that we here try to avoid such difficulties in the future with which we are concerned.

Based on studies of possible alternatives in connection with a number of controversies, my convictions are strong indeed that our highway engineers can plan routes which can avoid these areas of special protection and can do it without significant trouble and expense—if such a course of action is made a part of our specifications for the program.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I should like to suggest that, if H. R. 4200 be considered the basis for the committee's action, there be added at the bottom of page 2, following line 23, at the end of section 2, the following:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to respect the roadless character of duly designated public areas that are being preserved in a primeval, primitive, or natural condition as a matter of public policy, and it is hereby provided that no highways shall be constructed or planned under this authorization, in or across any national park or national monument, any national wildlife refuge, or any duly designated wilderness, wild, primitive, or roadless area within the national forests except as may be provided further by specific authorization by Congress."

Some such provision, I should like to urge, should be included in any broad authorization for a national highway program, for of course any such comprehensive nationwide program must inevitably have possible effects on another public program for preserving areas roadless.

With further regard to H. R. 4200, if it should be the basis for committee action, I should also like to suggest that there be added at the end of line 4, on page 25 at the end of paragraph (b) of section 208 in title II the following:

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"Provided that no such rights-of-way or control of access shall be granted in or across any national park or national monument, any national wildlife refuge, or any duly designated wilderness, wild, primitive, or roadless area in the national forests except as may be specifically authorized by Congress."

Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the other members of this committee very much for your consideration of these matters and for your kindness in inviting this testimony. In conclusion I wish to assure you that we of The Wilderness Society and our cooperators in the many other conservation organizations and agencies are in no sense in opposition to the development of adequate roads in the United States. Nor, indeed, are we necessarily opposed in general to any of the land uses or developments from which we seek to protect the areas of wilderness that are being preserved. It is rather that within the areas thus zoned for preservation we seek such protection, knowing that elsewhere the opportunities are adequate and varied.

I realize that on such occasions as this those who are deeply concerned with our remaining areas of wilderness, those who carry the responsibility for representing the public interest in the preservation of wilderness, are often misunderstood as being of a single purpose and without regard for other public needs. I wish to assure you to the contrary and to point out that wilderness preservation within the whole broad scope of our public land-use program, is by no means inconsistent with the enterprises with which it so often comes in conflict on specific areas.

Wilderness appreciation is, in other words, not inconsistent with our culture but rather is an aspect of it.

In insisting that wilderness preservation be part of our public policy we are not disparaging our civilization but rather admiring it to the point of perpetuating it. We like the beef from the cattle grazed on the public domain. We relish the fruits and vegetables from lands irrigated by virtue of the Bureau of Reclamation. We carry in our packs aluminum manufactured with the help of hydroelectric power from great reservoirs. We motor happily on paved highways to the approaches of our wilderness. We journey in streamliner trains and in transcontinental airplanes to the conferences where we discuss wilderness preservation. We nourish and refresh our minds from books manufactured out of the pulp of our forests. We enjoy the convenience and comfort of our way of living—urban, village, and rural. It is because we want this civilization to endure and to be enjoyed on and on by healthful happy citizens that we want to see wilderness preservation included in our land-use programs.

Thank you, very much.

Mr. ZAHNISER. Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, the issue of the Living Wilderness to which Dr. Murie referred earlier is a separate issue published some years ago. It is a shorter issue than this recent one and was devoted entirely to lectures that he gave. We published it in cooperation with the university that requested the study. So, that entire issue, as he submitted it, I think would be appropriate in connection with his statement. And the article to which Senator Humphrey was referring this morning was in another issue.

Mr. STRONG. I will indicate to the committee that the whole issue containing Dr. Murie's lectures is offered for the record. I am not certain that the committee will decide to include it, but I will indicate to them that that is the desire.

Mr. ZAHNISER. On February 1, 1956, in connection with the resolution of the controversy over the proposed Echo Park Dam and in response to a letter from Representatives Wayne N. Aspinall and William A. Dawson, I wrote a letter stating the purposes and cooperative attitude of the Wilderness Society, which I should like to have appear at this point, along with the editorial on this same matter which I wrote for the winter-spring 1955–56 issue of the Living Wilderness.

Mr. STRONG. They will be included in the record.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

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THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1956.

Hon. WILLIAM A. DAWSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DAWSON: I am glad to reply in behalf of the Wilderness Society to the January 26 letter in which you and Representative Wayne N. Aspinall report both the elimination of the proposed Echo Park Dam from the Colorado River project and the agreement to include in the bill authorizing this project the two amendments (1) providing protection for the Rainbow Bridge National Monument and (2) declaring "it is the intention of Congress that no dam or reservoir constructed under the authorization of this act shall be within any national park or monument."

You conclude your letter by asking: "Now that we have agreed upon these amendments protecting the national park and monument areas, may we have assurance to pass on to others that any opposition that you or your organization has heretofore had will now be withdrawn?"

I am deeply pleased to be able to reply: You most certainly do have this assurance.

You may recall that when I responded to the invitation of the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and submitted, on March 28, 1955, the statement that appears on pages 1086 to 1098 of the hearings * * * on the Colorado River storage project * * * I pointed out at the beginning:

"* * * I do not wish to be considered an opponent of the upper Colorado River storage project except as it does threaten areas dedicated for preservation. It is rather my purpose to urge that any bill reported out by this subcommittee be one from which all such threats have been carefully excluded and in which provision is made for the protection of national parks and monuments. It is my belief that such a bill can be prepared that will adequately meet the needs for a sound upper Colorado River storage project, and after 5 years of deep concern with the problems we are here discussing I can assure you that I should welcome such a bill with great eagerness."

Later in the course of the statement I said with further emphasis:

"I do wish, Mr. Chairman, to be understood as being interested in the welfare and prosperity of this great upper Colorado region of our country and its people. Just as I have come to value the privilege of visiting this region and breathing a little deeper in its outdoors, so also I have valued the privilege of knowing the people who live there. I value highly their hospitality and friendship. I share their aspirations, and wish accordingly to be understood as approaching this controversy with hope and confidence that it will be so resolved as not only to preserve the areas which have been set aside for preservation but also to provide for the wise development of the region."

And, again, stressing the common interest of those in the Colorado region and those of us in other regions of the United States, I said: "I recognize that our national welfare depends on the welfare of this region, and I feel that my own personal welfare is related to the personal welfare of my fellow citizens in Utah and Colorado. I am interested in the national importance of the upper Colorado River program for the benefit of this region and its people. At the same time I would urge all of them to keep faith with all of us throughout the Nation, and with those of future generations, by cherishing these scenic wild canyons and helping to preserve them unimpaired."

In concluding this statement in behalf of the Wilderness Society, I said:

"I would, therefore, recommend, Mr. Chairman:

"(1) That the Echo Park Dam be deleted from any of the bills now under consideration which the subcommittee may consider for approval and that the Echo Park Dam be omitted from any authorization recommended for approval;

"(2) That any bill recommended for passage by Congress include a provision that the Glen Canyon project be so constructed that it shall not impair the Rainbow Bridge National Monument, a protection that we are assured by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Department of the Interior can be provided, but one that should be specified by Congress as a requirement; and

"(3) That any bill authorizing an upper Colorado River project should include a provision that no project constructed under the authorization of this act shall be built within, or impair any of the natural features within, any areas within the national park system.

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"Thus, Mr. Chairman, not only does it seem possible to see authorized a sound project for the development and conservation of the water resources of the upper Colorado River region, but also, by reaffirming here in Congress the sanctity of the areas that the Nation has dedicated for preservation, we can resolve this long controversy in such a manner as to make more secure than ever our great American policy for preserving some areas of our land forever wild and unspoiled in their natural beauty and grandeur.

"It will be an achievement that I am sure will bring us the gratitude of American citizens during a long, long future, an accomplishment that all of us, I am sure, will be satisfied to share. As I said before, we cannot avoid setting precedents. We can only do our best to see that the precedents which we do set are sound."

This statement, I am glad to reassure you now, was presented in all earnestness and sincerity. And I am glad to say further that the way in which the proponents of the Colorado project have agreed to amend the bill that will authorize the project has fully met our recommendations and has indeed merited our commendations, and we are accordingly deeply pleased to give you these assurances.

I should like also to express to you personally, Mr. Dawson, a special appreciation for the contribution that you have made in helping to resolve the controversy that arose over the proposed Echo Park Dam. It is often much easier to start and carry on a controversy than it is to settle one, and it has seemed to me that you have shown a special magnanimity in helping to resolve this one. Without your candor and confidence and your good will in seeking an agreement we might still be contending. As it is, I believe we have arrived at a significant understanding in the public interest and that we can now go forward the more confidently with resource-development projects that will serve the general welfare not only in themselves but as part of the overall land and water conservation program which likewise includes the preservation of areas of wilderness and wildness. No region can better reveal the benefits of such a policy to its own citizens and to all of us throughout the Nation than can the Colorado region with its wealth of resources and its marvelous areas of wild beauty and splendor, and I look forward to seeing these expectations realized to our mutual satisfaction.

It has been both pleasant and reassuring to have been associated with you in dealing with these problems and prospects, and I thank you very much for the personal kindness you have shown me.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD ZAHNISER,
Executive Secretary and Editor.

LAST PAGE OF SIMILAR LETTER TO HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

FEBRUARY 1, 1956.

Hon. WAYNE N. ASPINALL:

"Thus, Mr. Chairman, not only does it seem possible to see authorized a sound project for the development and conservation of the water resources of the upper Colorado River region, but also, by reaffirming here in Congress the sanctity of the areas that the Nation has dedicated for preservation, we can resolve this long controversy in such a manner as to make more secure than ever our great American policy for preserving some areas of our land forever wild and unspoiled in their natural beauty and grandeur.

"It will be an achievement that I am sure will bring us the gratitude of American citizens during a long, long future, an accomplishment that all of us, I am sure, will be satisfied to share. As I said before, we cannot avoid setting precedents. We can only do our best to see that the precedents which we do set are sound."

This statement, I am glad to reassure you now, was presented in all earnestness and sincerity. And I am glad to say further that the way in which the proponents of the Colorado project have agreed to amend the bill that will authorize the project has fully met our recommendations and has indeed merited our commendations, and we are accordingly deeply pleased to give you these assurances.

And to you, Mr. Aspinall, we should like to express a special appreciation for the confidence that you have shown toward us and for the considerate and statesmanlike way in which you have dealt with our representation. As chairman of the subcommittee handling this measure, as well as a representative of an

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important district in the heart of the Colorado region, you have been in a most favorable position for seeing both the national and the regional interests involved, and as one who knows so well our economic needs and also the values of the scenic outdoors you have likewise been able to see interests that were once apparently in conflict but have been found to be compatible and, indeed, to be parts of our broad interest in the general welfare. Your influence in the settlement of the controversy over the proposed Echo Park Dam we recognize as decisive, and we appreciate the role that you have played.

I should like also to express a personal appreciation for the gracious and genial way in which you have welcomed me in your office and for the kindliness and respect that you have shown me. I hold you in high regard and look forward to further associations not only here in Washington but especially in your own Colorado region which I greatly admire.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD ZAHNISER,
Executive Secretary and Editor.

[From the Living Wilderness, Winter-Spring 1955–56]

WHAT HAVE WE WON?

"We have arrived at a significant understanding in the public interest and can now go forward the more confidently with resource-development projects that will serve the general welfare not only in themselves but as part of an overall land and water program which likewise includes the preservation of areas of wilderness and wildness." So we wrote on February 1, 1956, to a former opponent when we of the Wilderness Society ended our opposition to the Colorado River storage project. (See p. 35 in the news item, "Echo Park Controversy Resolved," beginning on p. 23 of this magazine.) So we quote ourselves on the front cover of this magazine. And so we emphasize editorially on this page. For this "significant understanding," if rightfully appreciated and carefully developed and deepened in a continuing spirit of good will, can prove to be the most important part of the Echo Park victory.

In the beginning, our fight was simply against including in the proposed Colorado River project a dam that would be constructed in the Dinosaur National Monument. Later, as we noted in this editorial space in our autumn 1954 magazine, the controversy became "essentially a great debate over our national policy of park preservation."

This fight and this debate are now over. No dam for construction in the Dinosaur National Monument has been included in the Colorado project, and instead our one-time opponents have declared in the project's authorization act: "It is the intention of Congress that no dam or reservoir constructed under the authorization of this act shall be within any national park or monument."

Beyond this, we have also achieved a great opportunity in the understandings that we have reached. Defeating the Echo Park Dam and having a protective declaration included in this act of Congress are, of course, precedents of great value, making firmer than ever our park-preservation policies and preparing the way for the similar establishment of national wilderness preservation policies. But it is the spirit of mutual understanding and good will that can give immediate and continuing force and promise to these precedents. Our victory is a victory also for our one-time opponents. They have achieved the authorization of a great reclamation and power project. They, and we with them, have learned how we can plan for the development of our commodity resources and at the same time provide for the preservation of a wilderness resource.

Some of those who are concerned with the Colorado River development will continue to advocate the Echo Park Dam. There may be recurring controversy, and there will surely be a need for continuing vigilance in the public interest. But it will be a national misfortune if the great possibilities of the resolution of this Echo Park controversy cannot be further realized.

Here, in brief, is the situation: Those who are concerned with development projects and those responsible for preservation programs, after half a decade of debate, have (1) agreed on a resource-development project that (2) is part of an overall program which (3) includes also the preservation of wilderness. In the public interest we should realize the opportunity to go forward confidently in the spirit of this understanding. Nothing that we have won is greater than this opportunity.

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Mr. ZAHNISER. Those letters stress the achievement of conservationists of all kinds in resolving a controversy so that the construction project that was proposed was authorized, but also the parks that were cherished for preservation were respected in connection with it. I mean not only conservationists concerned with the preservation of parks, but conservationists concerned with the best exploitation of water resources. And I think that achievement in understanding is really a basis for the progress that we have been able to make in having this legislation brought to this forum and so favorably considered by this committee.

I have in two papers discussed the wilderness bill in detail, in greater detail than the present occasion warrants, and I should like to have these extensions, as it were, of my present remarks entered in the record at this point.

The first of these, entitled "The Wilderness Bill and Foresters," I presented at a meeting of the Society of American Foresters on March 14, 1957, as vice chairman of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources. The other is an article which I prepared as executive secretary of the Wilderness Society for the April–June 1957, issue of National Parks magazine entitled "The Wilderness Bill and National Parks."

I think both of those articles would be of value to the committee, and I should like to have them incorporated in the record.

Mr. STONG. They will be included in the record.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

THE WILDERNESS BILL AND FORESTERS

Remarks by Howard Zahniser, vice chairman of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, while participating in behalf of the committee in a debate or discussion before the Washington, D. C., chapter of the Society of American Foresters, March 14, 1957, on the question, "What Should Be Our Policy Toward Wilderness Areas?"

Members and guests of the Society of American Foresters: When the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources responded to the invitation to participate in this discussion and its executive committee asked me to come, I was eager to accept. Although I was then aware of an obligation to be at a wilderness conference in San Francisco tomorrow morning and to conduct an all-day session of that conference Saturday, I was still glad for the opportunity to be here tonight. That was because I consider the opinion of this group of very great importance, and because I wanted to hear and see you discuss the wilderness bill.

It has long been my opinion, and one that I have frequently expressed, that wilderness preservation policies in this country will not be firmly established and secure until those who might wish to make conflicting use of our wilderness areas have joined in developing such policies and, having done so, are satisfied to accept them.

That includes foresters. It most emphatically includes foresters. I can think of no group of people who can be so personally interested in the preservation of primeval forests as are foresters. I can think of no man so deeply concerned as a forester is with having examples of the primeval still living for his children, and theirs, and theirs, on and on, to see and know. Our modern, our current, movement for wilderness preservation was led by foresters, and to a great extent the success of our wilderness preservation efforts now will be determined by foresters.

So, of course, in our deep concern with the development of sound and enduring wilderness preservation policies we are eager to have the understanding and support of foresters and, of greater importance right now, to have their thoughtful criticism and counsel, their—your—participation in perfecting a preservation program and in seeing it made effective.

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NO QUARREL IS NECESSARY

I did not realize, when I first thought carefully about this occasion, that it would take me so long to get to the beginning of my remarks. For I thought I would start right out by saying that I do not come here tonight to quarrel with anyone but rather to try to demonstrate that no quarrel is necessary.

Those whom I represent here tonight, and I myself, have had one central idea in trying to develop the concept that is expressed in the wilderness bill. That is the idea that it is possible to fit wilderness preservation into a variety of other land-use programs that are already in existence and to do this in such a way as not to interfere seriously with any other program.

If we have succeeded in this I am confident that there is no quarrel necessary. If we have not yet succeeded in this effort, as it is at present represented by the wilderness bill, we should work further to perfect the bill, and you foresters can certainly help us.

If perchance we have had success in incorporating this concept in the proposed legislation, and yet have not succeeded in making our purpose clear, perhaps our meeting tonight can help clarify our purposes.

In any case, the discussion that you will carry on is of great importance to me, and I do not wish to postpone it too long by talking too much myself.

OUR BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

I am prepared to discuss in detail our need for wilderness, but unless requested, or challenged, to do so, I shall not tonight enter into such a discussion. I shall assume that all who are here feel that wilderness areas are desirable, and shall content myself with the comment here that our wilderness need is not only a recreational need but also one that arises from various other values that the primeval also has for us.

The assumption that we here agree on the desirability of wilderness is consistent, however, with a recognition that our problem in agreement is one that has to do with the means we can use for seeing that we do have wilderness.

To insure something like a congress of minds in discussing this proposal I should like to state the premises on which this proposed legislation has been based.

The first of these is the assumption that our civilization is destined to occupy for its purposes all of our land, that there are no areas which can be expected to be without the dominion and management of man.

A similar assumption is that no areas will persist as wilderness except as they are deliberately so preserved. Except as we manage them to be unmanaged they will certainly come under management.

Another of our assumptions, based on practical considerations and feasibility as well as on theories of human behavior, has been that in the United States our best opportunity for wilderness preservation on most of the areas where there is wilderness is through the Federal Government.

It is true that some of our States have great areas of wilderness, and with regard to them the citizens of those States have opportunities and responsibilities similar to those that they nationally share with the rest of us with regard to areas in Federal ownership.

A further assumption—a bold one—that some of us have is that our wilderness preservation purposes include perpetuity. We are trying to keep unchanged by man areas that have so grown through the eternity of the past, and, although we stand in awe at our own presumption, we dare to plan that they may so persist through the eternity yet ahead.

This means—among other things—that lands in private ownership are not areas available for such planning, in perpetuity.

All these assumptions lead to the following prime thesis: Hope in the United States for wilderness in the future depends on our success in developing a policy and program that provide for the preservation of wilderness as such, by our Federal Government, with a presumption of perpetuity.

NO LOCK WITHOUT A KEY

I must say "presumption of perpetuity" because our successors are, and must be, free to modify—or even abandon—any or all of our arrangements.

Every arrangement with an objective of permanence, if it is faithful to our human responsibilities, if it is made with an awareness of human realities, must include provisions for change.

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There is no freeze that cannot be thawed. There is no lock without a key, and if the key is not available the lock itself is in danger.

There can be no sound program to establish or to provide for the preservation of something that does not include provision for addition, modification, elimination. The best we can do is to perpetuate the opportunity for perpetuity.

EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES

With these basic assumptions we have approached wilderness preservation legislation.

Existing circumstances have also been duly regarded, of course. Although wilderness is our oldest resource, it is the latest to be recognized as in need of conservation, and the circumstances surrounding this recognition include the prior disposition of the lands that include our remaining resource of wilderness. Every place where we have wilderness we now have something else also. It is very late in our land-management history to be considering the preservation of the primeval.

At the same time we must also recognize that we do still have a remarkable heritage of wilderness available for our use and preservation. There is much more than any of us could traverse in a long lifetime of vacations. If our concern were only for our own experience we might spare ourselves the distress that comes when peaceable idealists find themselves compelled into controversy and confronted with the perplexities of practical arrangements.

My wife and I with our four children one morning last July drove from our home here at the Nation's capital and camped that night in New York State across the Sacandaga River from a wilderness that stretched 20 miles or so to the nearest road. Halfway across it we would have been about 10 miles away from a road in any direction. It was dusk when we ate the camp dinner that Alice set before us, but we had come from the Capital of the United States through the Nation's metropolis in 1 day's drive to the edge of wilderness. We do still have a remarkable heritage of wilderness.

This Adirondack wilderness where we camped that night was a State-owned area—1 of the dozen or so State areas of wilderness that include an aggregate of something like 3 million acres. The Federal areas that make up our wilderness preservation resource—163 or so of them—include an aggregate of some 55 million acres.

So we do still have a considerable heritage of wilderness, although (as I was saying) it is very late in our land management history.

NO NEW BUREAU

When we realize that all our wilderness areas are on lands being managed already for some well-thought-out purpose, we find ourselves facing an important choice.

Bearing in mind our basic assumption that no areas will remain wilderness except as they are deliberately so preserved, we must choose between a transfer of the wilderness to be preserved into a new jurisdiction or its retention under existing management. We must choose between creating a new category of lands that will be separately administered as wilderness or finding out how to preserve our wilderness as wilderness within its present categories. We must choose between establishing a new Bureau of Wilderness Preservation or relying on the land-management agencies we now have.

Such are the choices that are inevitable as we seek to preserve, as wilderness, land already under administration for specific purposes. Such are the choices that we have faced as, with the basic assumptions which I have already outlined, we have decided on such a proposal as the wilderness bill "to establish on public lands of the United States a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this System by existing Federal agencies."

Facing these choices, considering our circumstances, studying the wilderness itself, we have been led during the past decade to certain decisions that seem both right and in harmony with the conditions.

What is wilderness? We are dealing, of course, with a human concept, and essentially it is one of those concepts that is positive largely because of what it negates. Chastity is another, for example. We describe an area as wilderness because of a character it has—not because of a particular use that it serves. A wilderness is an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled

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by man. (Untrammeled—not untrampled—untrammeled, meaning free, unbound, unhampered, unchecked, having the freedom of the wilderness.)

With this concept of wilderness it is comparatively easy in our circumstances to decide not to try to create new and separate areas of wilderness, under a new and special bureau, but rather to try to provide for the preservation of their wilderness character in their varying circumstances under their present administration.

One administrator, criticizing the wilderness bill, told me last December that you cannot expect foresters to preserve wilderness. He was stabbing at the very heart of this proposal; namely, the conclusion that we can—if we so will—preserve wilderness in the forests under foresters, in refuges under wildlife managers, and in parks under their expert administrators. Wilderness is land with a certain character. Retaining that character, it can still serve varying or various purposes.

WILDERNESS AREAS ARE SERVING OTHER PURPOSES, TOO

Such a choice, such a realization, makes it easy to forsake the idea of a new and separate bureau in favor of continued administration under the agencies presently responsible. Wilderness is not only land with a certain character that can be preserved in varying circumstances. It has been so preserved, for the areas of wilderness that we now have are all areas which serve some stated purpose other than the preservation of wilderness as such.

The wilderness of each national park, for example, is back country, or foreground, to some unique scenic splendor, some superb example of the sublimity of our American landscape, some complex of wildlife or flora. The national park idea has suggested the wilderness concept, but the two are not identical. The idea at the Madison Junction in the Yellowstone country was not to preserve wilderness but rather to assure all Americans the right and privilege of beholding the great natural wonders that Cornelius Hedges and his companions had seen. We owe the leaders of the National Park Service a great debt for the way in which they have fostered the wilderness idea, but we must recognize that the wilderness concept is compatible with, not identical to, the national park idea—an enrichment certainly of the national park purpose but not the genesis.

Similarly, our wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas are indeed parts of the various national forests within which they are located—and they are serving essential purposes of those forests. While serving these purposes, these areas have retained their wilderness character—to a very great extent because the administrators of the national forests have so managed.

The Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge is one of the deepest areas of wilderness that I have known, but it is so not because of any recreational use which it shares with any national forest or national park area but rather because its wilderness character has been preserved by the Fish and Wildlife Service in connection with the administration of Okefenokee as a wildlife refuge.

Thus have our wilderness areas been preserved, so far, by land administrators in various agencies who have handled them for various purposes in such a way that we still know them as wilderness.

NO COMPETITION WITH FORESTRY

I do not proopse to weary you with further details of the quandaries that we have faced in shaping the proposal that is now embodied in the wilderness bill. I do hope that I have shared enough of them with you that you will the more readily understand the nature of the proposal and the more pointedly be able to criticize our expression of this proposal and contribute to our further progress—or correct us in our errors.

I might, however, say one more introductory word as to our purpose. This has to do with an attitude that Senator Hubert Humphrey made apparent, I believe, in talking to you last month. That is, in proposing this wilderness legislation we are not meaning to challenge any economic program—although we do wish to exclude prospecting and mining from wilderness areas, except, of course, where private rights are already established. Our wish, rather, is to design a wilderness preservation program which can be a part of an overall program that includes also our economic uses of our national resources.

I have often said myself essentially what Senator Humphrey told you when he emphasized that in preserving wilderness we mean no competition with forestry, for example, but rather that we hope for, and recognize as essential to

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wilderness preservation, the further development of a sound and prosperous American forestry.

As reported in the Congressional Record of February 22, 1957, Senator Humphrey said here at your February 14 banquet:

"The fact is, the wilderness bill has been prepared in accordance with the wilderness policies, programs, and practices of the Forest Service, and in admiration for them. The bill is designed to strengthen the Forest Service's hands in carrying out these policies and programs.

"The national forest areas that will be included in the wilderness system are those that have been designated by the Forest Service as wilderness, wild, primitive, or roadless. And the bill provides that these areas shall be administered under regulations that would be drawn up in the Forest Service.

"The wilderness bill, I emphasize, will not interfere with, but will perpetuate, the present multiple-purpose administration of these national forest areas. Its central concept is that our present areas of wilderness can be preserved within the existing land-management pattern if this preservation purpose is made a matter of fundamental policy.

"Rather than upsetting the multiple-purpose program of the Forest Service, the effect of this legislation will be to prevent the upset in this program that will result if the wilderness areas are not protected from the uses that would destroy them as wilderness."

Senator Humphrey went on to say:

"The wilderness bill * * * is in no sense in conflict with, or in competition with, forestry for forestry products. On the contrary it actually is dependent on foresters for its success. If ever the American people come to the borders of our wilderness areas with a need for timber that cannot be met elsewhere, then, gentlemen, I say to you our wilderness areas are doomed. It is to the foresters of America and their effective programs for sustained yield cutting, on our production forests, that we shall have to look eventually for success in wilderness preservation. We recognize this, and we face our present program in a spirit of cooperation and with a feeling of dependence on the intelligent foresters of America for support."

"I think," said Senator Humphrey, "that all true conservationists should consider the bill in this light. In my judgment it will provide a means for making orderly changes in our wilderness system so that these areas will truly fulfill our needs and not one bit more. It will give us a chance to provide a really sound wilderness system by truly democratic processes."

We of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, who are advocating the wilderness bill, concur in these interpretations of its intentions and purposes which were thus made so carefully by Senator Humphrey.

THERE NEED BE NO CONFLICT

Similarly we believe that there need be no conflict with recreational requirements for areas where we can enjoy the developments and facilities that destroy wilderness but offer us various advantages. As with regard to our needs for commodity production and the taking of natural resources for our industries and other uses, so also with regard to recreational opportunities, it is our belief that—if we so plan—we can still have in this country a system of wilderness areas dedicated to preservation, and we can have this without sacrificing our other needs or conveniences.

But we cannot do this if we continue to appropriate more and more of the wilderness for development and exploitation, multiplying thus the opportunities to realize our other purposes but depriving ourselves of the privilege of wilderness enjoyment and use—if we so choose.

Now, I wish only to present to you the wilderness bill itself and thus submit it to you for criticism, suggestion, discussion. It is the embodiment of our answers to the many problems we have faced in our efforts to develop congressional legislation which will make wilderness preservation a policy of our Government and provide for its application to actual areas of wilderness. It answers the question posed here tonight—"What Should Be Our Policy Toward Wilderness Areas?" Let me present it.

(Here the bill (S. 1176) was read, omitting the names of the areas specified but including all the substance of the bill.)

Finally, let me appeal to you for your counsel, your criticism, your cooperation, in correcting us where we need correction, and for your cooperation in helping us to accomplish what I believe we all feel is a contribution in the

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public interest; namely, the preservation of an adequate resource of wilderness not only for ourselves but for our successors, also.

I have tried to share with you the thinking that has been evolved by those of us who during the past decade have made this matter our prime conservation concern. And I have tried to show you how that thinking has been expressed in the wilderness bill.

But I have not done either with any dogmatic sense of finality nor with any haste for acceptance and ultimate action at once, but rather with an interest in your comments and your criticism. Centuries ago, I understand, Plato said: "Nothing spoken or written is of any great value if the object is merely to be believed, not to be criticized and thus learn more." I welcome your criticism and constructive suggestions.

THE WILDERNESS BILL AND THE NATIONAL PARKS

(By Howard Zahniser, member, National Parks Association; executive secretary, the Wilderness Society)

Unless provision is made to protect the primeval within our national park system, eventually the developments may take over.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, said this. He said it on the floor of the United States Senate on February 11, 1957.

"This process may be gradual," said Senator Humphrey, but he also pointed out that "it is a prospect against which we can now set guards with no sacrifice."

INTRODUCING THE WILDERNESS BILL

Senator Humphrey was introducing the wilderness bill—S. 1176. It would be better to say that he was reintroducing—with what he calls improvements, corrections, and clarifications—a wilderness bill that had first been presented to the 84th Congress, on June 7, 1956.

The wilderness bill had also been introduced in the House, in 1956, by Representatives John Saylor, of Pennsylvania, Lee Metcalf, of Montana, Henry Reuss, of Wisconsin, George Miller, of California, and in the early days of the 85th Congress it had been reintroduced in the House by these four, who had also been joined by Representative Barratt O'Hara, of Illinois, and Representative John Baldwin, of California.

As Senator Humphrey reintroduced the bill in the Senate he was acting also for a group of cosponsors that included Senators Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine; Joseph S. Clark, of Pennsylvania; Frank J. Lausche, of Ohio; Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois; Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin; Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota; James E. Murray, of Montana; Henry M. Jackson and Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington; and Wayne Morse and Richard Neuberger, of Oregon.

The bill's sponsorship was thus bipartisan and coast to coast.

FITTING WILDERNESS INTO OTHER PROGRAMS

"Based," as explained by Senator Humphrey, "on the assumption that we can still preserve in America an adequate system of wilderness areas without sacrificing any other program," the wilderness bill would establish such a system by so designating 81 areas inside 80 of the 149 national forests, 48 out of 181 units under Park Service care, 20 of the 264 national wildlife refuges and ranges, and 15 roadless and wild areas within Indian reservations (if approved by the Indians).

So that the areas in the wilderness system will continue to serve the purposes they now serve as forest, park, refuge, or reservation, the bill at the beginning provides that the system shall be composed of public land areas "retaining their natural primeval environment and influence and being managed for purposes consistent with their continued preservation as wilderness."

Again, in its section on "use of the wilderness," the bill safeguards the other purposes which the wilderness lands now serve, by providing:

"Nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area."

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Thus, in fitting a wilderness preservation policy into other land-use programs, this proposed legislation—

1. Deals with areas of existing wilderness that are in Federal ownership.
2. Deals with areas that are now being administered for purposes that have been found to be consistent with wilderness preservation (as is evident by the fact that the areas are still wilderness after many years of such administration).
3. Provides that these areas will continue to serve their various purposes—in such a way as to preserve their "wilderness character."

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS FOR EXAMPLE

The national park system provides an excellent example of how we thus, as Senator Humphrey said, "can now set guards with no sacrifice."

"Our parks are reservoirs of wilderness," said the Senator in reintroducing the bill, and he pointed out: "The chief threats to their preservation as such, under existing legislation, come from prospects for the extension of roads and the intrusion of recreation developments, perfectly good in themselves, that nevertheless are out of place in wilderness."

For the first time, accordingly, wilderness preservation under the new proposed legislation would become a clear-cut congressional policy in the national park and monument areas named, and the primeval back country in these parks and monuments would receive an added protection.

Recognizing, however, that in order to serve the purposes for which they were established, the parks must also have necessary roads and accommodations that make them accessible and hospitable, the bill provides specifically for the designation for such purposes of such portions of the parks and monuments as are found to be needed.

INTEGRATION WITH MISSION 66

Explaining the ease with which these arrangements can be carried out, Senator Humphrey told the Senate:

"The National Park Service, under its so-called Mission 66, is undertaking to provide systematically during the next 10 years for the proper and economical development of the roads and accommodations within the parks and monuments.

"The designations of the areas provided for in this bill can thus be made, park by park, as the plans for Mission 66 materialize.

"Provision will in this way be made for the proper handling of developed areas but also for the protection, without development, of our wilderness.

"If ever additional areas are needed for developments, they can be designated, but only after a public notice that will give all concerned an opportunity to weigh the importance of diminishing the area of wilderness."

Thus, Senator Humphrey voiced both his interest in providing for the public use and enjoyment of our national parks and at the same time the concern that so many of us share in the preservation of the parks as "reservoirs of wilderness."

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN P. SAYLOR'S ADVOCACY

A most prominent advocate of the wilderness bill has been the Honorable John P. Saylor, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, who achieved national fame among conservationists for his leadership in support of the national parks and monuments against the threat of the proposed Echo Park Dam. In a statement made to the House of Representatives, on July 12, 1956, and later reprinted and widely distributed under the title "Saving America's Wilderness," Representative Saylor also pointed out that, "even in the national parks and monuments, the pressures for roads and nonwilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to destroy the primeval wilderness."

Mr. Saylor said:

"Within the national parks and monuments in general there is at present no act of Congress that would prevent a future Secretary of the Interior, or park administrator with his approval, from deciding to construct a road, a building, or any other installation that he would deem appropriate for a national park or monument anywhere within the park or monument.

"The Yellowstone Act that inaugurated our national parks in 1872 provided for the retention of the wonders there * * * 'in their natural condition,' and yet that act has, of course, not interfered with the construction of the Yellowstone Park roads, the many buildings that are there, and the other developments

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that have so altered 'natural conditions' that the atmosphere in some parts of the park is that of a crowded city.

"I do not object to these developments in Yellowstone National Park. I have indeed used them with appreciation. I am merely pointing out that they have been constructed in accordance with the laws under which the park is governed, and there is nothing in that law to prevent such construction elsewhere in the park.

"In my opinion," said Mr. Saylor, "if we are to make sure that we still have in the distant future our national park primeval back country still preserved as wilderness, we should declare here in Congress our purpose to do so." He emphasized this further as follows:

"In Mission 66 we are doing our best to provide for the development of adequate facilities and accommodations for the increasingly numerous visitors to the parks. I heartily endorse and support this development program.

"At the same time," Mr. Saylor continued, "I sense a need also to strengthen the hands of the National Park Service in its work for the preservation of the primeval back country as wilderness."

Mr. Saylor quoted at length from "the findings of a scientist who made a study of our wilderness programs as a part of his doctoral study at the University of Michigan." This is Dr. James P. Gilligan, who now is a professor of forestry at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. At the October 26, 1954, meeting of the Society of American Foresters held in Milwaukee, Wis., Dr. Gilligan made the following remarks, which Representative Saylor quoted:

"Wilderness conditions, of course," said Dr. James P. Gilligan, "have vanished from developed areas; and the sight, sound, and sometimes smell of these concentration zones disperse so widely that quite large sections cannot be considered natural, let alone wilderness. National parks, too, must often justify their existence to the locality or State in which they are situated, principally on economic grounds. As long as the drums throb for more tourist dollars, park administrators will find it hard to accommodate the increasing army of sightseers without extending development. It is highly improbable that a seemingly logical course of restricting the number of visitors to any national park will be put into effect until every possible means of providing accommodations is exhausted. It is a fair question to ask how much of the parks will be developed by then.

"Because of congressional measures," Dr. Gilligan continued, "which ordinarily prevent utilization of wood, water, mineral, or forage resources in areas of the national park system, the National Park Service is the most logical existing agency to preserve extensive wilderness regions. However, it is subject to the unrelenting pressures of mass use, and retreats gradually behind the cold logic that more areas must be developed to care properly for the public to whom the land belongs. It is merely another application of the philosophy that as many people as possible should use these areas, even though finally there is little left of the original landscape.

"The real democratic significance of these areas," said Dr. Gilligan, "may not be in providing access and accommodations to everyone, but in holding a few undeveloped areas where high quality recreation benefits can still be obtained by those willing to make the effort. Most endeavors to retain such areas for a relatively smaller number gradually yield before the demands of an eager traveling public, which has not yet grasped the full significance of our national park system.

"The organic National Park Service Act of 1916," Dr. Gilligan pointed out, "offers nearly as much flexibility in managing recreation resources as does the multiple-use principle of the Forest Service. There is nothing in the act directing how much of or what part of, parks to develop, nor is there any clause in the law or interpretive regulations stipulating the reservation of park units in wilderness condition.

"The National Park Service has established some precedence in trying to retain wilderness zones. It is questionable, however, whether the will of the administrator can be sufficiently strong to prevent development in the long run."

Referring then to Dr. Gilligan's analysis, Representative Saylor himself declared:

"We must meet this situation by providing here in Congress the basic legislation that these excellent administrators need to insure their success in making our national parks secure as our great reservoirs of wilderness."

Mr. Saylor's answer to this need is the wilderness bill, and others concerned with the parks both as reservoirs of wilderness and as scenic areas for American

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motorists will hardly err in following his leadership in seeking this important legislation.

A WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

As the wilderness bill thus meets the challenge of wilderness preservation in the national park system through a program that respects and preserves the distinctive purposes of the parks, so likewise it provides for wilderness preservation elsewhere in such a way as to respect and preserve the basic purposes of the national forests, wildlife refuges, Indian reservations, or other areas within which the wilderness exists.

The bill's concern is not with any special use of wilderness, not with any special kind or group of users, but rather with the preservation of the wilderness character of areas that are managed for other purposes also. National forest areas, for example, will continue to serve the multiple-use purposes that emphasize watershed protection but permit recreational uses that include shooting. National park areas will continue to be for the use and enjoyment of the people in a recreational way, but in keeping with basic policies which require that the national parks must be preserved as sanctuaries. National wildlife refuges that include areas of wilderness will continue to be administered for the wildlife, but in accordance with policies that omit wilderness recreation activities that are a prominent feature of both national park and national forest back-country use.

Thus the administration of the various areas in the Wilderness Preservation System differ in accordance with their varying basic purposes. But all will be so administered as to remain wilderness.

As a part of this proposed new program to accomplish wilderness preservation along with and in keeping with various other land-use programs, the wilderness bill provides for a National Wilderness Preservation Council to serve as a focus of interest and information, a central filing place, a clearinghouse for the exchange of information.

The heads of the agencies which handle the lands that include the wilderness areas will be members of this council, and there also will be citizen members. The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, which does not itself handle any of the wilderness areas, will be the council's secretary and will maintain its headquarters.

The council will not have administrative jurisdiction over any of the wilderness areas nor over the agencies that will administer them.

The council thus will in no sense constitute a "superagency" over the bureaus. Rather it will meet the needs for a clearinghouse and a focus of interest for the proposed wilderness system in such a way as to avoid necessity for a superagency.

THE BILL ITSELF SHOULD BE READ

The sponsors of the wilderness bill in Congress, and other conservationists advocating it, have been eager to have the bill itself widely read and carefully studied. From its earliest drafts, it has been widely circulated. Many suggestions have been received and used in the further improvement and clarification of the proposed measure. Further study and suggestion are still sought.

As the bill itself is read, many misunderstandings and misinterpretations are cleared away.

Nor is the central purpose of the measure as complicated as many think on first glance. The bill is not complicated but comprehensive. It seeks to preserve the status quo that, most fortunately for ourselves and our posterity, still includes a marvelous resource of wilderness, and the status quo is complex.

Wilderness, the mother of resources, the raw material out of which our prosperity has been fashioned, is itself the latest resource to be recognized as in need of preservation.

To be "practical" the wilderness bill has accordingly been fitted to the land-use pattern already formed. This is illustrated by the way it has been designed to fit the needs of the national park system. This, in turn, is in accordance with the basic purpose throughout of providing for the preservation of wilderness without interfering with programs already established.

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THE CHALLENGE

As Senator Humphrey said, in concluding his remarks to the Senate on February 11, "The time when we still have the opportunity to provide for the preservation of wilderness without having to interfere with other programs will not be with us long."

We should accordingly study this proposed legislation with immediate earnestness and be prepared to take advantage of the opportunity it gives conservationists to work constructively, positively, for wilderness preservation.

"Wilderness suporters have been chiefly defense minded," Dr. James P. Gilligan said in the same paper from which Representative Saylor's quotation has already been cited. "If there were well-defined purposes and plans for a national wilderness system which could generate common support," Dr. Gilligan predicted, "the wilderness movement might well be irrepressible."

The wilderness bill provides for and defines such purposes and plans. We should certainly work for its perfection and for the common support that can result in its enactment.

Mr. ZAHNISER. The very great interest aroused by this wilderness bill is well demonstrated in a series of six articles that began on the front page of the Sunday issue of the Milwaukee Journal, June 9, 1957, and ran daily on through last Friday, June 14, 1957. You will be interested in looking at those excellent articles, an example not only of the great interest in this proposal, but also the advance in outdoor journalism as represented by the recognition by the Milwaukee Journal of the writings of Mr. Lynch. This wilderness bill is front-page material up in Milwaukee.

"Which Way the Wilderness?" was the title used for the entire series, prepared by R. G. Lynch, of the Journal staff.

The first of these articles is entitled, "Nature Lovers Battle To Preserve Wilds: Areas Untrammeled by Man Are Provided for in Bill Before Congress; Hearings Start June 20; Important Conservation Groups Are United and Confident."

The second article, published on the front page for June 10, carried the headlines " 'Human Flood' Threat to Parks and Forests: Exploding Population of America Has Depleted Minerals in the Earth and Menaced Renewable Resources Upon Which Our Civilization Depends."

The third article, on June 11, was entitled, "Nature Lovers Flexing More Political Muscle: They Have Tasted Victory in Recent Years, but the Total Picture Is Not So Bright as Witnessed by Granting of Oil Leases in Game Preserve, 'Grab of Hatteras Area.' "

On June 12, Mr. Lynch's fourth article, declared, "Pressures Are Forcing Primitive Area Issues: Current Insistence on Congressional Protection for Reserves is Resulting From a Desire to Exploit Them: Some Fear National Park Service Will Succumb and Develop Lands."

The fourth article, on June 13, carried the heading: "Trees Take a Beating From Nature's Forces; Opposition is Expected for Those Who Want the Wilds Left Without Roads or Forest Management; Lightning, Beetles, and Tornadoes Create Problem."

"Do People Want Wilds Locked Up?" asks the headlines for Mr. Lynch's sixth and concluding article published in the Milwaukee Journal, Friday, June 14, 1957.

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These headlines went on to answer this question as follows: "New York Does: Two Elections in Recent Years in That State Have Firmly Backed Keeping Large Areas as Inviolable Preserves; Despite Knowledge of Many Serious Drawbacks."

Mr. Chairman, I should like to have these six articles appear in the record of the hearings at this point, and the articles are as follows, as you see.

Mr. STONG. We will include them in the record.

(The articles referred to are as follows:)

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 9, 1957]

WHICH WAY THE WILDERNESS?—PART I

NATURE LOVERS BATTLE TO PRESERVE THE WILDS

"Areas Untrammeled by Man" Are Provided for in Bill Before Congress; Hearings Start June 20; Important Conservation Groups Are United and Confident

What is to be done about preservation of the Nation's wilderness areas? What values are at stake? This is the first of a series of six articles dealing with these and other questions.

(By R. G. Lynch, of the Journal staff)

"An area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community who visits but does not remain, and whose travels leave only trails."

Only trails. No roads, no picnic areas, no hotdog stands, no taverns, no motels, no billboards.

The paragraph quoted is one definition of a wilderness. It is taken from a bill now before Congress, which is preparing to hold hearings in various sections of the country on the issue of preservation of the Nation's wilderness areas.

The hearings will begin in Washington June 20 before the House Interior Committee.

FAILED IN WISCONSIN

Militant nature lovers have set out to accomplish on a nationwide basis what Wisconsin conservationists have failed to achieve in the 1955 legislature, and for the same reasons.

In Wisconsin, it was the conservation commission's decision to permit a prison camp and a paved highway in the Flambeau River State forest which aroused Wallace B. Grange of Babcock, and his supporters to seek statutory protection for the wilderness.

Nationally, persistent attempts to encroach upon or exploit wilderness areas have brought conservation groups together in one big campaign to have the wild places locked up where only Congress will have the key.

ABOUT 150 TRACTS

The bills now before Congress would designate about 150 tracts in national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and monument sites as wilderness areas. Administering agencies would be made responsible for maintaining the wild state of these areas and they could never lose their wilderness status except by act of Congress.

Nearest to Wisconsin among areas listed are Isle Royale in Lake Superior and the three roadless areas of the Superior National Forest in Minnesota.

Representative Reuss, Milwaukee Democrat, is the author of one of several bills in the House. Reuss wants to include part of Horicon Marsh. Senator Wiley is among a dozen sponsors of a similar bill in the Senate.

USE WOULD CONTINUE

All of the proposed wilderness areas would continue to be administered for the purposes stated when they were established as parks, forests, refuges, or

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monuments. Any existing use authorized by executive order or legislation would continue. Grazing of livestock in forests and the use of airplanes or motorboats where these practices have become well established will continue.

Otherwise, no commercial use would be permitted—no logging, mining, grazing, water diversion, or impoundment. No roads would be permitted, nor use of motor vehicles, motorboats, or airplanes. No buildings would be permitted except the minimum required for administration.

A national wilderness preservation council would be created to be the watchdog over the system. Members would be the chairmen and ranking minority members of the Senate and House Interior Committees; the chiefs of the national parks, forest, and wildlife refuge services, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; and six citizens known to be interested in wilderness preservation, to be appointed by the President.

Arrayed solidly behind this effort to protect the vanishing wilds from attrition by civilization are all of the important conservation organizations of the Nation. This powerful lobby has won impressive victories in recent years. The volume of messages from home that these organizations and their State affiliates have poured into the Capitol on major issues seems to have convinced many Members of Congress that the group speaks for the people.

Confident in their strength, the backers are taking it slow and easy. They have no intention of pressing for passage this year. At the hearings in Washington before House and Senate committees and at other hearings expected to be held in the field, they will parade their forces. They expect some changes to be made in the bills—contemplate some themselves, according to Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society. Then, in 1958, they will call upon Congress to take action to keep the wilderness areas unspoiled.

Nowhere does there seem to be much doubt that the wilderness system will be established. The fight will be to modify the present proposal. Professional foresters are opposed to "locking up" large areas of forest where no management—which includes controlled removal of timber—will be permitted. They favor preserving small natural areas for scientific observation, with all the rest of the Nation's timberlands subject to forest management.

WANT MORE LATITUDE

The Forest Service personnel generally would be glad to have congressional protection against pressure for exploitation but would like more latitude for management than the bills seem to leave.

Even among conservationists and nature lovers there are minorities that do not subscribe to the strict barriers proposed. At the recent annual meeting of the National Wildlife Federation a resolution supporting the wilderness bills was changed in committee by western delegates. They wrote in a clause calling for "wise management to preserve and protect the soil and beneficial vegetation thereon." "Pure" wilderness advocates, led by Lester Woerpel, executive secretary of the Wisconsin Federation of Conservation Clubs, struck out these words before the resolution was adopted.

ROADS ARE AN ISSUE

Access roads also are an issue among supporters of the wilderness concept. Some nature lovers argue that lack of roads would prevent many persons, particularly older men and women, from enjoying the wilderness. Others, like Woerpel, reply that roads will take the litter of civilization into the wilds: "First roads, then ice cream and soft drink stands."

Foresters want access roads to facilitate fire protection and control of insects and disease. They cite blowdowns of mature and overripe trees which have fostered devastating outbreaks of insects in wilderness areas, where billions of board feet of timber have been destroyed.

Dr. Olaus J. Murie, president of the Wilderness Society, which is leading the fight for wilderness legislation, spoke for the purists when he said:

"We do not recognize the need of harvesting 'mature' trees in the parks. We do not regret the falling of old trees; down logs are a part of nature, dead trees have a beauty of their own and a place in the scheme of things. There is serious doubt as to the wisdom of insect control in such areas."

These issues will be discussed in succeeding articles of this series, as well as what has happened in the past in wilderness areas.

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[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 10, 1957]

WHICH WAY THE WILDERNESS?—PART II

"HUMAN FLOOD" THREAT TO PARKS AND FORESTS

Exploding Population of America Has Depleted Minerals in the Earth and Menaced Renewable Resources Upon Which Our Civilization Depends

This is the second of a series of articles dealing with the fight to preserve wilderness areas and the problems involved

(By R. G. Lynch, of the Journal Staff)

A fishing party in western Ontario, including the writer, set out in motor-driven canoes from Cedar Lake a few summers ago to have a go at trout in Aerobus Lake. We traversed Cedar Lake and crossed Perrault Lake and portaged around a falls in Wabaskang Lake.

The portage had been a wilderness trail just a year before, but meanwhile the Red Lake Road had been gouged through the forest and passed here. Now there were automobiles from 14 States in a parking lot above the falls.

On we went, up a long arm of Wabaskang. It was wilderness, unmarred by man, tranquil and beautiful. Then we had to portage half a mile to Aerobus, and the trail was littered with tin cans, candy and cigarette wrappers, newspapers, and tissue paper.

THREAT OF HUMAN FLOOD

That is a familiar story to park and forest rangers. Regularly, at the Grand Canyon, rangers are lowered over ledges to pick up beer cans. They fish tires, towels, and soap from park pools and even from geysers in Yellowstone Park. Paper handkerchiefs, and napkins blossom on bushes along trails.

Current efforts to preserve some of the vanishing wilderness have been described as "a flood-control project." A human flood, America's exploding population, threatens to engulf and destroy things on which the very existence of civilization must depend.

Minerals in the earth are being depleted. Renewable resources like timber, soil, and wildlife are not being managed for sustained yield. Water is being wasted and polluted. Consumption of coal, petroleum and other fossil fuels has raised the carbon dioxide content of the air by 10 percent in the last century and atomic tests have multiplied radioactivity.

PONDER LONG-RANGE EFFECTS

Scientists speculate on the long-range effects on the earth's climate, the chemistry of the ocean, and the health and reproductivity of man.

Thinking men are concerned about these things, and some of them conceive wilderness in its natural state to be among the essential things which must be saved, not only from exploitation in the name of progress but also from mass use.

They would bar roads and airplanes and motorboats and permanent shelters from remote places, so that the relatively few persons able and willing to get there afoot, on horse, or by canoe could enjoy nature in the wild.

Why bar the great majority of people, who want easy travel and comfortable lodgings, from parts of parks and forests which they own?

ANSWER IN RECREATION

The answer lies in the word "recreation" in the popular mind, recreation has come to mean fun—play of one sort or another. Its real meaning is to be refreshed and given new life. Ernest Swift, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, has referred to wilderness places as "sanctuaries," rather than recreation areas.

A National Park Service biologist, Lowell Sumner, described the effects of overcrowding on animals in an address last March to the national wilderness conference at San Francisco. Stresses are created which lower the vitality of "social" species and cause vast populations to die off rapidly in extreme cases, particularly among lemmings (mass suicides in the sea), voles (meadow mice), and snowshoe hares.

Post-mortem examinations of such animals have revealed stress damage, such as inflammation or ulceration of digestive organs, and permanent metabolic

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derangements comparable with the effects of stress on man, who is a social animal capable of mutiplying beyond the carrying capacity of his habitat.

CITES THERAPEUTIC VALUE

"The therapeutic value of wilderness and natural areas in relieving or preventing stress, and the philosophic value, have been recognized by some people for many years," said Sumner. "It was expressed by Aldo Leopold (late of the University of Wisconsin) with unforgettable depth and clarity in his Sand County Almanac and Round River."

David R. Brower, chairman of the Natural Resources Council of America, has said:

"This generation is speedily using up, beyond recall, a very important right that belongs to future generations—the right to have wild lands in their civilization, even as we have them in ours; the right to find solitude somewhere; the right to see and enjoy, and be inspired and renewed, somewhere, by those places where the hand of God has not been obscured by the industry of man."

MUST CONTROL FLOOD

The reference to a flood-control project was by Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service. He said:

"The flood pouring in on us is people. It must be controlled or it will leave a ruined national park system in its wake. We cannot meet our responsibilities for park protection by meeting the flood at the park gates and trying control from there. We need dams and diversions upstream, and this will call for action on the part of many agencies."

Wirth was speaking in favor of a national survey of recreation resources to formulate a plan by 1961. He said that one of the important elements should be a comprehensive analysis of wilderness needs and a systematic plan for preservation of wild lands to meet such needs.

"We are not waiting for the flood," he warned. "It is here, and we can be certain it is far from its crest."

DOUBLED USE OF PARKS

The flood of Americans on wheels, roving far and wide in search of things to do and see in leisure time, more than doubled use of national forests and parks in the last decade. Visits increased from about 40 million in 1946 to nearly 96 million in 1955, with 140 million predicted by 1962.

Congress has authorized millions of dollars for Mission 66 in the parks, and more millions are in the pending budget to finance Operation Outdoors in the forests. Existing recreation facilities will be improved and many new areas will be constructed, 12,000 more in the parks and 2,150 in the forests, as well as 1,000 new housing units for employees and 300 miles of new roads.

The menace to wilderness from such developments to handle tourists was described to the Society of American Foresters at its 1954 convention in Milwaukee by Dr. James P. Gilligan, forestry professor at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, who had made a survey of the parks.

NOT FOR EVERYONE

He said: "Wilderness conditions, of course, have vanished from developed areas; and the sight, sound, and sometimes the smell of these concentration zones disperse so widely that quite large sections cannot be considered natural, let alone wilderness.

"The real democratic significance of these areas may not be in providing access and accommodations for everyone, but in holding a few undeveloped areas where high quality recreation benefits can still be obtained by those willing to make the effort. Most endeavors to retain such areas for a relatively smaller number gradually yield before the demands of an eager traveling public, which has not yet grasped the full significance of our national park system."

The national wilderness preservation system, proposed in bills which will have congressional hearings this month, would protect more than 150 areas from such demands, and from economic and defense inroads which will be described in a following article.

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[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 11, 1957]

WHICH WAY THE WILDERNESS?—PART III

NATURE LOVERS FLEXING MORE POLITICAL MUSCLE

They Have Tasted Victory in Recent Years, but the Total Picture Is Not So Bright as Witnessed by Granting of Oil Leases in Game Preserve, "Grab" of Hatteras Area

This is the third of a series of articles dealing with the fight to preserve wilderness areas and the problems involved.

(By R. G. Lynch, of the Journal Staff)

Hetch Hetchy Valley was a wild and beautiful part of Yosemite National Park in California until San Francisco flooded it 40 years ago as a municipal reservoir. Now it is "a colorless expanse of mud flats, populated not by pleasure seekers and nature enthusiasts, but by stumps and decaying vegetation and frustrated wildlife."

That bit of wilderness yielded to progress in 1913 after a long and bitter struggle. Nature lovers, after a half century of tug of war over such things, have more political muscle now.

They prevented another Hetch Hetchy "catastrophe" at the Dinosaur National Monument, on the Colorado-Utah border, by stopping a dam at Echo Park in the last Congress.

They have won two fights since 1950 over Panther Mountain Dam, which would have flooded part of New York's State forest preserve.

"LAND GRAB" FOILED

They balked the Army's attempt to take over 10,700 acres of the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge in Oklahoma.

They won a crusade to end oil leases and other exploitation detrimental to wildlife refuges.

They got a law passed to clear a multitude of old mining claims off public lands, claims sometimes held as a subterfuge for logging in national forests.

They put a stop to timber cutting for revenue in national parks under the guise of salvage.

The list of recent victories is impressive, but some things have slipped by, like the oil leases in the Lacassine (La.) waterfowl refuge, which precipitated a 1956 congressional inquiry, and the Navy's invasion of the Cape Hatteras national seashore area.

"PERMANENT" ISN'T

The Cape Hatteras area, 24,000 acres of wild coastal land, was acquired with private contributions and North Carolina State funds and turned over to the National Park Service. Congress accepted it in 1937 as "an area permanently reserved as a primitive wilderness."

"Permanently" turned out to be little more than a decade. The Navy, according to the Wildlife Management Institute, represented to the Interior Department, custodian of the parks, that it had to have a site in this area for security purpose. Permission granted, it built what the institute describes as "nothing more than a tide testing station."

Now, tired of ceaseless vigil and constant rallying of their forces, conservation leaders are asking congress to "lock up" more than 150 areas in a national wilderness preservation system, not to be used for any other purpose without specific congressional approval.

FUNDS NOT AVAILABLE

What can happen to wilderness, even where intentions are good, is illustrated by logging operations in national parks, which caused a small tempest in the last few years.

Conrad Wirth, director of the park system, sought to solve 2 problems at 1 stroke. The Park Act authorizes the sale of timber to control insects or diseases "or otherwise conserve the scenery * * *." Funds were not available to acquire private lands within park boundaries, sometimes when purchase was urgent.

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When private lands in Aspen Valley seemed likely to be subdivided, Wirth proposed salvage operations in Yosemite Park for revenue with which to buy the Aspen property. Soon salvage logging for revenue was going full blast in Olympic Park, in Washington.

FOUGHT SALVAGE EFFORTS

The Wilderness Society opposed salvage operations in general and in 1951 called the sale of timber for revenue "a policy which could become extremely dangerous to the integrity of the national park system." In 1952, it reaffirmed its opposition "in the belief that it is better to let nature deal with the effects of natural disasters such as fire, wind damage, and floods."

A committee which inspected Olympic Park logging operations reported that properties acquired with salvage revenues constituted a great gain and perhaps reduced fire hazard "but precisely because of these immense advantages, the temptation in a continuing program of this kind will almost inevitably lead to abuses."

The National Parks Association did not oppose the original salvage for revenue program "because the greater danger appeared to be the potential loss of the interior forests." But in the summer of 1956 Fred M. Packard, executive secretary, wrote in the National Parks magazine that people were "shocked by the scale of cutting that was going on, especially the removal of healthy, live trees, and the appearance of the commercial logging operation."

LOGGING WORK SURVEYED

The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, the Audubon Society, the Mountaineers, the Sierra Club sent an action committee to survey Olympic Park logging operations in 1956. They photographed damage to streambanks and forest floor by heavy machinery, clear-cut areas, healthy trees felled, debris left by loggers.

Paul Shepard, conservation chairman of the National Council of State Garden Clubs, visited the scene, reported severe logging damage and appealed to conservation organizations to protest to Wirth. The park system director met with representatives of 12 organizations at Tacoma, Wash., last October and a few days later announced a revised policy:

Timber cutting in national parks would be for public purposes, not for revenue. Park superintendents' authority was limited to developed areas. Problems arising in natural areas from blowdowns and resulting fire hazards or insect infestations would be referred to the Washington headquarters for study and decision. Salvage might be done along existing roads but never to the detriment of natural conditions and always followed by a careful cleanup to maintain normal ecological balance.

What park and forest administrators have done to preserve wild areas and what wilderness advocates think of these efforts will be told in a following article.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 12, 1957]

WHICH WAY THE WILDERNESS?—PART IV

PRESSURES ARE FORCING PRIMITIVE AREA ISSUES

Current Insistence on Congressional Protection for Reserves is Resulting From a Desire to Exploit Them; Some Fear National Park Service Will Succumb and Develop Lands

This is the fourth of a series of articles dealing with the fight to preserve wilderness areas and the problems involved

(By R. G. Lynch, of the Journal Staff)

Much of the choice wilderness that remains in the United States has been purposefully preserved by administrators of the national parks and forests for many years.

When the national park system was created in 1916, Congress directed that the parks be managed so that the scenery, the natural and historic objects and the wildlife would be left "unimpaired for the emjoyment of future generations."

There were 11 wilderness parks then. Commercial grazing rights existed in eight of them and more than one-fifth of the land in all of the parks was privately

owned. Grazing has been eliminated in all but one and 90 percent of the private holdings have been acquired for the public. Similar problems created by additions to the system are being disposed of as rapidly as possible.

NOT ADMONISHED

No admonition about passing along the forests in their natural state to future generations was given the Forest Service when it came into existence, in 1905, with the transfer of forest reserves from the Interior Department to the Agriculture Department. Traditionally, the forests have been managed for timber production and watershed protection and, in later years, wildlife and recreation as the concept of multiple-use developed.

Controlling as it does about one-third of all the land area in the country, the Forest Service determines the fate of much more wilderness than the parks contain. Forest chiefs began to recognize wilderness preservation as an objective in the 1920's. What is now called the Gila wilderness, in New Mexico, was given special protection in 1924 and parts of the superior roadless area, in Minnesota, in 1926.

OFFICIAL STATUS IN 1929

Official status came in 1929, when the Agriculture Secretary authorized the establishment of "primitive" areas, and within a decade the Forest Service had established 73 such areas and 2 roadless areas, comprising 14,235,000 acres.

As a result of the experience thus gained, the Service induced the Secretary in 1939 to issue new regulations, providing for the establishment of wilderness areas of more than 100,000 acres and wild areas of 5,000 to 100,000 acres.

All 73 primitive areas continued under wilderness management pending reclassification. The Service now has 12 wilderness areas (3,969,000 acres); 23 wild areas (815,000 acres); 3 roadless areas (814,000); and 43 of the original primitive areas (8,252,000 acres) still awaiting reclassification. Eight new wild areas and 1 roadless area have been added, and 3 new wilderness areas are proposed.

ONLY ONE AREA ALTERED

Since 1939, only one wilderness or wild area has been altered after it was formally established, and that was necessary because an access road was built to private property within the area, as the owner had a right to do under the law.

This is a magnificent record of stewardship, and it has won the respect and confidence of wilderness advocates for Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the park system, and Richard E. McArdle, Chief of the Forest Service.

Why, then, the current insistence on congressional protection for wilderness areas? Chiefly because of increasing pressure for exploitation—timber to cut, canyons, and valleys to flood for reservoirs, roads, and restaurants and lodgings for tourists.

EDITOR RAISES POINT

The question was asked by James Craig, editor of American Forests, published by the American Forestry Association:

"Why is this legislation necessary? The career Forest Service professional has administered these lands, including the wilderness areas he created, both intelligently and well. He does this under multiple use, in which we believe, as opposed to the locking up or setting aside of specific areas for specific purposes by congressional action, in which we do not believe."

The answer was given by Ernest Swift, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation:

"So far as I know there is little or no quarrel with the present administration of wilderness areas; if anything, there should be honest commendation.

"SUBJECT TO PRESSURES

"But these wilderness areas are now established within the framework of the Forest Service authority and it is known to all that the policies of any public agency are subject to the pressures of many interests, and to the philosophies of the men who will run them in the future * * *.

"Does the American Forestry Association believe that the present Forest Service wilderness policy is a sufficient guaranty to hold these areas in perpetuity, that the wilderness policy would be impossible to abolish through pressure?"

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As for the parks, Dr. James P. Gilligan, of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, after a survey of them, had this to say:

"As long as the drums throb for more tourist dollars, park administrators will find it hard to accommodate the increasing army of sightseers without extending development. It is highly improbable that a seemingly logical course of restricting the number of visitors to any national park will be put into effect until every possible means of providing accommodations is exhausted. It is a fair question to ask, How much of the parks will be developed by them?

"RETREATS GRADUALLY

"The Service is subject to the unrelenting pressures of mass use and retreats gradually behind the cold logic that more areas must be developed to care properly for the public to whom the land belongs * * * even though finally there is little left of the original landscape.

"The National Park Service has established some precedence in trying to retain wilderness zones. It is questionable, however, whether the will of the Administrator can be sufficiently strong to prevent development in the long run."

The main opposition to a pending bill for a national wilderness preservation system involves access and forest management. The pros and cons of this will be discussed next.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 13, 1957]

WHICH WAY THE WILDERNESS?—PART V

TREES TAKE A BEATING FROM NATURE'S FORCES

Opposition Is Expected for Those Who Want the Wilds Left Without Roads or Forest Management; Lightning, Beetles, and Tornadoes Create Problem

This is the fifth of a series of articles dealing with the fight to preserve wilderness areas and the problems involved

(By R. G. Lynch, of the Journal staff)

Vigorous opposition may be expected in Congress to a national wilderness preservation system without roads and without forest management. Advocates of "pure" wilderness are willing to let nature deal with the effects of fire, wind damage, and flood. But professional foresters, wood-using industries, and public land administrators are not.

Horrible examples of nature's methods are plentiful. Mature and overripe trees are vulnerable to wind and, falling, take down or damage healthy trees. If the downed timber is not removed, nature's undertakers, the bark beetles, go to work on it. They multiply tremendously to do a big job and then move into standing timber.

LARGE TREES LOST

In Pennsylvania's Cathedral of the Pines, 300 pines and hemlocks 150 to 200 feet tall went down in a twister last August; falling trees knocked down other trees. A hurricane in 1950 blew down about 1,400 million board feet of timber in New York's State forest preserve. In 1951 Wisconsin had a blowdown of 4 million board feet of the virgin timber in Flambeau River State Forest.

In all of these instances, the timber was salvaged. But in wilderness regions of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington, where salvage has been impossible or slow for lack of roads, beetle outbreaks have killed more than 60 million board feet of spruce, pine, and fir in the last half century. Beetles threaten to kill all of the spruce in seven national forests of Idaho and Montana.

PLAN IS CRITICIZED

James Craig, editor of American Forests, a timber-industry publication, has written that the controls proposed in the wilderness-preservation bill "look cumbersome, ineffective, and injudicious to the best interests of land management." He went on:

"Actually it is not wilderness that has great need today, other than perhaps some form of proper congressional recognition that would not be inimical to the

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management pattern, but recreation itself, meaning the people who hunt, fish, camp, picnic, ride, and paddle—people who seldom have been in an actual wilderness area, if ever. * * * This bill is a case of the right objectives but the wrong approach."

The professional forester opposes the establishment of large areas of forest in which management will not be permitted. He appreciates the value of natural areas for comparison with managed areas and for studies of composition, site requirements, geographical occurrence, life habitat, and plant succession.

NO ROADS, NO FENCES

John F. Shanklin, chairman of the Society of American Foresters' committee on natural areas, defines the professional concept as 20 to possibly 1,000 acres. He says there should be no publicity to attract sightseers or recreation seekers; no roads, trails, power lines, fences; no insect or disease control and only fire protection from the outside.

Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the national park system, told a national wilderness conference at San Francisco in March:

"No park is large enough to be free from the effects of what is done outside its boundaries. Exotic insect pests and plant and animal diseases may come in. Normal winter ranges and migration routes for wildlife may be eliminated by settlement, agriculture, industry, and other developments outside the park. Water, on which the character of a park depends, may be diminished or diverted away from it.

MORE PLAIN TALK

"These and many other influences force upon us the necessity for management measures—compensatory management—to counteract the adverse influences from without."

The wilderness conference also got some plain talk from Richard E. McArdle, Chief of the Forest Service.

"You can't just set aside 14 million acres of wilderness and forget it," he said. "Wilderness areas must be managed and protected in order to remain useful as wilderness. Although legislation might be helpful in resolving some of these difficulties, many of them are administrative problems which can't be solved by legislation.

"Formal establishment as a wilderness area does not guarantee preservation of resource values. Fire, insects, disease, and windthrow are constant threats, and big fires or disease or insect epidemics may spread to adjoining lands outside the wilderness.

LIGHTNING STARTS FIRES

"I've seen big burns in many of our wilderness areas, and they are not attractive. The inaccessibility of wilderness areas makes fire control difficult, dangerous, and expensive.

"One night last fall, a group of us was discussing this problem and examining a wilderness map which was literally peppered with dots. Each dot represented a fire and most of the fires had been started by lightning. Almost any one of those fires might have swept over thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of acres of fine wilderness country. It might have spread to lands outside the wilderness.

"We have developed an elite corps of fire fighters—our smokejumpers—to help us meet this difficult situation. Every dot on that map represents not only a fire; it represents two or more men who risked their lives to preserve wilderness values. Without roads, it's expensive as well as terribly time consuming to get these smokejumpers back into circulation when they're finished a job.

ISN'T WHOLE ANSWER

"I wish I could tell you that smokejumping is the whole answer to fire control in large, back country areas. It isn't.

"I wish I could tell you that we aren't worried about the possibility of having an enormous conflagration that will be tremendously difficult to control under wilderness conditions. The certain destruction by such a conflagration of water values, of scenic values, of other resource values worries us even more than the cost of fire control.

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"Loss of water, loss of other values may not have been so critical 50 years ago, 25 years ago or even 10 years back. It would be today. It will be much more critical in the future.

IT ISN'T FREE

"Quick access is the key to fire control, but quick access is what you don't have if you want wilderness * * *

"I think that sometimes in our enthusiasm for wilderness preservation we are inclined to ignore some of the costs. Maybe it's because many people think of wilderness as idle land, doing nothing. You don't get wilderness for free; it costs something and those costs are increasing.

"Part of the cost is measured in terms of what you can't have if you do have wilderness—less timber, less forage, less water, less opportunity for people to enjoy the scenery, and so on. Some of it is measurable in dollars; some isn't."

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 14, 1957]

WHICH WAY THE WILDERNESS?—PART VI

DO PEOPLE WANT WILDS LOCKED UP?—NEW YORK DOES

Two Elections in Recent Years in That State Have Firmly Backed Keeping Large Areas as Inviolable Preserves; Despite Knowledge of Many Serious Drawbacks

This is the last of a series of articles on the fight to preserve wilderness areas and the problems involved.

(By R. G. Lynch, of the Journal Staff)

Do people really want millions of acres of wilderness "locked up" by Congress? Without roads to enable them to see the wild beauty of back-in places? With makeshift and expensive fire control? Left for insects and disease to destroy timber that another generation may need?

All of these questions, now asked in connection with legislation calling for a National Wilderness Preservation System, have been asked for years in New York State about the State forest preserve. And twice in recent years the people of New York State have given a ringing answer at the polls:

They do want the wilderness kept in its wild state.

In 1894 New York's constitution was amended to protect State timber from the alarming inroads of lumber barons. The amendment directed that the forest preserves and any acreage added "be forever kept as wild forest lands."

NEARLY 2,500,000 ACRES

And kept they have been, although controversies have raged periodically. The preserves now include nearly 2,500,000 acres in the Adirondack and Catskill Mountains, and they are the kind of inviolable wilderness that the proposed National Wilderness Preservation System would maintain.

They are without roads; except for the hardy few who penetrate along trails, people see the wilderness only at its fringes. Wildlife populations have declined and deer have been stunted for lack of good habitat in overage woodlands.

Much timber is mature or overripe, vulnerable to wind damage, and 1.4 billion board feet of trees went down in a 1951 hurricane. Beetles are slowly killing large volumes of old spruce and blight has damaged areas of birch.

THERE WAS LOOPHOLE

In other areas young growth has stagnated and trees will need 200 years to mature when, with proper management, there might be a good stand in 50 or 75 years.

Communities dependent on logging and lumbering have stagnated. Not only is there no cutting in the preserves; access has been denied to private lands and in general private timber has been made difficult to harvest.

All of these drawbacks are known to the people of New York. Yet, as recently as the 1950's they tightened the restrictions instead of loosening them.

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There had been a loophole. Flood-control projects could invade the forest preserve with commission approval. A dam at Panther Mountain was approved and wilderness defenders carried their fight against it to the people, proposing an amendment to the constitution to require a referendum on any dam in the preserves. New York voters adopted the amendment in 1953 by 1 million votes to 600,000.

Proponents of the Panther Mountain project promptly asked for and got a referendum.

Senator Lehman and Governor Harriman, who had backed the conservationists' fight for the constitutional amendment, switched sides and supported the dam. But the people, in 1955, voted against the dam in the forest preserve by a 3 to 1 margin.

Advocates of forest management and public access in wilderness areas credit this protective attitude to the fact that New York politics are dominated by people accustomed to trees growing up through pavements, who "think there is some godlike quality in leaving lands uncared for and inaccessible."

ONE IN 100 USE THEM

Perhaps the outcome of the Panther Mountain Dam controversy, in one of the most populous States, is an answer to those who foresee increasing demands for mass use of parks and forests.

Richard E. McCardle, Chief of the Forest Service, told the recent wilderness conference at San Francisco:

"For every person who has the strength, the time and the money to enjoy national forest wilderness areas, there are 100 who don't enjoy them because they can't get into them.

"I am not taking sides in what could someday develop into a real controversy among recreationists. I am simply pointing to a hard fact that can't be ignored—99 percent of the people who hunt, fish, camp, picnic, or just ride around enjoying the scenery in national forests don't use our wilderness areas."

WARNS OF ANIMOSITY

Emanuel Fritz, forestry professor emeritus of the University of California, says that the exclusion of roadbuilding would limit the use of wilderness areas to a select few "and even these few would be unable to enjoy them when they have passed their more vigorous years and reached the time of more leisure for enjoying wild areas and more need for spiritual uplift.

"Frankly," said Professor Fritz, "in spite of the fact that I can be labeled a wilderness enthusiast, I don't think this bill (to exclude roads) should be passed. Supporting it is bad policy for wilderness enthusiasts. They have already been so excessive in their demands, so intemperate in their criticism of others, that they have aroused antagonisms which, in turn, jeopardize recreation development in general."

Such a law, he warned, "would create serious animosities outside of Government and much confusion, duplication and strife among the bureaus."

Mr. ZAHNISER. In the final article of the series, R. G. Lynch reveals some questions that have been raised by opponents of the wilderness bill. These questions, as it happens, are also raised and answered in an article that appears in the current, May–June 1957 issue of Audubon Magazine. I think you would be interested in that. It was written by the naturalist and author, Edwin Way Teale. This article was entitled, "Land Forever Wild," and I should think it would be appropriate also to appear at this point in the record of these hearings. That is an especially interesting article, Mr. Chairman. Of course, I know you cannot reproduce the pictures.

Mr. STONG. It is regrettable that the pictures cannot be reproduced. The article will be included in the record.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

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[From Audubon Magazine, May–June 1957]

LAND FOREVER WILD

A bill now before Congress, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System, will provide a legal way to keep land forever wild

(By Edwin Way Teale)

One early October day, 2 miles above sea level near the Montana-Wyoming line, I stood on the lofty tundra of Beartooth Plateau. To the north the peaks and forests of the Montana Rockies extended away as far as my vision reached. Here was wilderness unmarked by man. Here was wildness untouched by civilization. Here was the land as Nez Percé braves had known it crossing Beartooth Pass for centuries before the first white man. In one vast panorama here was a vision of original America, of the wildness of old—roadless, cityless, billboardless—as wild as the early pioneers saw it.

And just so future generations may also observe it. For at least part of the inspiring vista that spread before me that October day is now designated as a primitive area. It is included in the wilderness preservation program of the Federal Government.

When the Pilgrim Fathers landed in New England, the whole continent extended away before them in one continuous wilderness. Only a century and a half ago, when Meriwether Lewis and William Clark started up the Missouri on the first overland journey across the United States to the Pacific, the western half of the continent was still wilderness. Even a generation ago, the homesteading era was not yet over. During all the early history of this country, the wilderness stood in the popular mind as the great enemy, barring progress. Our heritage of wildness was merely something to subdue, to tame, to conquer, to destroy. Its material resources—its gold and timber, furs, and fertile valleys—these alone had value.

But more and more in recent years, with the swift shrinking of space and the compression of mounting population, another side of the wilderness has become increasingly recognized. For lands that have been forever wild provide spiritual as well as material resources. Wildness itself offers something of value that needs protection.

Among the recently published letters of William Blake, the English poet, there is this sentence: "The tree that moves some to tears of joy is in the eyes of others only a green thing that stands in the way." The wilderness, like the tree, produces such diverse reactions. During the history of our land, in the main, human activity has reflected the viewpoint almost entirely of those who saw only something standing in the way, something to eliminate. As mechanization has increased, the power to destroy has become magnified. As the population has multiplied, the pressure on wild lands has mounted. Every 12 seconds our population is increased by 1. The figure now stands at 170 million; it is estimated it will be 200 million only a decade hence. Indicative of the consequence is one small scene I recall from a part of Long Island once famed for its violets and its upland plover, the Hempstead Plains. Last spring, on one tiny tract amid spreading subdivisions, a single upland plover perched on a sign. The sign read: "A supermarket will be erected on this site."

During the past few years, in gathering material for recent books, I have visited all 48 States of the Union. Wherever I went the impact of mechanized civilization was apparent. Forests had been sheared. Waterfalls had been reduced to a sad, attenuated flow. People spoke of wild places they had known since childhood, now vanished. Over and over again I heard the same refrain: "This used to be such a beautiful place." But amid all this devastation there was something of gain. As the wilderness had receded, the appreciation of the wilderness had grown. A current seemed strengthening all across the country. The will to save something of all that is melting away had become more apparent.

"We need," Henry Thoreau wrote in 'Walden,' "the tonic of wildness—to wade sometimes in marshes where the bittern and the meadowhen lurk; to hear the booming of the snipe; to smell the whispering sedge where only some wilder and more solitary fowl builds her nest, and the mink crawls with its belly close the ground." Throughout all the 20 volumes of Thoreau's works there runs the recurring theme of the value and importance of wildness. His was the first eloquent voice lifted in its praise. "In wildness," he said, "is the preservation of the world." Since his day others have recorded similar convictions. "The

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clearest way into the universe is through a forest wilderness," John Muir wrote amid his beloved Sierra peaks. And in a more recent day Aldo Leopold has set forth his belief that "the opportunity to see geese is more important than television, and the chance to see a pasque-flower is a right as inalienable as free speech." Such men have spoken for more of us than is generally recognized.

At first it was only the unique and spectacular features of the wilderness, such as Yellowstone; Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon, that elicited Government protection. The idea of preserving wilderness for its own sake, as opposed to the setting aside of the inspiring scene or the dramatic manifestation of nature, this was slow in developing. Many men have had a part in its growth. Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., planning Central Park to interfere as little as possible with nature, certainly was one of the pioneers. So was Verplanck Colvin, whose activities in the 1870's led to the inclusion of an article in the New York State Constitution providing for an Adirondacks forest to be left "forever wild." So was John Muir, singing of his joy in wild, western mountains but at the same time keenly aware of all that had gone and all that was going. And so, in our own day, have been such men as Stephen Mather, Aldo Leopold, Robert Marshall, Arthur H. Carhart, and Olaus J. Murie. They all have contributed toward the preservation of those living museums of primeval America, areas of untouched, unexploited wilderness.

Perhaps the underlying philosophy of wilderness preservation can best be set forth in a kind of Socratic dialogue, taking up in turn the basic questions involved.

What is a wilderness?

It is, by the strict dictionary definition, an area that is uncultivated and uninhabited by man. In a larger sense it is a sanctuary for all the primal realities of nature unchanged. Nothing artificial is imposed upon it by man. It is neither developed nor prettied up. A few years ago, along one of the trails in California's Point Lobos State Park, a woman was discovered pulling up plants with both hands. She explained she was helping clean up the place. Near New York, when the Sunken Forest on Fire Island was turned into a sanctuary recently, a troop of Boy Scouts volunteered to come out with hatchets and aid in clearing out the area. This insatiable propensity of human beings for changing nature stops at the boundary of a wilderness area. There we find the whole book of nature and not—as Thoreau pointed out nature is usually found—a book from which previous visitors and previous generations have torn whole pages and mutilated others. A wilderness area is just wilderness; just that; an area in which nature is left unchanged by man.

But do not the national parks already provide sufficient sanctuaries for wilderness?

In the back-country of a number of national parks there are wonderful stretches of unspoiled wilderness. However, the fundamental purpose of a national park has not been to preserve wilderness as such. It is to protect and make available to the public some superb example of natural splendor, some area that is unique. The significance of the national park, in the main, lies in features it contains that are found nowhere else. The significance of the wilderness area, on the other hand, lies in characteristics that it shares with all other wilderness areas, namely natural conditions as completely untouched and unaltered as is consistent with its protection and use as wilderness.

As long as many of the remaining wilderness areas are in remote, mountainous country, why worry about them? What can happen to them anyway?

Perhaps the best answer to such questions is to quote from the report of a select committee appointed by the Ohio State Senate in 1857—just a century ago—to study the need for protection of a species of bird. The committee reported no protection at all was needed. The birds, it found, were wonderfully prolific. They had for their breeding grounds the vast forests of the North. They could travel daily hundreds of miles in search of food. The report concluded that no ordinary destruction could lessen them and that the numbers killed would never be missed from the myriads that are yearly produced. The bird they referred to was the passenger pigeon, now completely extinct for nearly half a century. It cannot be taken for granted, as the history of America has amply demonstrated, that any area—no matter how wild at present, no matter how removed from centers of population at present—can remain unendangered without protection.

Why do wilderness areas have to be big? Wouldn't small areas serve just as well?

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The wilderness, by its nature, demands solitude. It requires as much remoteness from men and his works as possible. Only in comparatively large areas can a wilderness continue to maintain its wilderness character.

Do these areas have to be roadless?

When we speak of an unspoiled area, unspoiled means different things to different people. But an area that is left as it was, unchanged, absolutely unchanged, cannot be spoiled for anyone. This is the aim of those interested in wilderness preservation. The road, the jeep, the outboard motor, the airplane all are part of a mechanized civilization incompatible with the whole conception of the wilderness. By its nature, a wilderness must remain trail country, canoe country, primitive country. Roads will attract mainly those who have no real interest in the wilderness, those who merely want to see the fringes of wildness while going 60 miles an hour. Wherever a road is constructed through such a region, the cutting and filling and grading disturbs the vegetation, the drainage, the wildlife—not of just a narrow strip but for a considerable distance on either side. Moreover, as soon as one road is built the pressure mounts for joining roads, multiplying the danger and damage.

But if a single road bisected an area, why wouldn't it give two wildernesses in place of one?

In the first place, the smaller the wilderness the less it is a wilderness. Furthermore, in bisecting the area it would also bisect the range of numerous animals and thus interfere with the normal balance of life which a wilderness area provides.

What about elderly people and those who are not strong? Would not a few such roads enable them to secure a taste of wildness unobtainable elsewhere?

There is, in truth, nothing that such roads would provide that cannot now be enjoyed on established highways through national parks and along the fringes of the wilderness. Wherever a road goes it brings with it the same fringe conditions that are found elsewhere. The real wilderness always lies in solitude away from the highway. Preserving the wilderness intact without roads thus does not deprive those who are unable to travel by trail or canoe of anything they cannot find in other places. The building of roads through wilderness areas, with its destruction of wildness, would merely add to something relatively abundant, and subtract from something relatively scarce.

But couldn't just short roads be built in from the edge to, say, ski runs on mountainsides?

Here again the problem arises of what is a wilderness and what alters it until it is no longer a wilderness. Plans to "develop" portions of such areas—often in themselves attractive—are manifold. But it should be axiomatic that only those uses should be permitted that do not lessen or destroy the wilderness character of the area or any part of it.

Under these conditions, is not the preservation of such areas a special privilege for a minority group, namely those who are interested in wilderness for its own sake?

I remember discussing this point one overcast January day with Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, as we walked down a street in Washington, D. C. He observed, quite rightly, that the National Art Gallery, with all its treasures is used by only a small proportion of the people at any one time. Someone might say: "See all this floorspace going to waste. Only the walls are being used. Let's turn this into a roller-skating rink. It will attract more people and the skaters can look at the pictures as they go by." More people, no doubt, would be attracted but the essential, higher purpose for which the gallery was erected would be lost. Anyone is free to visit the art gallery but not to turn it into something else. Similarly anyone is free to visit a wilderness area so long as its character is not altered. None of the regulations governing the areas provides for special users. As Olaus J. Murie has said: "It is not for the sake of any privileged few that we are thus working for wilderness preservation, but rather for all Americans." At present, those who fully appreciate wilderness values are, in all probability, a minority. But in time, as the pioneer attitudes of our history recede, as the pressures of civilization increase, this minority may be no longer a minority. Every test in recent years has indicated that when an issue is posed the majority of voters favors preserving the wilderness. In fact, it may be true that even now the wilderness supporters comprise no minority at all but rather a silent majority.

The tonic of wildness, contact with the realities of the unchanged wilderness, these will grow increasingly precious in years to come. For going to the wilder-

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ness is not a flight from life. It is escape—but escape to reality, escape from all that is artificial in civilization. There we have left behind the forced-draft din of the advertisers, shouting that every want is a need. There we are no longer surrounded by today's thousand and one improved means to unimproved ends. There we are in contact only with timeless and basic things.

One last question: In a country of growing populations should not every acre be put to use?

Wilderness acres are put to use. They are useful to man for many things, the most important of all being such things as—to use John Ruskin's phrase—we do not sell or pawn or in any other way turn into money. I walked, one morning some years ago, through a woods and around a lake with a New York businessman. His interest in nature was entirely confined to two recurring questions: "What's that? What good is it?" By good he meant good to his stomach or his pocketbook. A different yardstick is needed to measure the usefulness of the wilderness. Such areas are not to be considered merely as storehouses of lumber and reservoirs of waterpower for future use. They are storehouses of wildness, and wildness will become an ever-increasing spiritual need in the crowded tomorrow. "We cannot base wilderness reservations on what is merchantable," Howard Zahniser once wrote, "and we should not think of wilderness resources in terms of commodities. In the wilderness there are acres and acres of forest but no board-feet. The resources of the wilderness are of another order."

There is always the temptation, in an effort to obtain immediate acceptance for wilderness preservation, to base the appeal on a lower level. The danger in taking a short cut on a lower road is: you may get stuck there. If, for example, you seek to save songbirds entirely on the basis of the number of caterpillars they destroy, it takes only some superinsecticide to sweep away your arguments. If you plead for saving a wilderness area on the basis of its importance as a watershed, you may find that, sometime later on, new methods of management make only a fraction of that area needed for the purpose. If you advance the argument that the area is of no use for anything else, or that the forest is no good for timber, or that lumbermen can't get in there anyhow, new techniques and new market requirements are likely to leave these seemingly practical arguments bankrupt at a later date. Only by saving the wilderness as wilderness will the goals of its longtime preservation be achieved.

This does not mean that protection of the wilderness is divorced in any way from the overall program of conservation. It is integrated with many phases of land use and land management. The development of sound forestry practices outside the areas, for instance, is of vital importance. As long as we continue to cut timber faster than we grow it, the pressure to invade wilderness tracts will mount. Only if reforestation on a wide scale and more efficient timber management are able to achieve a sustained yield outside the wilderness areas will these preserves be safe. Even if the great forests of the Olympic National Park, one of the glories of the Nation, were thrown open to the saw, it is estimated the available trees there would sustain the local lumber economy for only about a decade and then, with the irreplaceable forests gone, the need for more trees would be as pressing as ever. Taking the easy way and throwing open the forests of wilderness preserves to lumbering will never offer a permanent solution to the problem. That solution must be found outside such areas if it is to be found at all.

There are, at the present time, wilderness tracts of many kinds, particularly in and to the west of the Rocky Mountains. They are under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, the United States Forest Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and—subject to the approval of the Indians themselves—the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They vary greatly in size. They vary widely in designation. Within the national forests, some are called roadless areas, some primitive areas, some wild areas, and some wilderness areas. The wilderness area is the largest. It must be 100,000 acres or more in size. A wild area, on the other hand, ranges from 100,000 down to 5,000 acres. In the national forests alone, 81 areas have been set aside, totaling 14 million acres.

The whole program of wilderness preservation, although never formulated as such by Congress, has grown steadily in importance and popular interest. Its greatest danger at present is the fact that the status of any area can be altered merely by administrative decree. A more solid foundation in law is required if the areas that have already been set aside are to continue as land forever wild.

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It is for this purpose that Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, with a group of cosponsors in the Senate, and Representatives John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, Lee Metcalf, of Montana, and others in the House of Representatives, have introduced into the 85th Congress a bipartisan bill to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System. For the first time, it would give legal recognition to wilderness preservation as a national policy. It would designate specific areas to be set aside. It would outline the public policy in regard to them—such as that man himself is a member of the natural community who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails. It would set up a central advisory and information group, a repository of files for the system, known as the National Wilderness Preservation Council. In the main, the bill would preserve the status quo. No new land would be added. No new land administration agency would be set up. Jurisdiction would continue, as in the past, in various agencies of the Government.

However, public hearings would be required before the status of any area could be altered and Congress would have a chance to review any changes in the areas. Shifts by directorial fiat would be eliminated. Such changes would have to be freely announced and freely discussed before they could be put into execution. One other major change would be included in the legislation. At present anyone who reports a mining discovery in a wilderness area not only can stake out a claim but can have a road built in to the spot. This continual threat to the integrity of wilderness areas would be eliminated by the legislation proposed.

Known as the National Wilderness Preservation Act, it represents one of the most important steps forward in the history of wilderness conservation in America. Hearings planned for late spring and summer should be of paramount interest to every conservationist. The sponsoring Senators and Representatives already have been greatly encouraged by the number of letters received from citizens expressing approval of the plan. The writer of every such letter plays a cumulative important part in providing the impetus required for passage of this needed legislation. If the conservation support that defeated the attempted invasion of the Dinosaur National Monument rallies to the support of the wilderness bill its passage appears certain.

The wilderness itself is always perishable, as perishable as a pasque-flower or a warbler. Once destroyed it is forever gone. History has decided what wilderness areas are available for us to preserve. What is done in our time will determine what will be left for succeeding generations to preserve. The strength of public-spirited individuals united in a common cause was dramatically demonstrated in the fight against Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument. That prevention of an invasion of public lands has created the right climate for putting wilderness philosophy into law, for putting wilderness preservation on a sound and lasting basis.

In a democracy one generation does not tie the hands of the next. The ultimate disposition of wilderness lands will be made by those who come later. So it is never enough to establish sanctuaries and then sit back content. Education, continual education, that will be handed on as the land is handed on, is also required.

Land forever wild. * * * How long will forever be? The answer to this question depends upon two things. One is how well we preserve that which we have an opportunity of preserving in our own day. The other is how well those of a later day are brought to understand the value of wildness in the lives of men and all the resources of the spirit that lie within the wilderness.

Mr. ZAHNISER. The pictures take up very advantageously most of the space in that excerpt from the magazine, but the article is of great excellence.

The American people and their posterity will long be appreciative of the interest that you and the members of this committee and your colleagues in the United States Congress are taking in the heritage of wilderness which is still ours to cherish and preserve. To participate in this effort to secure a living wilderness for America, present and future, I count the greatest privilege that has come to me as a worker in the field of conservation, and I do appreciate your allowing me to share in these historic hearings today.

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I should like to present you with a complimentary copy, Mr. Stong, for yourself, for your patience in listening to this, of a book that the Natural Resources Council of America recently published. I had the privilege of preparing a chapter in there on Parks and Wilderness, which includes some statistical information that may be of interest to you in your present capacity, but I should like to have you take it home with you to solace you after listening so patiently to so many of these things.

Mr. STONG. At this point, I am glad there are no Senators present. I appreciate both the book and the statement.

Mr. ZAHNISER. Thank you.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Zahniser.

(The comments by Mr. Zahniser prepared on invitation to prepare a statement on the reports that were presented in the wilderness bill by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture are as follows:)

COMMENTS ON REPORTS ON S. 1176 BY THE DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE AND THE INTERIOR PREPARED BY HOWARD ZAHNISER, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, TRUSTEES FOR CONSERVATION, ON INVITATION FROM THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Careful study of the reports presented on June 19, 1957, by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with regard to the wilderness bill (S. 1176) indicates that the reports in some respects should be corrected before they are applied to this important legislation but that the bill might then well be improved and clarified and somewhat adapted to meet the objections and recommendations of these Departments.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR VIEWS

The report of the Department of the Interior, dated June 18, cites a dual reason for its recommendation against the wilderness bill:

1. Because of our favorable report with regard to S. 846, which is the bill to establish a commission to make an inventory of our outdoor recreation resources.

2. And for other reasons.

Comments on these objections of the Department of the Interior may be summarized as follows:

1. Supporting the outdoor recreation bill does not interfere with support for the wilderness bill. Various advocates and cosponsors of both bills have shown that they are companion measures. At hearings on May 15, 1957, on the outdoor recreation bill the Department of the Interior representative speaking of this bill and the wilderness bill said: "I do not think that the two bills are in conflict at all." At House hearings on May 14, 1957, National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth, representing the Department of the Interior in testimony on the outdoor recreation bill said: "I do not think there is any conflict between this bill and the wilderness bill. * * * One is developing an overall program for the United States for all forms of recreation, whereas the wilderness bill is a specific type of area; that is, providing for the care of national wilderness."

2. The claim that present laws assure the permanent wilderness character of areas in the national park system is refuted by the National Park Service's own statement in a March 1957 brochure: "There would be little wilderness and much less of the natural beauty of the national parks left had the National Park Service been development-minded, promotionally inclined, and unrestrained by conservation principles. Acquiescence by the National Park Service, plus a little promotion, could have extended the road system, at least in prospect, up the Kings River, across the Olympics, around Mount Rainier, or into almost any wilderness area." Thus the Service corroborates the statements by wilderness bill advocates admiring the National Park Service but emphasizing that wilderness preservation is now a matter of administrative determination and should be established by the Congress as national policy.

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3. Enactment of the wilderness bill now will not increase conflicts and dissension but will minimize controversy by establishing wilderness preservation policies on areas now in wilderness condition and doing this in keeping with economic and other recreational programs. Senator Humphrey said: "The time when we still have the opportunity to provide for the preservation of wilderness without having to interfere with other programs will not be with us long."

4. The National Wilderness Preservation Council will not be interposed between land administrators and Congress; amendments already prepared provide that reports from land administrators will be submitted directly to Congress. The true nature of the Council is such that no interposing need be feared.

5. Congress would not be drawn into any day-to-day management of wilderness areas. The wilderness bill makes management of the areas a matter for regulations that are to be established by the administrators.

6. The same pattern of management will not be placed on all areas in the wilderness system. It is a special feature of this proposed legislation that its wilderness preservation purposes are to be realized in areas that are now being managed for other purposes, and will continue to be so managed, parks as parks, forests as forests, and so forth.

7. The wilderness bill strengthens the legal protection of the National Park System and specifically safeguards provisions of the act of 1916.

8. Only 20 out of the 274 national wildlife refuges and ranges are included in the proposed wilderness system, but these include significant areas where the important wildlife conservation measure is the preservation of wilderness. Elsewhere in these 20 areas included and in the other 254 wildlife refuges the wildlife-management practices that modify wilderness will, of course, continue.

9. The wilderness bill carefully respects the rights of the Indians. In addition to special provisions in the subsection on the Indians' wilderness the composition of the entire system is subject to preexisting private rights and the provisions regarding excluded uses of wilderness areas is specifically, also, made subject to existing private rights.

10. Through clarification and revision valid Interior Department objections can well be met and the wilderness bill adapted to Interior Department programs and policies.

These 10 comments in greater detail are as follows:

IS THE WILDERNESS BILL INCONSISTENT WITH THE OUTDOOR RECREATION BILL?

Basing opposition to the wilderness bill on support for the outdoor recreation bill would seem to be either the result of a misunderstanding of the two bills, or else inexplicable in these present comments.

The two bills referred to are not in conflict, either with the other. The purpose of one is to gather information about all our outdoor recreation resources. The object of the wilderness bill is to provide protection for areas of wilderness that already are recognized as valuable for wilderness preservation and to do this while it is still possible without conflict with other programs.

The Department of Agriculture, it may be noted, has supported the outdoor recreation bill, and has also proposed a wilderness preservation bill. Testifying at the Senate hearings on June 19, 1957, Chief Forester Richard McArdle, representing the Department of Agriculture, said that "legislation to give statutory recognition to wilderness areas would be desirable." He also said: "I doubt very much if any of the areas which we have established are going to be very materially altered by the recommendations of any truly impartial study group." Thus, in the Department of Agriculture, support for an outdoor recreation resources review apparently does not preclude legislation to protect wilderness. Neither should it in the Department of the Interior.

Representative John P. Saylor once described the outdoor recreation and the wilderness bills as making up "a two-fold program that is in addition to other important programs in accommodating the recreationists that now visit our national parks and national forests." Mr. Saylor referred to Mission 66 in the parks and operation outdoors in the forests, and then said:

"Beyond them is our need for a careful inventory of all our outdoor recreation resources—a review of what we have in the light of the projected requirements of our foreseeable future."

Then Representative Saylor pointed out:

"Paralleling all these programs, present and projected, and crowding urgently for attention while yet there is time, is our effort to enact legislation that will preserve our National Wilderness System."

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Almost as though he were anticipating the argument advanced in this June 18 report of the Department of the Interior, Representative Saylor spoke out clearly and forcibly as follows:

"There are, of course, some people who, for various reasons, have so far opposed the wilderness bill, and some of these opponents of wilderness preservation legislation have used the outdoor recreation resources bill as a means of their opposition. For this reason, I emphasize that the two measures are in no sense in conflict.

"The one bill provides for a thorough and comprehensive study over a period of time and a broad field of interest.

"The wilderness bill, on the other hand, proposes to establish at once the preservation of specific areas that already are recognized as suitable and available for preservation.

"Anyone who has ever tried thus to accomplish such a positive program knows that a favorite device of the opposition is to say 'Oh, no, not yet; let's study it some more.' So it is now, with the wilderness bill. And some such opponents have pointed eagerly to the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission bill as the device for such a delay.

"We are not being fooled, and you will not be either. We welcome eagerly all the support we can get for establishing the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. We hope to pass this bill promptly. But I say to you, as I have already said to others, while we are doing all this study let's be saving something, too; let's pass the wilderness bill, just as soon as we can."

Mr. Saylor spoke thus on April 11, 1957, before an organization called Philadelphia Conservationists, in Philadelphia, Pa. A week later, Senator Wayne Morse, who also like Representative Saylor is a sponsor of both the wilderness bill and the outdoor recreation bill, speaking on the floor of the Senate, placed the full text of Mr. Saylor's address in the Congressional Record and himself spoke as follows:

"As it happens," said Senator Morse, "there are among certain opponents of the wilderness bill some who have sought to give the impression that this outdoor recreation review bill is an alternative measure. Mr. Saylor, along with others in both Houses who also are sponsors of both measures, has effectively demonstrated, however, that the two bills are in fact very properly companion measures, both of which should be enacted."

This conclusion by Senator Morse would seem also to be borne out by the testimony given by Department of the Interior representatives during hearings May 14 and 15 on the outdoor recreation bill.

The following colloquy occurred between Ben Thompson, of the National Park Service and Senator Richard L. Neuberger, when Mr. Thompson was presenting the Department of the Interior's report to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and Senator Neuberger as a member of the committee was questioning him:

"Senator NEUBERGER. Just one other question, Mr. Chairman. Senator Anderson explored this matter, and I will not be long about it. Senator Anderson asked you about the suggestion that the title be amended to add 'including the preservation of wilderness values,' et cetera. The way I feel about it is this: There is a general recreation bill introduced by Senator Anderson, which it seems to me is all-inclusive. There is another bill introduced by Senator Humphrey and others of us that specifically relates to wilderness areas in the national forests and national parks and elsewhere. One is a study bill that seeks to inventory all of these responsibilities, while the wilderness bill seeks to implement through legislative authority the protection of these wilderness areas that have been in existence for nearly half a century.

"I wonder why you want to add 'including the preservation of wilderness values' to this particular bill which in my opinion almost narrows it. Why do you not also go on and add including the preservation of winter sports areas, including the preservation of rivers, including the preservation of wildlife, including the preservation of big game, including the preservation of fisheries and waterfowl? All these things are part of the Anderson bill. Why do you seek to put in these other matters?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Senator Neuberger, I think I could best answer that by reading a short paragraph from the Department's report on the bill, which refers to the very point you have raised, and also to point out that there is quite a listing of what constitutes outdoor recreation resources on page 2 of the bill. The statement in the Department's report was to emphasize the matter of wilderness preservation as much as anything. It is as follows:

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"'We believe the objectives of this proposal are particularly commendable with regard to those forms of public recreation that involve actual public use of recreation resources. In recent years, however, there has developed more and more an appreciation of the natural and scenic beauty and the wilderness areas that are a part of our national heritage. We suggest, therefore, that recognition of this phase of outdoor recreation and appreciation be set forth with more emphasis in the bill. We suggest an amendment hereafter for this purpose.'

"That was the amendment in the title. It was a matter of emphasizing preservation of wilderness areas.

"Senator NEUBERGER. Senator Anderson's bill does include in the language 'wild, wilderness, and primitive areas.' You want to put in the title 'wilderness areas,' but you do not want to put in all the other specific things that are included in the text of Senator Anderson's bill.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Could I answer it this way? There are always numerous forces and groups in our civilization to promote facilities and activities of various kinds. The preservation of wilderness probably has fewer advocates. Certainly the wilderness has fewer users. In a sense the preservation of wilderness is holding natural areas not only for their present wilderness use, but for future needs, whatever they may be. I think that was the reason for wishing to give that phase of it emphasis in the title.

"Senator NEUBERGER. You realize that there are several bills in the Congress dealing with outdoor recreation. There is this bill for a general inventory and then there is Senator Humphrey's bill that deals specifically with wilderness matters. You are aware of that?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Yes.

"Senator NEUBERGER. Do you not think it is in a way creating unnecessary conflict when you pick this one thing to add to the title, when there is on pages 2 and 3 of Senator Anderson's bill a whole listing of these activities and you pick out only the wilderness to put in the title?

"Mr. THOMPSON. I do not think that the two bills are in conflict at all.

"Senator NEUBERGER. I do not either. I am afraid you may be creating that by your proposal. I agree they are not in conflict in any way. I am privileged to be a cosponsor of each of the bills, and I do not regard myself as having cosponsored conflicting legislation. I wonder if you are not unnecessarily endangering the complete compatability of the two bills by trying to put this one particular thing in the title of S. 846.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Certainly it was not our intention to create conflicts.

"Senator NEUBERGER. That is all I had, Mr. Chairman.

"Senator ANDERSON. That is useful because we want to get in the legislative history of the bill that if we did adopt your suggestion and amend the title to include wilderness that it would not be regarded as conflicting in any way with these other proposals."

This testimony by the representative of the Department of the Interior on May 15, 1957, certainly makes it seem surprising that that Department should say on June 19, 1957, to the same Senate committee "we do not recommend" enactment of the wilderness bill (S. 1176) "because of our favorable report to your committee with regard to S. 846," the outdoor recreation bill.

During the hearings before the Public Lands Subcommittee, of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on May 14, the following colloquy occurred between National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth and Representative Lee Metcalf (a sponsor of both the wilderness bill and the outdoor recreation bill) when Mr. Wirth was presenting the Department of the Interior's report on the outdoor recreation bill to the subcommittee and Mr. Metcalf, a member of the subcommittee, was questioning him:

"Mr. METCALF. Mr. Wirth, I would like to pursue this a little further. I am, of course, pleased and somewhat surprised to see the report that came up here this morning. I had anticipated that there would be an adverse report coming out, because did not Secretary Seaton issue a report that his advisory board had recommended against this [outdoor recreation] bill?

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"Mr. WIRTH. That is right, but that is another advisory board that is purely advisory. As a matter of fact, I have been accused of controlling the Secretary's advisory board, which I consider a compliment.

"Mr. METCALF. You had recommended in favor of this bill, I take it?

"Mr. WIRTH. I pointed out to the Secretary in my report the various things we were planning to do in the Mission 66 program, and I ended up by saying that Mission 66 in certain aspects goes into considerably more detail. I left it in that position.

"Mr. METCALF. And you have given us an unequivocal report in favor of the bill except for certain amendments, and one suggestion troubles me a little bit.

"Mr. WIRTH. Should I read the amendments?

"Mr. METCALF. I want to take up one of them.

"Mr. WIRTH. They are departmental amendments. They are the same ones I have in my statement.

"Mr. METCALF. They are the same?

"Mr. WIRTH. Exactly the same.

"Mr. METCALF. I refer to the second page of the departmental report which was just delivered here today and the suggested amendment No. 3 including wilderness as a part of the survey and inventory.

"Mr. WIRTH. That is a change in title.

"Mr. METCALF. Do you not agree that the purpose of this bill and the purpose of the wilderness bill are completely different and separate and apart?

"Mr. WIRTH. I feel this way, that when you are studying the recreational possibilities of the United States you have got to take in all the elements in your studies, and amongst them is wilderness.

"Mr. METCALF. Is there anything in this bill that would prevent including wilderness as a part of the survey and inventory?

"Mr. WIRTH. No, sir; that is why we just clarified the title.

"Mr. METCALF. Do you feel that in this business of taking stock, this Commission will have to take an inventory of wilderness as well as national parks?

"Mr. WIRTH. I certainly do.

"Mr. METCALF. So that would it not confuse the issue to add wilderness in the title, and would it not tend to confuse the purpose of this inventory and survey bill with the purpose of the wilderness bill which is also pending before this committee?

"Mr. WIRTH. As I understand the wilderness bill, it is entirely different than this. The wilderness bill provides for certain criteria in establishing wilderness areas and certain methods of establishing them and protecting them. This is purely the development of an overall program, and I do not think there is any conflict between this bill and the wilderness bill.

"Mr. METCALF. I do not think there is any conflict as presently written, but I certainly think there would be a conflict or at least a tendency toward confusion if the amendment suggested were inserted in the bill.

"Mr. WIRTH. We thought it was a clarification. If it is not a clarification and if it is confusing the issue, I am sure the Department would not want to push it. In our minds it is a clarification. One is developing an overall program for the United States for all forms of recreation, whereas the wilderness bill is a specific type of area, that is, providing for the care of national wilderness.

Thus National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth who presented the Department of the Interior report to the Senate committee on June 19, 1957, and cited "our favorable report on S. 846" as a reason for opposing the wilderness bill had thus said on May 14, 1957, with regard to S. 846:

"I do not think there is any conflict between this bill and the wilderness bill * * * One is developing an overall program for the United States for all forms of recreation, whereas the wilderness bill is a specific type of area; that is, providing for the care of national wilderness."

It is important to note that the principal organizations advocating the wilderness bill have included those urging the outdoor recreation resources inventory. The latter was first advanced by the Sierra Club, one of the staunchest advocates of the wilderness bill. Later the Wilderness Society commended the outdoor recreation resources review proposal and in September, 1956, urged that it be put into form to be advocated. The Izaak Walton League of America championed it in Congress. In the Senate the cosponsors of the outdoor

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recreation bill included four cosponsors also of the wilderness bill; namely, Senators Murray, Neuberger, Morse, and Mundt. In the House of Representatives leading sponsors of the wilderness bill who also introduced the outdoor recreation resources bill included both Lee Metcalf of Montana and John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania.

The fact is there is no inconsistency between these two bills. Support of one of them by the Department of the Interior need not interfere in the least with its support of the other. The two bills in Representative Lee Metcalf's words, are "completely different, separate, and apart," or as Senator Wayne Morse said, "very properly companion measures, both of which should be enacted."

IS THERE NO NEED FOR THE WILDERNESS BILL?

The "other reasons" (besides the support given the outdoor recreation resources review) that are cited for recommending against the wilderness bill begin with the implication that there is not a need for the wilderness bill. Says the Department:

"* * * the Congress of the United States * * * has enacted many statutes, upon our recommendation, that assure the permanent wilderness character of these areas," meaning those in the National Park System.

We are not aware of these many statutes. We do recognize that there are statutes which make it possible for the administrators of the National Park System to preserve the permanent wilderness character of these areas if they so decide. The need for the wilderness bill arises from the fact that under these statutes the administrators also have authority to do otherwise and are susceptible to situations in which they may be compelled to do otherwise. Instead of preserving, they may alter or destroy the wilderness character of the areas. This is pointed out, not in criticism of these administrators, but in an earnestness to strengthen their hands and avoid interference in the future with their sound preservation policies.

In an extensive brochure dated March 1957 and entitled "Preservation of Natural and Wilderness Values in the National Parks" the National Park Service itself pointed out in effect that it could destroy the wilderness. In the course of demonstrating the wilderness interest of the National Park Service itself past and present, this brochure included the following paragraph:

"There would be little wilderness and much less of the natural beauty of the national parks left today had the National Park Service been development minded, promotionally inclined, and unrestrained by conservation principles. Acquiescence by the National Park Service, plus a little promotion, could have extended the road system, at least in prospect, up the Kings River, across the Olympics, around Mount Rainier, or into almost any wilderness area. There is no limit to the enterprises that could have been developed if every activity and every recreational device usually found in a resort development had been invited into the national parks."

Thus the National Park Service itself last March 1957 stated tellingly the fact that no act of Congress at present requires the National Park Service to preserve the permanent wilderness character of these areas. Such preservation is dependent upon the Service's administrative policies, and permissions. Like the brochure from which we have quoted, the wilderness bill also has been developed in admiration for the National Park Service. Incorporating polices and practices of the National Park Service, this legislation seeks to strengthen the administrators' hands and to provide a congressional policy that will insure the continued preservation of wilderness within the national park system.

As Senator Hubert Humphrey pointed out in explaining the needs for, and purposes of the wilderness bill:

"* * * there are no laws of Congress which protect these areas of wilderness as wilderness. Even in the national parks and monuments the pressures for roads and nonwilderness recreational and tourist developments threaten in many places to destroy the primeval back country * * * As to the 48 national parks and monuments included, the bill gives added protection as wilderness for the portions not needed for roads and accommodations, and yet sets no limitation on the portions that may be designated for such use as needed."

Representative John P. Saylor, with a background of deep interest in national park preservation, discussed the needs for wilderness preservation legislation in the national park system at some length, as follows:

"Within the national parks and monuments in general there is at present no act of Congress that would prevent a future Secretary of the Interior, or park

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administrator with his approval, from deciding to construct a road, a building, or any other installation that he would deem appropriate for a national park or monument.

"The Yellowstone Act that inaugurated our national parks in 1872 provided for the retention of the wonders there * * * 'in their natural condition,' and yet that act has, of course, not interfered with the construction of the Yellowstone Park system of roads, the many buildings that are there, and the other developments that have so altered 'natural conditions' that the atmosphere in some parts of the park is that of a crowded city.

"I do not object to these developments in Yellowstone National Park. I have indeed used them with appreciation. I am merely pointing out that they have been constructed in accordance with the laws under which the park is governed, and there is nothing in that law to prevent such construction elsewhere in the park.

"There are other parks—Isle Royale and Everglades, for example—where wilderness preservation is perhaps more specifically a park purpose, but in general in none of them is there a limit to the possible penetration of the primeval back country with developments that would destroy the wilderness as such.

"In my opinion, if we are to make sure that we still have in the distant future our national park primeval back country still preserved as wilderness, we should declare here in Congress our purpose to do so.

"In mission 66 we are doing our best to provide for the development of adequate facilities and accommodations for the increasingly numerous visitors to the parks. I heartily endorse and support this development program. I yield to no one as a friend of the national parks and the National Park Service. I shall continue to invite every constituent in my district and their fellow Americans everywhere to lose no opportunity to visit their national parks and monuments, and I shall lose no opportunity to help see that these visitors are properly accommodated.

"At the same time I sense a need also to strengthen the hands of the National Park service in its work for the preservation of the primeval back country as wilderness.

"I have been impressed with the findings of a scientist who made a study of our wilderness programs as a part of his doctoral study at the University of Michigan. Speaking on October 26, 1954, at the Milwaukee, Wis., convention of the Society of American Foresters, this scientist, Dr. James P. Gilligan, who is now assistant professor of forestry at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, spoke as follows about existing wilderness preservation prospects in our National Park System:

"'Wilderness conditions, of course, have vanished from developed areas; and the sight, sound, and sometimes smell of these concentration zones disperse so widely that quite large sections cannot be considered natural, let alone wilderness. National parks, too, must often justify their existence to the locality or State in which they are situated principally on economic grounds. As long as the drums throb for more tourist dollars, park administrators will find it hard to accommodate the increasing army of sightseers without extending development. It is highly improbable that a seemingly logical course of restricting visitation to any national park will be put into effect until every possible means of providing accommodations is exhausted. It is a fair question to ask how much of the parks will be developed by then.

"'Because of congressional measures which ordinarily prevent utilization of wood, water, mineral, or forage resources in areas of the national park system, the National Park Service is the most logical existing agency to preserve extensive wilderness regions. However, it is subject to the unrelenting pressures of mass use, and retreats gradually behind the cold logic that more areas must be developed to care properly for the public to whom the land belongs. It is merely another application of the philosophy that as many people as possible should use these areas, even though finally there is little left of the original landscape.

"'Americans will continue to saturate choice recreation sites opened to motorized entry, and then complain because everyone else is also present.

"'The real democratic significance of these areas may not be in providing access and accommodations to everyone, but in holding a few undeveloped areas where high quality recreation benefits can still be obtained by those willing to make the effort. Most endeavors to retain such areas for a relatively small number gradually yield before the demands of an eager traveling public, which has not yet grasped the full significance of our National Park System.

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"'The organic National Park Service Act of 1916 offers nearly as much flexibility in managing recreation resources as does the multiple-use principle of the Forest Service. There is nothing in the act directing how much of, or what part of, parks to develop, nor is there any clause in the law or interpretive regulations stipulating the reservation of park units in wilderness condition.

"'The National Park Service has established some precedence in trying to retain wilderness zones. It is questionable, however, whether the will of the administrator can be sufficiently strong to prevent development in the long run.'

"We must meet this situation," Mr. Saylor concluded, "by providing in Congress the basic legislation that these excellent administrators need to insure their success in making our national parks secure as our great reservoirs of wilderness."

Thus in detail Representative John Saylor has presented the need for legislation which we face if we are to make sure of the preservation of the primeval back country of the National Park System as wilderness.

OUR WILDERNESS THREATS

As to the needs for wilderness preservation legislation, a paper presented on request to the Midcentury Conference on Resources for the Future, held in Washington, D. C., December 2 to 4, 1953, might be of special value at this point. In response to the question "What are the primary threats to the maintenance of adequate areas of wilderness?" the following paper was presented:

"Our Wilderness Threats

"By Howard Zahniser, Executive Secretary and Editor, the Wilderness Society

"Our wilderness areas, here and there, and thus eventually everywhere, are in danger of being taken away from us for other uses. They also are in danger, here and there, and thus eventually everywhere, of being destroyed as wilderness by overuse, misuse, and even by various measures for their supposed protection.

"Our expansive civilization is such that only those areas which are deliberately set aside as wilderness can be expected to persist as wilderness. Wilderness thus exists in the midst of influences that would destroy it.

"Recognition of the value of wilderness is, however, also an aspect of our culture. It is the conviction of conservationists that a program of wilderness preservation has been undertaken while it is still possible to preserve a system of wilderness areas without depriving this or succeeding generations of essential commodities or denying them adequate opportunities for outdoor recreation with conveniences.

"Thus, we start a consideration of threats to wilderness with an understanding that wilderness preservation is consistent with our civilization and that it is reasonable to expect success in the program we have undertaken. We are not fighting a rearguard action simply to delay the destruction of wilderness. We are rather carrying forward a program that we expect will endure in perpetuity.

"Maintaining wilderness, let us say, then, is dependent on respect for its human value as wilderness and, beyond this, on what amounts to a broad land-use zoning program. Elsewhere than in our wilderness reservations we can obtain the timber and mineral and other commodities that we need and shall need. Outside our dedicated wilderness we can find the needed sites for our great dams and reservoirs, build the roads and landing fields for our mechanical travel, find also the places for our outdoor recreation with the conveniences and facilities which we so well contrive—in short, realize all the benefits that we want from a developed country. Within our wilderness areas we shall see preserved the community of life of which we by origin and nature are a part, preserved to as great an extent as possible unmodified by our mechanized civilization.

"This is a high ideal, based on a reverence for the life community to which we belong, based on a regard for the health of our own minds and bodies and our esthetic or spiritual natures, and based on a concern for the welfare of generations of the future. It is an ideal shared by many people in many ways. In one way or another it is involved in nearly every regard for the wilderness as such. It is an ideal that is in dual jeopardy—threatened because the areas in which it finds its reality are coveted for other uses and threatened because those who use and protect it as wilderness are so often and so subtly tempted to modify it as wilderness—and thus destroy the quality that characterizes it, that distinguishes it from other outdoor recreation areas. The jeopardy is the

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deeper because the areas of wilderness that have now survived our civilization are so limited.

"For one thing, the areas of wilderness that remain, including those that have already been set aside for preservation, are still in demand for the commodities that can be taken from them. Less than a year ago we resolved a controversy regarding the Gila wilderness area in the Gila National Forest of New Mexico that arose primarily from a proposal to remove a large part of the area from wilderness protection so that its great ponderosa pine forest could be managed for timber. The rain forests in the superb wilderness of Olympic National Park in the State of Washington are still being demanded by the lumber interests and their supporters. Similar threats are latent in many places and probably will be until the preservation of wilderness becomes so firmly established as public policy that individuals and groups will not consider challenging it, and until the sustained provision of adequate supplies of the commodities is assured by wise conservation practices in the nonwilderness areas that remain available for exploitation.

"Grazing by domestic livestock is a commodity use that is a threat to wilderness areas in the national forests, where it should be excluded as soon as this can be equitably accomplished—just as it now is excluded in national parks. Grazing existed as a permitted use in national forest areas before they were set aside as wilderness and has continued partly because it has been expedient to avoid opposition to the wilderness program. Yet it should be excluded from wilderness not only because of the effects on vegetation and soil wherever there is intensive grazing within the usually high-country regions of such areas but also because of the competition with wildlife and with the pack animals involved in recreational use of the areas.

"A special aspect of the threat to wilderness that arises from demands to exploit them for commodities is that relating to the jeopardy of national forest wilderness areas resulting from mining. In terms of urgency and possible immediate damage this threat, which could and should be removed by revision of the mining laws, is probable the mose severe of all—most certainly a primary threat. Some 3 years ago Lyle F. Watts, then Chief of the United States Forest Service, named this as the first of 3 outstanding dangers which he then saw to the national forest wilderness preservation program. He explained it thus:

"'All of our wilderness areas are in lands withdrawn for national forest purposes from the public domain. That means that these areas are subject to mineral location under the United States mining laws. Under these laws any citizen may locate a mining claim upon discovery of mineral sufficient to justify a prudent man in the further expenditure of time and money. Upon doing $500 worth of work, a valid mining claim may be patented. Also the mining claimant is entitled to reasonable ingress and egress and that means roads, and roads mean the end of wilderness.'"

"As Mr. Watts explained, 'the mining laws date back to 1872, when it was the policy of the United States to give away lands lavishly to encourage settlement and development.' But although those days are gone the 1872 mining laws are still on the books and the dire threat to national-forest wilderness areas from mining activities remains.

"The second of the three dangers that Chief Forester Watts described had to do with what he called 'large water impoundments'—dams. That surely is one of our outstanding current threats to wilderness not only within the national forests but within the national park system and elsewhere as well. The State of New York just this fall adopted an amendment to its constitution to minimize this threat of impoundments to the wilderness of its forest preserve. Projects of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers of the Army threaten wilderness in parts of the national park system and in the national forests. An outstanding threat to the maintenance of adequate areas of wilderness is indeed the reluctance of these construction agencies and their supporters to use the available alternate dam sites outside of wilderness, although in some cases the alternatives seem to have advantages and in other cases any added costs seem well warranted to avoid the sacrifice of a wilderness.

"'A third real danger,' said Mr. Watts, 'is with the private land within many of the wilderness areas.' As Mr. Watts said so clearly:

"'A wilderness area is vulnerable as long as it is shot through with private land holdings. This is true not only of wilderness areas but of national parks and all other public conservation lands. A whole bookful of new laws wouldn't fully protect them. It would be next to impossible to prevent ingress and egress

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or to control the uses of these lands so long as they remained in private ownership.'

"The importance of public ownership of all the area within a designated wilderness suggests also the importance of public ownership of the national forest of which it is a part—public ownership and control. Threats to such public ownership and control are threats to wilderness.

"There also is grave danger in proposals that would transfer Federal lands with wilderness reservations to the States, for almost certainly in each case the security of the wilderness is diminished.

"There are, indeed, secure wilderness-preservation programs in the States, from California's assured custody of the primeval redwoods to New York's 'forever wild' protection of the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserve, and there should be more. All units of government should preserve the outstanding wildernesses that remain in their custody.

"Yet moving a wilderness from national protection to state protection is both diminishing its security and increasing its jeopardy in many respects.

"Wilderness preservation at present requires that wildernes conservationists everywhere be concerned with wilderness threats anywhere. When an area is in national ownership conservationists throughout the Nation have an effective voice in its protection wherever it is. In State custody the area would be subject to the effective voice only of those residing within that State.

"As a rule, furthermore, the threats to wilderness areas are more intense and more frequent from those who reside near them. This is only natural. But it means that an area in State custody would be in the hands of officials more likely to be responsive to those from whom the threats arise—at the same time that they are independent of wilderness conservationists in all the rest of the Nation.

"Moving a wilderness from Federal to State protection is thus putting it more effectively under the influence of those most likely to be in a position to destroy or modify it as wilderness and at the same time is removing it from the control of officials with responsibility to the vast majority of those citizens concerned with its preservation, those who reside in States outside that of its location.

"The airplane is a threat to wilderness preservation, a threat that should be most carefully considered in national parks as well as in national forests. Motor vehicles of all kinds, with the roads that some of them require, are obvious and acknowledged threats to wilderness preservation, yet they are threats which must constantly be considered. For they are conveniences that insidiously appeal to human beings.

"The temptation for wilderness users themselves to resort to practices that modify through convenience their own wilderness experiences is indeed one of the great threats to the maintenance of wilderness. When this temptation is used by administrators and other friends of wilderness areas to attract more people into the wilderness the result is a compound threat. Some practices—introduction, for example, of mechanical conveyances and buildings for the convenience of skiers, as proposed in the San Gorgonio controversy of 1947—are obviously modifications of the wilderness, requiring reclassification of the lands involved. Others, however, may be more subtle though in the long run equally destructive of the distinctive values that make an area a wilderness.

"Furthermore, the numbers of wilderness users or the frequency of their visits may be destructive of the wilderness. When this is threatened and the result is a resort to expedients to permit the continued and increasing number of uses this threat also is compounded. If pack animals should use up the grazing in an area, for example, yet should be allowed to continue in the area by being supplied with hay dropped from airplanes flown into the wilderness, the maintenance of the wilderness would surely be in jeopardy. Yet such a possibility is not entirely hypothetical. It represents one kind of threat.

"Expressed in other terms, this threat comes often and is implicit in the words 'no one is using it,' spoken by those who do not yet fully understand the subtlety of values in the wilderness they wish to see 'used'—in an ordinary concept of the word 'use.'

"There are and will be many temptations by the guardians and supporters of wilderness areas to do those thing which will bring more people to the areas and thus into the ranks of those who appreciate and defend them. In this temptation likewise is a great threat to wilderness that must be guarded against, for a wilderness is not a developed recreation area; with development

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the wilderness recedes, and there thus develops the hazard of destroying an area as wilderness in order to protect it.

"The primary threat to the maintenance of adequate wilderness areas, after all, is most likely in our slowness to realize that a system of wilderness areas must be set aside, zoned for preservation, and thus protected from all uses that are not consistent with continued preservation of the areas as wilderness. This slowness in realization is in turn due to our tardy sensing of the fact that our need for wilderness is fundamental and general, not incidental and specialized. We work for wilderness preservation not primarily for the right of a minority to have the kind of fun it prefers, but rather to insure for everyone the perpetuation of areas where human enjoyment and apprehension of the interrelations of the whole community of life are possible, and to preserve for all the freedom of choosing to know the primeval if they so wish. When this is understood and when we have worked with our cooperators in other fields of conservation so effectively that the wise management of all our land resources is insured for the production of commodities and the provision of recreational opportunities for which it will then no longer be necessary even to consider further encroachment on wilderness, then we shall know that we are indeed in that future the resources for which we are now so earnestly considering.

"Finally, for the present, let us remember that any threat we face now is a primary one—till it is removed."

WILL THE BILL DEFEAT ITS PURPOSE BY CAUSING DISSENSION?

As further reason for opposing the wilderness bill, the Department of the Interior cites its fears of conflicts and dissension that would arise concerning the use of a large portion of the Federal estate that would be unveiled in the proposed wilderness system. The Department recommends first a thorough and objective study in order to proceed equitably with respect to the selection of particular areas for wilderness status.

Senator Humphrey, on the other hand, has emphasized that the present circumstances are especially favorable because they involve a minimum of conflict.

"No area now devoted to any economic purpose, or to any other development program, is withdrawn from its use by this legislation," Senator Humphrey has emphasized. In urging prompt consideration of the legislation he also has warned: "The time when we still have the opportunity to provide for the preservation of wilderness without having to interfere with other programs will not be with us long."

If there are particular areas where there might be controversy the Department might indicate these. Such areas might be left for later inclusion if the present circumstances involve conflicts and dissensions too difficult to resolve at present.

The Department of the Interior apparently, however, has not clearly realized that the wilderness bill involves no change of jurisdiction and no change in the purposes now being served by the areas involved. It is difficult to imagine a future time at which conflicts and dissensions and even controversy can more easily be avoided.

The wilderness bill proposes to provide for wilderness preservation in our present favorable circumstances rather than in the controversies which will result if threats to exploit wilderness areas are permitted to develop. Then, as recently in connection with the Echo Park proposal, we shall have either to sacrifice the wilderness or engage in controversy.

As the New York Times observed so aptly on June 23, 1957, in an editorial on the wilderness bill hearings, entitled "Saving Wilderness Areas":

"The big change brought about by the wilderness bill would be not to take land away from previously 'productive' uses but to prevent arbitrary disposal of our existing wilderness, and—even more important—to place Congress clearly on record as approving a national wilderness preservation system formally set up under protection of law rather than by administrative fiat."

The New York Times concluded this article by saying:

"The wilderness bill has met with a bureaucratic and special-interest opposition that its moderate and reasonable terms do not deserve."

When the bill does not now include adequate provocation for conflicts, dissension, controversy, it does not seem convincing for the Department of the Interior to base objection on the likelihood of future difficulties. These should be avoided by constructive action, rather than feared in an obstructive course that can only provoke bitter controversy later, or sacrifice some of our wilderness assets.

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WILL THE WILDERNESS COUNCIL BE INTERPOSED BETWEEN CONGRESS AND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS?

The Department of the Interior fears the interposing of an additional agency, a National Wilderness Preservation Council, between the Congress and the responsible administrative agency.

This is a fear that the Department may well dismiss. As provided for in S. 1176 the Council was not intended to come between Congress and the land administrator, and further suggested amendments will clarify any misunderstandings along this line.

The Department in its June 18 report points out itself that the Council would neither bear the responsibility for the determination of policy, nor the responsibility for carrying it out. The Council would simply be a focus of interest and a center of information. It would be a repository for files regarding the areas of wilderness as wilderness. It would prepare an annual report and would thus give attention periodically to the wilderness system as such. All the land-administering agencies would continue to deal with the areas of wilderness as serving their present purposes—as national forest, as national park, as wildlife lands, for example. Only the Wilderness Council—including, as amendments would provide, the 5 heads of the land bureaus involved and only 3 citizens members—would center attention on the wilderness system as such.

According to amendments already proposed, the land administrators would clearly report directly to Congress. Only copies of reports would go to the Council—for filing and for maintenance of its information.

WOULD CONGRESS BE DRAWN INTO "DAY-TO-DAY" MANAGEMENT OF LANDS IN THE WILDERNESS SYSTEM?

The Department of the Interior declares that if the wilderness bill becomes law, Congress will be drawn into the day-to-day management of national parks, wildlife refuges and ranges, Indian reservations, national forests, and other Federal lands designated wilderness areas.

This would indeed be a serious indictment of the wilderness bill if it were actually a possibility. The fact, however, is that Congress after enactment of the wilderness bill would not be involved at all in day-to-day management.

Clearly and explicitly the bill provides that the areas shall be administered in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary involved shall establish in conformity with the purposes of the act.

The only continuing concern of Congress will be in connection with proposed additions, modifications, or eliminations which would be reported to Congress and would take effect after 120 days if no adverse action had been taken by Congress. Congress thus would have the opportunity to review such proposed actions—not the necessity. It is hardly reasonable, in any case, to suppose that such suggested changes in wilderness areas would be frequent enough to become matters of day-to-day concern.

WOULD THE SAME PATTERN OF WILDERNESS MANAGEMENT BE PLACED ON ALL AREAS?

The Department of the Interior states that "by the terms of this bill, a considerable number of each type of reservation to which this bill refers, would be placed in essentially the same pattern of wilderness management," and goes on to argue that because of different uses and interests "this would be impracticable."

It is hard to imagine a more obvious misinterpretation of the wilderness bill than this. The central purpose of this proposal is the preservation of the wilderness character of areas that are being managed for other purposes and that will continue to be managed for these purposes—parks as parks, forests as forests, wildlife refuges as refuges. As Senator Humphrey has explained—

"Every area included in the proposed national wilderness preservation system is now serving some other purpose, or purposes, consistent with the continued protection of the area as wilderness. Under this legislation these areas will continue to serve these purposes, and they will be administered by the same agencies that now handle them."

The bill itself says in the opening sentence of section 3 (a):

"Nothing in this act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the national wilderness preserva-

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tion system shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such other purpose or purposes as to preserve also its wilderness character."

Section 3 (a) goes on to provide that the various areas shall be administered in accordance with regulations that will be established by their various administrators.

There is nothing to interfere with flexibility of management.

The only common requirement is that the wilderness character of the areas shall be preserved.

National forest areas will continue to serve the multiple-use purposes that emphasize watershed protection but permit recreational uses that include shooting.

National park areas will continue to be for the use and enjoyment of the people in a recreational way, but in keeping with basic policies which require that the national parks must be preserved as sanctuaries.

National wildlife refuges that include areas of wilderness will continue to be administered for the wildlife, but in accordance with policies that will keep out wilderness recreation activities that are a prominent feature of both national park and national forest back-country use.

This kind of program has been developed because—as the Department of the Interior says—each type of Federal area or reservation has been adapted over a period of time to the particular needs and desires of our people. The proponents of the wilderness bill have repeatedly themselves stated of these areas what the Department now points out; namely, that each serves a definite purpose and the Nation derives many and varied types of benefits from its estate. It is in recognition of this that the wilderness bill has been designed, providing for a variety of management patterns, respecting existing programs and policies, and simply requiring that these continue—as they now do—to include the preservation of the wilderness character of the areas.

WOULD THE NATIONAL PARKS BE ON A LESS FIRM FOUNDATION OF PROTECTION UNDER THE WILDERNESS BILL?

The Department of the Interior says that "the inclusion of the national parks in a general system of wilderness areas—particularly if that system includes areas of lesser significance and importance—will have the effect of placing the national parks on a less firm foundation of protection than has been already provided by Federal law."

Representative John P. Saylor's explanations of the needs for additional legislation, already quoted in these comments, when considered along with the wilderness bill indicate the ways in which the foundation of protection for national parks will be made firmer.

Failure of the Department critics to realize that the various patterns of management will be continued under the proposed legislation has doubtless led to some further confusion as regards national park protection. When it is realized that "essentially the same type of wilderness management" will not be prescribed for all areas, it does not seem to be any matter of anxiety to see included in the wilderness system, along with national parks, areas in national forests and wildlife refuges that are under somewhat different management.

National park protection is strengthened by the wilderness bill and in no way weakened.

The wilderness bill makes provision for certain developments which now are permitted in the parks and provides that these developments shall be kept within designated areas, and in doing this it takes care to reaffirm existing legislation. It says specifically—

"No designation of an area for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, or administrative installations shall modify or affect the application to that area of the provisions of the act approved August 25, 1916," etc.

IS THE BELIEF THAT THE WILDERNESS SYSTEM SHOULD INCLUDE WILDLIFE REFUGES A "MISTAKEN BELIEF"?

The Department of the Interior report concludes that the wildlife areas have been included in the wilderness system in a mistaken belief and argues that "these areas do not fit into the general pattern of wilderness areas for the reason that in order to preserve our wildlife population—the basic purpose of such refuges—it is necessary to manage actively the wildlife refuges for

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the production of food and the retention of water for our wildlife population." The report further concludes that, after designation within the "Seney, Delta, Wichita, and other" refuges involved, of the areas needed for refuge developments, little area would remain for dedication to the national wilderness preservation system.

The belief on which inclusion of certain wildlife refuge areas in the wilderness system was based will be found to be valid when the facts are established. The statements in the report of the Department of the Interior here quoted are misleading because they seem to apply to the wilderness areas but actually do not.

It is true that food and water-supply management activities which alter the wilderness character of an area are of great importance in wildlife-refuge administration. It is also true, however, that in some instances the preservation of wilderness conditions is the important conservation measure for the wildlife.

"Within the general framework of the refuge management program," said the Fish and Wildlife Service representative at the June 19, 1957, hearings on the wilderness bill, "several thousand acres have been set apart to be administered as wilderness areas for two purposes: First, for those species of wildlife whose welfare is dependent on environment subject only to natural influences and, secondly, to have environmental conditions which will serve as a yardstick in evaluating management techniques."

The provisions of the wilderness bill apply to those areas where the wildlife administration purpose is for wilderness preservation. Out of 274 wildlife refuges and ranges, only 20 are included in the wilderness system, and these are those which include areas where the important wildlife purposes are served by preserving wilderness. Such preservation does not interfere with management programs in parts of the 20 wilderness refuges and ranges, nor with the management programs in the 254 refuges and ranges that are not even considered in the wilderness system.

The fear that "little area would remain for dedication" as wilderness after developed areas are excluded within the 20 wilderness refuges and ranges is not borne out by the facts. Taking the three specific refuges cited in the Department's report for examples, we find that highly significant stretches of wilderness will be available for preservation.

Within the national forests, where the wilderness and wild area category of land has been most fully defined, the minimum area includes 5,000 acres. With this standard in mind, it is significant to note that the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge out of its 59,000-acre total probably includes one big-game area about twice the size of the 5,000-acre minimum, and another area approximately the minimum. The Seney National Wildlife Refuge, out of a total area of some 95,000 acres, would have two blocks of land not subject to development-type management that would comprise about 10,000 acres each. The Delta National Wildlife Refuge out of its total of some 48,800 acres would probably include one stretch of some 20,000 acres and another of perhaps 15,000 acres of wilderness remaining for preservation after designation of the areas for development. These estimates are of course rough and approximate, but they do indicate that the 20 wildlife refuges and ranges included in the wilderness system do afford significant opportunities.

DOES THE WILDERNESS BILL RECOGNIZE THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIANS?

The Department of the Interior reports that the wilderness bill does not recognize the rights of individual Indians in allotted lands within the designated Indian roadless and wild areas.

The wilderness bill has been drafted with a very sensitive regard for the rights and desires of the Indians and in cooperation with a representative and attorneys of the Association on American Indian Affairs. It has been the purpose to include the wilderness of the Indians if they should so desire but to make sure of their right of consent and their control over the lands and over regulations governing them. These purposes have been controlling in the language and provisions of section 2 (d), which is entitled "The Indians' Wilderness."

In addition, however, to these provisions the bill in two places includes a protection for the individual or private rights of any Indian.

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In the first place the opening sentence of section 2 includes a phrase which makes the inclusion of any area in the wilderness system subject to preexisting private rights, if any. This sentence reads as follows:

"SEC. 2. The National Wilderness Preservation System (hereafter referred to in this section as the System) shall comprise (subject to preexisting private rights, if any) the federally owned or controlled areas of land and water provided for in this section and the related air space reservations."

Furthermore in section 3 (b) of the act, the section which, in the language of the Department's report, "would preclude the possibility of commercial enterprises," the whole section is specifically made subject to existing private rights.

CAN INTERIOR DEPARTMENT OBJECTIONS BE MET?

In conclusion, with regard to the objections raised by the Department of the Interior, it may be pointed out that revisions and clarifications of the wilderness bill can well adapt it to the programs and policies of this Department. The principal objections would seem to have been removed by explanation and others to be minimized if not removed by revisions. For example, changing the council membership from 6 citizens, 4 Federal land administrators, plus its secretary to 3 citizens, 5 Federal land administrators, and its secretary should prove to be a substantial accommodation of Department views. The suggested revised bill submitted at the conclusion of these comments would seem to have met the valid objections of this Department.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE VIEWS

The views of the Department of Agriculture regarding the wilderness bill express sympathy for its general objective, raise objections to certain features of the bill, point out special problems in preservation of wilderness areas, and propose a substitute bill. The substitute bill as proposed would apply only to national forests, but the advice of the Bureau of the Budget is that Congress may not wish to deal with the problems of preservation of national wilderness assets except in a general and uniform statute applicable to all affected agencies.

Considering these views of the Department of Agriculture in the light of need for "a general and uniform statute applicable to all affected agencies," one finds it desirable first to meet the objections raised against the wilderness bill and then to consider the substitute proposals of the Forest Service. To the extent that changes in the wilderness bill can remove objections and incorporate the substitute proposals it will be possible to achieve the desirable objective of Department of Agriculture support. These comments are made with this objective and with the purpose of achieving a sound and effective wilderness preservation bill.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

The Department of Agriculture objections may be considered as follows:

1. The Department of Agriculture points out that the wilderness bill would "tend to freeze the status quo," but it should also be noted that the bill includes provision for change. It is indeed the purpose of the measure to insure the preservation as wilderness of the areas now so designated, and this is, of course, a preservation of status quo. The bill, however, provides a procedure for making changes—additions, modifications, or eliminations. These changes would be made in the same way as at present. Before they could become effective, however, they would be subject to congressional review, if Congress should so desire, a review that would have to be completed within 120 days. Otherwise the Department's action would go into effect. It is not likely that a decision could be rejected by a majority vote of either house of Congress unless it was clearly in violation of sound policy, and thus this safeguard against an unwise decision of a future Secretary of Agriculture should not be interpreted as a freezing of the status quo. As Senator Humphrey said in an address on February 14, 1957, to the Society of American Foresters, the wilderness bill "will provide a means for making orderly changes in our wilderness system so that these areas will truly fulfill our needs and not one bit more."

2. A second and related objection is that the wilderness bill "would curb the authority of the executive branch by permitting secretarial decisions with respect to wilderness-area boundaries to be overridden by resolution of either House." It is to be noted in this connection that at present a national park may be abolished or changed in area or boundaries only by an act of Congress. Under the

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wilderness bill the national forest wilderness areas would still be subject to change in the same way as at present. Congress would have only the routine opportunity to reject a proposed change within 120 days, a provision which should provide a safeguard against arbitrary and unwise action on the part of any future secretary disregarding conservation but a provision that is not likely to be operative with regard to decisions arrived at in accordance with the normal Forest Service practices. As Senator Neuberger said, "The bill recognizes the ultimate authority of the Congress in matters as important as America's comparatively small remaining supply of wilderness domain." "So final a verdict," said Senator Neuberger, "ought to be reviewed by the Congress of the United States, and it should not be merely within the flat of an executive agency." In response to this Department objection it can be stated that the authority of the Secretary is not curbed or restrained by procedural requirements or limitations. It is permitted to continue as at present subject only to a routine final review, which merely provides a safeguard against arbitrary, unwise, unreviewed action. This objection recalls the editorial comment of the New York Times on June 23, 1957, to the effect that the wilderness bill has thus encountered "opposition that its moderate and reasonable terms do not deserve."

3. A third objection arising out of the two preceding is that "the bill would strike at the heart of the multiple-use policy of national-forest administration." It is difficult to understand how the Forest Service can make this objection to this wilderness bill without objecting to the very policy of designating wilderness areas for preservation. For the wilderness bill would not remove any area from multiple-use administration. It would simply provide that the multiple uses made of the areas of wilderness established should be such as to preserve the wilderness character of the areas. Only those uses would be excluded from these areas which would destroy their wilderness character. By establishing some 80 wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas within the national forests the Forest Service has recognized that the zoning principle must be added to multiple-use if wilderness is to be preserved. No class of users is provided for in the wilderness bill. Watershed protection, wildlife conservation, forest research in unmodified areas, biological and other scientific studies—as well as longtime preservation of timber reserves and recreation are among the multiple-use possibilities under the wilderness bill. The regulations under which the areas would be administered would be established as at present. With regard to this objection we can only insist that the wilderness bill will provide for what David Brower has described as "one of the finest examples of multiple use of land."

1, 2, and 3. With regard to these three primary objections Senator Humphrey spoke as follows when he addressed the Society of American Foresters in Washington, D. C., on February 14, 1957:

"Instead of waiting until the crisis has engulfed us, I propose that we make secure the preservation of those areas that do now in fact constitute our national wilderness system—the areas that are now in fact being handled as wilderness, even though they serve other and consistent purpose also.

"Doing that now means providing security for what we already have. This will perpetuate the multiple purpose programs we now have on these areas, but it will make sure that multiple purpose on these lands always includes wilderness preservation.

"Let's look at the bill. The preamble describes the impending problem, declares a policy, and defines wilderness type areas. The bill then lists all of the present areas.

"I would like to say here—and note this well—the national forest areas have all been set aside by the Secretary of Agriculture on what he deemed sufficient authority in the broad language of statutes that do not mention wilderness as such.

"What one secretary thinks he can do another may think he cannot do.

"Secretary Chapman thought, at the very least, he did not have to issue the Al Sarena mining patents until the claimants complied with the Administration Practices Procedures. Assistant Secretary Davis brushed this contention aside and issued the patents without a word to even the Secretary of Agriculture.

"Similarly, a future Secretary of Agriculture could brush aside the position adopted by the several secretaries that preceded him. * * *

"The fact is the wilderness bill has been prepared in accordance with the wilderness policies, programs, and practices of the Forest Service, and in admiration for them. The bill is designed to strengthen the Forest Service's hands in carrying out these policies and programs.

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"The national forest areas that will be included in the Wilderness System are those that have been designated by the Forest Service as wilderness, wild, primitive or roadless. And the bill provides that these areas shall be administered under regulations that would be drawn up in the Forest Service.

"The wilderness bill, I emphasize, will not interfere with, but will perpetuate, the present multiple-purpose administration of these national forest areas. Its central concept is that our present areas of wilderness can be preserved within the existing land-management pattern if this preservation purpose is made a matter of fundamental policy.

"Rather than upsetting the multiple-purpose program of the Forest Service, the effect of this legislation will be to prevent the upset in this program that will result if the wilderness areas are not protected from the uses that would destroy them as wilderness.

"Now what are the bogey men in this bill?

"The bill authorizes all the existing wilderness and wild areas and provides for the addition before January 1, 1990, of the primitive areas, but only after the Forest Service has determined what their boundaries are to be.

"Section 2—(a) and (f)—states that the Secretary of Agriculture can make additions, modifications, or eliminations—and I repeat additions, modifications, or eliminations—to the system, and that these will take effect within 120 days unless either House of Congress passes a resolution opposing the proposed action.

"In a nutshell this bill then does these things. It sets forth a policy that will protect the wilderness system, and it provides a sound procedure for making changes. It gives the technicians full authority to recommend whatever action they feel is warranted, and it prevents abuse by the executive heads.

"It gives the people a chance to secure a real referendum through the action of their elected representatives and protects them from the whims of a political appointee who does not have to face the voters.

"It maintains the wilderness areas as integral parts of the national forests, serving their important multiple purposes just as they now do.

"Finally, as regards the wilderness bill, I wish to make clear that it is in no sense in conflict with, or in competition with forestry for forest products. On the contrary it actually is dependent on foresters for its success. If ever the American people come to the borders of our wilderness areas with a need for timber that cannot be met elsewhere, then, gentlemen, I say to you our wilderness areas are doomed. It is to the foresters of America and their effective programs for sustained yield cutting, on our production forests, that we shall have to look eventually for success in wilderness preservation. We recognize this, and we face our present program in a spirit of cooperation and with a feeling of dependence on the intelligent foresters of America for support.

"I think that all true conservationists should consider the bill in this light. In my judgment it will provide a means for making orderly changes in our wilderness system so that these areas will truly fulfill our needs and not one bit more. It will give us a chance to provide a really sound wilderness system by truly democratic processes.

"Conservation is where it is today because so many people have made genuine contributions to this noble work. Over the years we in the Congress have helped fight the battle for conservation along with the technicians who have made solid advances in the field.

"The work is a part of everything we do and it takes dedicated people in the field backed up by conscientious and farsighted people in the top offices of the executive branch, the Congress and our courts, too, to forge ahead on the road to a better future for America."

4. The Department of Agriculture objects that the proposed National Wilderness Preservation Council would impose recordkeeping, paperwork, and expense; would come between the Secretary of Agriculture and Congress; and would serve as a focal point to bring pressure on Congress and the executive agencies. It cannot be denied that the functioning of this important Council as a central clearinghouse for files and information regarding the wilderness aspects of the various areas of forest, park, refuge, and other lands in this system would involve some paper work. It does not, however, seem that this would be of substantial proportions, nor out of keeping with the usefulness of the Council in adding to the public understanding and appreciation of wilderness. The anticipated values of the Council along these lines are doubtless what suggest to the Department its fears of the pressure that the Council might bring upon Congress and the executive agencies.

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It is not, however, the purpose of the Council to bring such pressure, and it may be that amendments already proposed to the wilderness bill will allay departmental fears of the Council as a pressure agency.

These changes would add the Director of the Bureau of Land Management to the Council and reduce the number of citizens from 6 to 3. Five of the 9 members of the Council would then be Federal land administrators and only 3 would be citizens. So constituted the Council could just as effectively carry on the functions for which it was designed, but it would not threaten either to outvote or override the land administrators or to become a pressure group.

The third objection regarding the Council has been removed by a proposed amendment to provide that reports of proposed changes in wilderness areas shall be submitted directly to Congress by the Secretary. Only copies of such reports will go to the secretary of the Council, as a matter of information.

5. Finally the Department of Agriculture "does not agree with the statutory use prohibitions in the pending bill." This relates to the provisions of section 3 (b) wherein the classes of land use that destroy the wilderness character of areas are described in general terms. This description is definitive of wilderness preservation in terms of the human activities that destroy wilderness. This therefore is of considerable importance as a congressional definition of land-use policy in areas to be preserved as wilderness, making these policies clear in general terms to the land administrators. Detailed regulations, however, in accordance with section 3 (a) are to be established by the administrators. Also certain exceptions—as to grazing, for example— are made in section 3 (c). Furthermore it may be unnecessary to include specific prohibitions, and we accordingly are suggesting in response to the Department that the following words be deleted—"commodity production, lumbering, prospecting, mining or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by animals in connection with the administration or recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), water management practices involving diversion, impoundment, storage, or the manipulation of plant cover (except as required on national wildlife refuges and ranges for the management of habitat in maintaining wildlife populations)." The section would then read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (b) Except as otherwise provided in this section, and subject to existing private rights (if any), no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this Act. Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this Act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structures or installation in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this Act."

THE SUBSTITUTE PROPOSALS

In considering the substitute bill proposed by the Department of Agriculture one notes at the outset (1) that the proposed bill relates only to the national forests, but (2) that the Bureau of the Budget suggests, nevertheless, "a general and uniform statute applicable to all affected agencies." It is to be expected that the Department of Agriculture would be dealing only with the national forest areas and also that the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress would be concerned with all of what the Bureau refers to as "national wilderness assets." Our opportunity appears to be one of integrating the suggested provisions of the substitute bill into a general statute, and if this can be acceptably done our objective will have been achieved.

The wilderness bill, of course, affords the presently available basis for such a statute. As already indicated, amendments have already been proposed which meet certain objections noted by the Department of Agriculture. These objections must have been among the factors that led to the proposal of a substitute bill, and meeting them is thus, in this sense, a step toward integrating the Department of Agriculture proposals into the wilderness bill.

Beyond this adaptation of the wilderness bill to the views of the Department of Agriculture, there are specific amendments and alterations that may be made to incorporate provisions of the substitute bill. These may be considered in a section-by-section review of the substitute bill. (The text of the substitute bill appears on p. 12.)

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Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the substitute bill deal with matters that are covered in part in the subsections of the wilderness bill's opening section. In addition, however, the substitute bill includes declarations of congressional policy with regard to the general multiple-use administration of the national forests of which wilderness preservation and administration will become a part. An appropriate addition might accordingly be made to the wilderness bill as follows, as a third paragraph in subsection (b) of the first section:

"In establishing thus a National Wilderness Preservation System to include units within the national forests it is further declared to be the policy of Congress to administer the national forests with the general objectives of multiple use and sustained yield, and in order to carry out this policy the Secretary of Agriculture is accordingly directed to administer the national forests on a multiple use basis so that the resources thereof will be used and developed to produce a sustained yield of products and services, including the establishment and maintenance of wilderness areas, for the benefit of all the people of this and future generations."

Concluding sentences of section 4 of the proposed substitute bill and section 5 deal with the establishment, modification, and elimination of wilderness areas in the national forests. A procedure considerably more complicated than that provided in the wilderness bill would be established. Presidential proclamations or Executive orders would be involved. The Secretary of Agriculture would be permitted to make modifications but could not change an area thus "by more than one-fourth of its original area." The revision would not be subject to congressional review, and the one-quarter limitation though followed scrupulously would not in itself prevent the practical elimination of a wilderness in successive steps. In the face of the reasonably expected compounded mounting pressures such quarter-by-quarter elimination is more indeed than a theoretical fear. The details of the preliminary procedure as to hearings and consultations are included in section 5 (b) in a way that would seem unnecessary. In brief, these provisions of the substitute bill would seem to be a congressional imposition of administrative procedure on the Department of Agriculture, representing the kind of administrative complications that some critics have presumptuously ascribed to the wilderness bill.

The wilderness bill in this regard continues the procedures that now have been in operation for some time. It leaves to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture the establishment of detailed regulations. It adds only the provision for a congressional review as a safeguard, or check, or balance, against the possibility of arbitrary action by a Secretary who might take unwise action with regard to so irreversible a matter. The wilderness bill in this respect seems superior to the substitute because it, while providing a safeguard, actually leaves the administration details to the Department of Agriculture. Congress in the wilderness bill establishes basic policy but leaves administration to the executive departments.

As already discussed in connection with the objections raised by the Department of Agriculture to use prohibitions by statute, the provisions of the wilderness bill in section 3 (b) (quoted above) seem of definitive importance and thus preferable to the similar suggestions made in section 6 of the substitute bill, although as already noted some suggested changes have been made.

The recommendations of the Forest Service with regard to mining activities within national forests, however, and reservoir construction within national forests may well be the solution to practical difficulties that have been encountered in connection with this legislation, and it is suggested that a proviso sentence be added at the end of the present subparagraph (2) of subsection (c) in section 3—having to do with exceptions within national forests. In the revised wilderness bill submitted in behalf of Trustees for Conservation this subparagraph is numbered (2). (See p. 274.) The proposed addition is as follows:

"Within national forest areas included in the system the President may, within a specific area and in accordance with such regulations as he may deem desirable authorize prospecting, mining, or the establishment or maintenance of reservoirs including the permanent road construction in connection with such mining and reservoir construction, upon his determination that such use in the specific area will better serve the interests of the United States than will its denial."

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Section 7 appears to be an acceptable revision of the wilderness bill. With some modification, making its reference to section 5 of the substitute bill apply to the appropriate section of the wilderness bill, it can well be substituted for the present subparagraph (3) of subsection (c) in section 3—which in the revised text is now subparagraph (2). The subsection would then be as follows:

"(3) Other provisions of this act to the contrary notwithstanding, the management of the Superior, Little Indian Sioux, and Caribou roadless areas in the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, shall be in accordance with regulations established by the Secretary of Agriculture in accordance with the general purpose of maintaining, without unnecessary restrictions on other uses, including that of timber, the primitive character of the roadless areas, particularly in the vicinity of lakes, streams, and portages: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall preclude the continuance within these roadless areas of any already established use of motorboats. Nothing in this act shall modify the restrictions and provisions of the Shipstead-Nolan Act, Public Law 539, 71st Congress, 2d session, July 10, 1930, and the Humphrey-Thye-Blatnik-Andresen Act, Public Law 607, 84th Congress, 2d session, June 22, 1956, as applying to the Superior National Forest or the regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture. Modifications of roadless areas within the Superior National Forest shall be accomplished in the same manner as provided in section 2 (a) and (f)."

The final section of the substitute bill (section 8) is in part a statement of the same provisions that are in the fourth sentence of section 3 of the wilderness bill but an additional provision protects against interference with the basic act regarding national forests. This is a desirable addition, and it is accordingly suggested that the fourth sentence be made to read as follows, the added matter being that following the semicolon:

"The administration of areas in the national forests as units of the system shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this act; and such purposes are hereby declared to be within and supplemental to but not in interference with the purposes for which national forests are established as set forth in the act of June 4, 1897 (sec. 1, 30 Stat. 34, 35; 16 U. S. C. 475, 551)."

AVAILABILITY AND USE OF WILDERNESS

Among the special problems emphasized by the Department of Agriculture one involving the availability and use of wilderness has been discussed at some length and merits some clarification in these comments.

The Department's report pointed out that the national forest wilderness areas are "unavailable for mass recreational use" and "receive relatively limited use and are available only to those who have sufficient time, money, and physical capacity." While emphasizing that "wilderness is a proper and desirable use of the national forests," Forest Service Chief Richard E. McArdle, presenting the Department's report at the June 19 hearings, said:

"Although these areas occupy 8 percent of the national forest acreage, they receive less than 1 percent of the recreational visits. The plain fact is that the lack of roads in wilderness areas makes them unavailable to the family car for a day or weekend of picnicking, camping, hunting, or fishing. These areas occupy some of the most scenic portions of the country and the great mass of recreation users is precluded by the lack of roads from seeing and enjoying these areas."

Such quantitative discussions of wilderness values do indicate a problem, but it is a problem that is removed as a difficulty in wilderness preservation when it is correctly understood. The qualitative values of wilderness should also, of course, be recognized in a total recreational program, and such a program does not in fact include any deprivation for other recreational users, as a result of wilderness preservation.

These are the facts regarding wilderness preservation at present. If we can continue to provide adequate opportunities outside wilderness areas we shall also be able through careful planning to continue to preserve wilderness without sacrifice.

That is one reason why wilderness advocates are so eager to see advanced the outdoor recreation bill and the planning it will develop for meeting the total needs for outdoor recreation. There is a keen awareness that if ever the wilderness areas are actually needed to provide mass outdoor recreation, these areas will be lost as wilderness. The purpose of the wilderness bill is to see that these areas are not needlessly lost as wilderness, that they continue so long as possible

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to be available for the wilderness type recreation that is so important a part of a complete provision of outdoor recreation opportunities.

The wilderness areas can always be converted to other uses. Their preservation is not an irreversible policy. Destroying them as wilderness is, however, an irreversible process and is therefore one to be guarded against so long as wilderness itself is valued.

It must, of course, be recognized that more space is needed for some uses than for others, and in connection with such uses the space-per-capita allocations are justifiably much greater than for others. Homes use more space per person than stores. Art galleries use more than movie houses. Wilderness, by virtue of its character as wilderness, requires more space than does a picnicking area.

It must also be recognized that quantitative statistics do not by themselves measure the significant and justifiable uses made of different areas. One may visit his neighborhood movie house again and again before he returns to an art gallery. Many who go only once a year to a wilderness area go frequently to picnic areas. Some people will be glad to justify the existence of wilderness on the basis of a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the expanse of wilderness that is traversed by only the 1 percent to which Dr. McArdle referred is actually used by all those whose picnicking, auto camping, and motoring within national forests are attractive and satisfying because they are on the frontiers of the wilderness. As Sigurd Olson said in testifying at the June 19 hearings:

"What gives the national parks importance and significance is the wilderness beyond the developmental areas. What would Yellowstone be if there was not that back country to support the bears, the other animals, and the feelings of wilderness there? What would Glacier be? What would Yosemite be if you didn't have the back country? In other words, the back country gives the beauty to the areas. A person driving through the country senses the wilderness, and it gives importance and significance to the area where he happens to be. It is the same in the national forests. Sure, only 1 percent of the visitors may use the 8 percent of wilderness, but what about the millions who drive by; who stop, look, and feel; and who get exactly the same sort of feeling that they do in the national parks?"

Wilderness areas as places to visit, it may be emphasized, are not a resource that belongs only to the people who happen to be using it at any given time. Wilderness is not for a minority. It is for everyone. Preserving wilderness perpetuates the choice that Americans have always had—the choice of going to the wilderness if they so wish. It should be perpetuated for everyone, and more people should know its experiences. Especially should young people know the wilderness, if only for a once-in-a-lifetime basic experience, and if they do not wish to return or no longer are able to endure the journey, they should see that the wilderness is preserved for their children—and theirs, and theirs, on and on.

In the House of Representatives on July 12, 1956, Representative John P. Saylor asked: "Shall we, exploiting all our resources, reduce also every last bit of our wilderness to roadsides of easy access and areas of convenience, and ourselves soften into an easygoing people, deteriorating in luxury and ripening for the hardy conquerors of another century?"

Mr. Saylor answered: "I hope not, and in our preservation of wilderness and our encouragement of the hardy recreation that puts a man or a woman or a red-blooded child on his own in the face of primitive hardships we can help meet this need for maintaining a Nation of strong healthy citizens."

None of us feels that the National Gallery of Art is for just the few people who are there at any particular time. We maintain it for everybody. Sooner or later everyone who is concerned can visit it, and for many of them it is a once-for-ever experience. That is also true of wilderness areas.

So long as the wilderness areas exist in reality they also have a valid meaning to many who know them only through photographs or writings or through some other medium communicating to them the experiences of those who have visited the wilderness.

Edwin Way Teale in an article called Land Forever Wild, in the May–June 1957 issue of Audubon magazine, included "a kind of Socratic dialogue, taking

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up in turn the basic questions involved," and among these questions were the following:

"What about elderly people and those who are not strong? Would not a few such roads enable them to secure a taste of wilderness unobtainable elsewhere?

"There is, in truth, nothing that such roads would provide that cannot now be enjoyed on established highways through national parks, and along the fringes of the wilderness. Wherever a road goes it brings with it the same fringe conditions that are found elsewhere. The real wilderness always lies in solitude away from the highway. Preserving the wilderness intact without roads thus does not deprive those who are unable to travel by trail or canoe of anything they cannot find in other places. The building of roads through wilderness areas, with its destruction of wilderness, would merely add to something relatively abundant, and subtract from something relatively scarce.

"But couldn't just short roads be built in from the edge to, say, ski runs on mountainsides?

"Here again the problem arises of what is a wilderness and what alters it until it is no longer a wilderness. Plans to develop portions of such areas—often in themselves attractive—are manifold. But it should be axiomatic that only those uses should be permitted that do not lessen or destroy the wilderness character of the area or any part of it.

"Under these conditions is not the preservation of such areas a special privilege for a minority group, namely those who are interested in wilderness for its own sake?

"I remember discussing this point one overcast January day with Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of The Wilderness Society, as we walked down a street in Washington, D. C. He observed, quite rightly, that the National Art Gallery, with all its treasures, is used by only a small proportion of the people at any one time. Someone might say, 'see all this floor space going to waste. Only the walls are being used. Let's turn this into a roller-skating rink. It will attract more people and the skaters can look at the pictures as they go by.' More people, no doubt, would be attracted but the essential, higher purpose for which the gallery was erected would be lost. Anyone is free to visit the art gallery but not to turn it into something else. Similarly anyone is free to visit a wilderness area so long as its character is not altered. None of the regulations governing the areas provide for special users. As Olaus J. Murie has said, 'it is not for the sake of any privileged few that we are thus working for wilderness preservation, but rather for all Americans.' At present, those who fully appreciate wilderness values are, in all probability, a minority. But in time, as the pioneer attitudes of our history recede, as the pressures of civilization increase, this minority may be no longer a minority. Every test in recent years has indicated that when an issue is posed the majority of voters favors preserving the wilderness. In fact, it may be true that even now the wilderness supporters comprise no minority at all but rather a silent majority.

"The tonic of wildness, contact with the realities of the unchanged wilderness, these will grow increasingly precious in years to come. For going to the wilderness is not a flight from life. It is an escape—but escape to reality, escape from all that is artificial in civilization. There we have left behind the forced-draft din of the advertisers, shouting that every want is a need. There we are no longer surrounded by today's thousand-and-one improved means to unimproved ends. There we are in contact only with timeless and basic things."

Long ago, an earlier Chief of the United States Forest Service, W. B. Greeley, faced this same problem and also like Dr. McArdle concluded that the wilderness areas should be preserved. Writing in Sunset magazine for December 1927, Mr. Greeley said:

"These mountain wildernesses may not be used by numbers of people in anywise commensurate with those who will throng the highways, but their individual service will be unmeasurably greater. And as time goes on and interest in outdoor America widens and deepens, their use will surely increase. It is not a matter of providing for one type of recreation to the exclusion of the other. We need both, and we can have both. It is a matter rather of preventing motorized recreation from sweeping wilderness recreation, dear to the souls of many folk, off the face of the earth."

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Finally, in appraising the quantitative problem which the Department of Agriculture has proposed it should be realized that the 8 percent in wilderness is *8 percent of the national forests*, which are indeed areas that are unusual in their inclusion of wilderness conditions. The percentage of the continental United States is much less. Including both Federal and State areas of wilderness being preserved within our 48 States, the total acreage is probably about 43,042,210. This includes not only national forest wilderness, but also the wilderness of the national park system, national wildlife refuges and ranges, Indian roadless and wild areas, and the wilderness of a dozen or so State parks. It includes the part of the national park system areas devoted to roads and the accommodations for visitors. Certainly this figure of 43,042,210 is a liberal estimate of all the preserved wilderness that we have. Compare this with the 1,904 million acres in our total land area within the 48 States and our percentage of wilderness is roughly only 2.2 percent.

While statistics regarding some 3 million acres included in a dozen or so State areas of wilderness are not centrally, reliably available, the data regarding Federal areas that are included in the national wilderness preservation system are shown in tables 1, 2, and 3, as of February 1957 (before the introduction of S. 1176).

As Representative John P. Saylor quoted former National Park Service Director Newton B. Drury as saying of our national parks:

"Surely, we are not so poor that we need to destroy them, or so rich that we can afford to lose them."

TABLE 1.—*Summary of acreage by categories in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*

Categories	Number	United States	Alaska and Hawaii	Total gross acreage	Net acreage
National forest areas:					
Roadless	3	1,038,743		1,038,743	814,456
Wild	21	726,168		726,168	714,478
Wilderness	12	4,725,077		4,725,077	3,997,637
Primitive	44	8,355,983		8,355,983	8,168,470
Total in national forest areas	80	[1]14,395,971		14,395,971	13,695,041
National park system areas:					
Parks	26	10,949,853	[1]2,186,241	13,136,094	
Monuments	20	3,865,534	4,972,185	8,837,719	
Seashore recreational area	1	28,500		28,500	
Memorial park	1	71,191		71,191	
Total in national park system areas[2]	48	14,915,078	7,158,426	22,073,504	
National wildlife refuges and ranges:					
Refuges	13	711,132	5,751,817	6,462,949	
Game ranges	7	5,233,709	2,057,202	7,290,911	
Total in refuge and range areas	20	5,944,841	7,809,019	13,753,860	
The Indians' wilderness:					
Roadless areas	12	4,708,520		4,708,520	
Wild areas	3	78,000		78,000	
Total in Indians' wilderness areas	15	4,786,520		4,786,520	
Grand total	163	40,042,210	14,967,445	55,009,855	

[1] Includes Hawaii 246,748; all others in Alaska.
[2] Includes the parts of these areas that are devoted to roads and accommodations for visitors.

USAV-00000312

TABLE 2.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*

BY AREAS AND LAND MANAGEMENT CATEGORIES

	National forest areas			
	Roadless	Wild	Wilderness	Primitive
1. Caribou, Minn	45,750			
2. Little Indian Sioux, Minn	103,018			
3. Superior, Minn	889,975			
4. Chiricahua, Ariz		18,000		
5. Cucamonga, Calif		5,000		
6. Diamond Peak, Oreg		35,440		
7. Galiuro, Ariz		55,000		
8. Gates of the Mountains, Mont		28,562		
9. Gearhart Mountain, Oreg		18,709		
10. Goat Rocks, Wash		82,680		
11. Hoover, Calif		20,540		
12. Kalmiopsis, Oreg		78,850		
13. Linville Gorge, N. C		7,010		
14. Maroon Bells-Snowmass, Colo		64,600		
15. Mount Adams, Wash		42,411		
16. Mountain Lakes, Oreg		23,071		
17. Mount Hood, Oreg		14,160		
18. Mount Washington, Oreg		46,655		
19. Mount Zirkel-Dome Peak, Colo		53,400		
20. San Gorgonio, Calif		19,083		
21. San Pedro Parks, N. Mex		41,132		
22. Sierra Ancha, Ariz		20,850		
23. Strawberry Mountain, Oreg		34,080		
24. Thousand Lakes, Calif		16,335		
25. Bob Marshall, Mont			950,000	
26. Eagle Cap, Oreg			220,280	
27. Gila, N. Mex			576,014	
28. Marble Mountain, Calif			214,543	
29. Mazatzal, Ariz			205,346	
30. North Absaroka, Wyo			359,700	
31. Pecos, N. Mex			165,000	
32. South Absaroka, Wyo			506,300	
33. Superstition, Ariz			124,140	
34. Teton, Wyo			563,600	
35. Three Sisters, Oreg			246,728	
36. Yolla Bolly-Middle Eel, Calif			143,426	
37. Absaroka, Mont				64,000
38. Agua Tibia, Calif				35,116
39. Anaconda Pintlar, Mont				145,000
40. Beartooth, Mont				230,000
41. Black Range, N. Mex				169,984
42. Blue Range, Ariz. and N. Mex				218,164
43. Bridger, Wyo				383,000
44. Cabinet Mountains, Mont				90,000
45. Caribou Peak, Calif				16,443
46. Cloud Peak, Wyo				94,000
47. Desolation Valley, Calif				41,380
48. Devil Canyon-Bear Canyon, Calif				36,200
49. Emigrant Basin, Calif				98,043
50. Flat Tops, Colo				117,800
51. Glacier, Wyo				177,000
52. Gore Range-Eagle Nest, Colo				61,275
53. High Sierra, Calif				393,945
54. High Uintas, Utah				240,717
55. Idaho, Idaho				1,232,744
56. LaGarita-Sheep Mountain, Colo				38,030
57. Mission Mountains, Mont				75,500
58. Mount Baldy, Ariz				7,400
59. Mount Dana-Minarets, Calif				82,376
60. Mount Jefferson, Oreg				86,700
61. North Cascade, Wash				801,000
62. Pine Mountain, Ariz				17,500
63. Popo Agie, Wyo				70,000
64. Rawah, Colo				25,720
65. Salmon Trinity Alps, Calif				285,432
66. San Jacinto, Calif				33,291
67. San Juan, Colo				240,000
68. San Rafael, Calif				74,990
69. Sawtooth, Idaho				200,942
70. Selway-Bitterroot, Idaho				1,581,210
Selway-Bitterroot, Mont				291,085
71. South Warner, Calif				70,682
72. Spanish Peaks, Mont				50,000
73. Stratified, Wyo				147,000
74. Sycamore Canyon, Ariz				47,230
75. Uncompahgre, Colo				69,253
76. Upper Rio Grande, Colo				56,600
77. Ventana, Calif				55,884
78. West Elk, Colo				52,000
79. White Mountain, N. Mex				24,000
80. Wilson Mountains, Colo				27,347

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TABLE 2.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*—Continued

BY AREAS AND LAND MANAGEMENT CATEGORIES

	National park system areas	
	Parks	Monuments, etc.
81. Acadia, Maine	41,955	
82. Arches, Utah		34,250
83. Badlands, S. Dak		121,883
84. Big Bend, Tex	708,221	
85. Black Canyon of the Gunnison, Colo		14,463
86. Bryce Canyon, Utah	36,010	
87. Capitol Reef, Utah		38,139
88. Carlsbad Caverns, N. Mex	49,448	
89. Cape Hatteras national seashore recreation area, N. C		28,500
90. Channel Islands, Calif		28,819
91. Chiricahua, Ariz		10,646
92. Colorado, Colo		17,794
93. Crater Lake, Oreg	160,290	
94. Craters of the Moon, Idaho		48,184
95. Death Valley, Calif		1,792,530
Death Valley, Nev		115,240
96. Devils Postpile, Calif		798
97. Dinosaur, Colo		159,314
Dinosaur, Utah		50,430
98. Everglades, Fla	1,499,428	
99. Glacier, Mont	1,013,129	
100. Glacier Bay, Alaska		2,274,[illegible]
101. Grand Canyon, Ariz	673,575	
102. Grand Canyon, Ariz		198,289
103. Grand Teton, Wyo	310,390	
104. Great Smoky Mountains, N. C	275,333	
Great Smoky Mountains, Tenn	234,836	
105. Hawaii, Hawaii	246,748	
106. Isle Royale, Mich	133,838	
107. Joshua Tree, Calif		557,9[illegible]
108. Katmai, Alaska		2,697,[illegible]
109. Kings Canyon, Calif	454,600	
110. Lassen Volcanic, Calif	105,922	
111. Lava Beds, Calif		46,239
112. Mammoth Cave, Ky	51,354	
113. Mesa Verde, Colo	51,334	
114. Mount McKinley, Alaska	1,939,493	
115. Mount Rainier, Wash	241,782	
116. Olympic, Wash	896,599	
117. Organ Pipe Cactus, Ariz		330,8[illegible]
118. Petrified Forest, Ariz		93,921
119. Rocky Mountain, Colo	259,556	
120. Saguaro, Ariz		63,284
121. Sequoia, Calif	386,500	
122. Shenandoah, Va	211,615	
123. Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Park, N. Dak		71,191
124. White Sands, N. Mex		146,535
125. Wind Cave, S. Dak	28,059	
126. Yellowstone, Idaho	31,488	
Yellowstone, Mont	151,068	
Yellowstone, Wyo	2,039,217	
127. Yosemite, Calif	760,951	
128. Zion, Utah	143,295	

	National wildlife refuges and ranges	
	Refuges	Game ranges
129. Aleutian Islands, Alaska	2,720,235	
130. Aransas, Tex	47,261	
131. Bogoslof, Alaska	390	
132. Cabeza Prieta, Ariz		860,041
133. Cape Romain, S. C	34,645	
134. Chas Sheldon Antelope Range, Nev		543,[illegible]
135. Delta, La	48,834	
136. Desert, Nev		2,204,201
137. Fort Peck, Mont		946,987

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TABLE 2.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*—Continued

BY AREAS AND LAND MANAGEMENT CATEGORIES

	National wildlife refuges and ranges	
	Refuges	Game ranges
138. Kenai National Moose Range, Alaska		2,057,202
139. Kodiak, Alaska	1,921,802	
140. Kofa, Ariz		660,041
141. Moosehorn, Maine	22,565	
142. Montana National Bison Range, Mont		18,541
143. Nunivak, Alaska	1,109,390	
144. Okefenokee, Ga	329,175	
145. Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Mont	39,971	
146. Seney, Mich	95,531	
147. Sheldon National Antelope Refuge, Nev	34,131	
148. Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge, Okla	59,019	

	The Indians' wilderness	
	Roadless areas	Wild areas
149. Black Mesa, Ariz	820,000	
150. Black River, Ariz	325,000	
151. Columbia-San Poil Division, Wash	155,000	
152. Fort Charlotte, Minn		19,000
153. Goat Rocks, Wash	105,000	
154. Grand Canyon, Ariz	530,000	
155. Grand Portage, Minn		11,000
156. Mesa Verde, Colo	115,000	
157. Mount Adams, Wash		48,000
158. Mount Jefferson, Oreg	105,000	
159. Mount Thomas, Ariz	130,000	
160. Mission Range, Mont	125,000	
161. Painted Desert, Ariz	525,000	
162. Rainbow Bridge, Ariz	[1] 1,200,000	
163. Wind River Mountains, Wyo	183,520	

	Number	Gross	Net
Totals by category:			
Roadless	3	1,038,743	814,456
Wild	21	726,168	714,478
Wilderness	12	4,275,077	3,997,637
Primitive	44	8,355,983	8,168,470
Total	80	14,395,971	13,695,041
Parks	26	13,136,004	
Monuments	20	8,837,719	
Seashore recreational areas	1	28,500	
Memorial parks	1	71,191	
Total	48	22,073,504	
Refuges	13	6,462,949	
Game ranges	7	7,290,911	
Total	20	13,753,860	
Roadless areas	12	4,708,520	
Wild areas	3	78,000	
Total	15	4,786,520	
Grand total	163	55,009,855	

[1] Approximately ¼ of total area of 1,590,000 acres is in Utah.

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TABLE 3.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*

BY REGION AND STATE AND NAME

Region, State, name, and total acreage	National forest areas				National park system areas		National wildlife refuges and ranges		The Indians' wilderness	
	Roadless	Wild	Wilderness	Primitive	Parks	Monuments, etc.	Refuges	Game ranges	Roadless areas	Wild areas
New England, 64,520:										
Maine, 64,520:										
Acadia National Park					41,955					
Moosehorn National Wildlife Refuge							22,565			
Total					41,955		22,565			
East North Central, 229,369:										
Michigan, 229,369:										
Isle Royale National Park					133,838					
Seney National Wildlife Refuge							95,531			
Total					133,838		95,531			
West North Central, 1,289,876:										
Minnesota, 1,068,743:										
Caribou roadless area	45,750									
Little Indian Sioux roadless area	103,018									
Superior roadless area	889,975									
Fort Charlotte Indian wilderness area										19,000
Grand Portage Indian wilderness area										11,000
Total	1,038,743									30,000
North Dakota, 71,191:										
Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Park						[1] 71,191				
South Dakota, 149,942:										
Badlands National Monument						121,883				
Wind Cave National Park					28,059					
Total					28,059	121,883				

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South Atlantic, 2,286,306:										
Virginia, 211,615:										
Shenandoah National Park					211,615					
North Carolina, 311,443:										
Cape Hatteras national seashore recreational area						[2] 28,500				
Linville Gorge wild area		7,610								
Great Smoky Mountains National Park					275,333					
Total		7,610			275,333	28,500				
South Carolina, 34,645:										
Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge							34,645			
Georgia, 329,175:										
Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge							329,175			
Florida, 1,499,428:										
Everglades National Park					1,499,428					
East South Central, 286,190:										
Kentucky, 51,354:										
Mammoth Cave National Park					51,354					
Tennessee, 234,836:										
Great Smoky Mountains National Park (see also North Carolina)					234,836					
West South Central, 863,335:										
Louisiana, 48,834:										
Delta National Wildlife Refuge							48,834			
Oklahoma, 59,019:										
Wichita Mountains wildlife refuge							59,019			
Texas, 755,482:										
Big Bend National Park					708,221					
Aransas National Wildlife Refuge							47,261			
Total					708,221		47,261			
Mountain States, 25,705,326:										
Montana, 4,218,843:										
Gates of the Mountains wild area		28,562								
Bob Marshall			950,000							
Absaroka primitive area				64,000						
Anaconda Pintlar primitive area				145,000						
Beartooth primitive area				230,000						
Cabinet Mountains primitive area				90,000						
Mission Mountains primitive area				75,500						
Spanish Peaks primitive area				50,000						
Selway-Bitterroot primitive area (see also Idaho)				291,085						
Glacier Peak National Park					1,013,129					

See footnotes at end of table.

USAV-00000317

TABLE 3.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*—Continued

BY REGION AND STATE AND NAME

Region, State, name, and total acreage	National forest areas				National park system areas		National wildlife refuges and ranges		The Indians' wilderness	
	Roadless	Wild	Wilderness	Primitive	Parks	Monuments, etc.	Refuges	Game ranges	Roadless areas	Wild areas
Mountain States, 25,705,326—Continued										
Montana, 4,218,843—Continued										
Fort Peck Game Range								945,987		
Montana National Bison Range								18,541		
Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge							39,971			
Mission Range Indian roadless area									125,000	
Yellowstone National Park (see also Idaho and Wyoming)					151,068					
Total		28,562	950,000	945,585	1,164,197		39,971	965,528	125,000	
Idaho, 3,094,568:										
Idaho primitive area				1,232,744						
Sawtooth primitive area				200,942						
Selway-Bitterroot primitive area (see also Montana)				1,581,210						
Craters of the Moon National Monument						48,184				
Yellowstone National Park (see also Montana and Wyoming)					31,488					
Total				3,014,896	31,488	48,184				
Wyoming, 4,833,727:										
North Absaroka			359,700							
South Absaroka			506,300							
Teton			563,600							
Bridger primitive area				383,000						
Cloud Peak primitive area				94,000						
Glacier primitive area				177,000						
Popo Agie primitive area				70,000						
Stratified primitive area				147,000						
Grand Teton National Park					310,390					
Wind River Mountains Indian roadless area									183,320	

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Yellowstone National Park (see also Idaho and Montana)					2,039,217					
Total			1,429,600	871,000	2,349,607				183,520	
Colorado, 1,423,478:										
Maroon Bells-Snowmass wild area		64,600								
Mount Zirkel-Dome Peak wild area		53,400								
Flat Tops primitive area				117,800						
Gore Range-Eagle Nest primitive area				61,275						
La Garita-Sheep Mountain primitive area				38,030						
Rawah primitive area				25,720						
San Juan primitive area				240,000						
Uncompahgre primitive area				69,253						
Upper Rio Grande primitive area				56,600						
West Elk primitive area				52,000						
Wilson Mountains primitive area				27,347						
Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument						14,465				
Colorado National Monument						17,784				
Mesa Verde National Park					51,334					
Rocky Mountain National Park					259,556					
Mesa Verde Indian roadless area									115,000	
Dinosaur National Monument (see also Utah)						159,314				
Total		118,000		688,025	310,890	191,563			115,000	
New Mexico, 1,172,113:										
San Pedro Parks wild area		41,132								
Gila			576,014							
Pecos			165,000							
Black Range primitive area				169,984						
White Mountain primitive area				24,000						
Carlsbad Caverns National Park					49,448					
White Sands National Monument						146,535				
Blue Range (see Arizona and New Mexico)										
Total		41,132	741,014	193,984	49,448	146,535				
Arizona, 7,134,292:										
Chiricahua wild area		18,000								
Galiuro wild area		55,000								
Sierra Ancha wild area		20,850								
Mazatzal			205,346							
Superstition			124,140							
Mount Baldy primitive area				7,400						
Pine Mountain primitive area				17,500						
Sycamore Canyon primitive area				47,230						

See footnotes at end of table.

USAV-00000319

TABLE 3.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*—Continued

BY REGION AND STATE AND NAME

Region, State, name, and total acreage	National forest areas				National park system areas		National wildlife refuges and ranges		The Indians' wilderness	
	Roadless	Wild	Wilderness	Primitive	Parks	Monuments, etc.	Refuges	Game ranges	Roadless areas	Wild areas
Mountain States, 25,705,326—Continued										
Arizona, 7,134,292—Continued										
Chiricahua National Monument						19,646				
Grand Canyon National Park					673,575					
Grand Canyon National Monument						198,280				
Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument						330,874				
Petrified Forest National Monument						93,921				
Saguaro National Monument						63,284				
Cabeza Prieta game range								860,041		
Kofa game range								660,041		
Black Mesa Indian roadless area									820,000	
Black River Indian roadless area									325,000	
Grand Canyon Indian roadless area									530,000	
Mount Thomas Indian roadless area									130,000	
Painted Desert Indian roadless area									525,000	
Rainbow Bridge Indian roadless area (see also Utah)									[2] 1,200,000	
Blue Range primitive area (partly in New Mexico)				218,164						
Total		93,850	329,486	290,294	673,575	697,005		1,520,082	3,530,000	
Utah, 930,825:										
High Uintas primitive area				240,717						
Arches National Monument						34,250				
Bryce Canyon National Park					36,010					
Capitol Reef National Monument						36,133				
Zion National Park					143,295					
Dinosaur National Monument (see also Colorado)						50,430				
Rainbow Bridge Indian roadless area (see also Arizona)									[2] 390,000	
Total				240,717	179,305	120,813			390,000	

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Nevada, 2,897,470:										
Charles Sheldon Antelope Range								543,898		
Desert game range								2,204,201		
Sheldon National Antelope Refuge							34,131			
Death Valley National Monument (see also California)						115,240				
Total						115,240	34,131	2,748,099		
Pacific, 9,217,488:										
Washington, 2,372,472:										
Goat Rocks wild area		82,680								
Mount Adams wild area		42,411								
North Cascade primitive area				801,000						
Mount Rainier National Park					241,782					
Olympic National Park					896,599					
Columbia-San Poil Divide Indian roadless area									155,000	
Goat Rocks Indian roadless area									105,000	
Mount Adams Indian wild area										48,000
Total		125,091		801,000	1,138,381				260,000	48,000
Oregon, 1,069,963:										
Diamond Peak wild area		35,440								
Gearhart Mountain wild area		18,709								
Kalmiopsis wild area		78,850								
Mountain Lakes wild area		23,071								
Mount Hood wild area		14,160								
Mount Washington wild area		46,655								
Strawberry Mountain wild area		34,080								
Eagle Cap			220,280							
Three Sisters			246,728							
Mount Jefferson primitive area				86,700						
Crater Lake National Park					160,200					
Mount Jefferson Indian roadless area									105,000	
Total		250,965	467,008	86,700	160,200				105,000	
California, 5,775,053:										
Cucamonga wild area		5,000								
Hoover wild area		20,540								
San Gorgonio wild area		19,083								
Thousand Lakes		16,335								
Marble Mountain			214,543							
Yolla Bolly-Middle Eel			143,426							
Agua Tibia primitive area				35,116						
Caribou Peak primitive area				16,443						

See footnotes at end of table.

USAV-00000321

TABLE 3.—*Gross acreage in the national wilderness preservation system, February 1957*—Continued

BY REGION AND STATE AND NAME

Region, State, name, and total acreage	National forest areas				National park system areas		National wildlife refuges and ranges		The Indians' wilderness	
	Roadless	Wild	Wilderness	Primitive	Parks	Monuments, etc.	Refuges	Game ranges	Roadless areas	Wild areas
Pacific, 9,217,418—Continued										
California, 5,775,063—Continued										
Desolation Valley primitive area				41,280						
Devil Canyon-Bear Canyon primitive area				26,200						
Emigrant Basin primitive area				95,043						
High Sierra primitive area				393,945						
Mount Dana-Minarets primitive area				82,375						
Salmon Trinity Alps primitive area				285,432						
San Jacinto primitive area				33,291						
San Rafael primitive area				74,990						
South Warner primitive area				70,682						
Ventana primitive area				55,884						
Channel Islands National Monument						26,819				
Devils Postpile National Monument						798				
Joshua Tree National Monument						557,935				
Kings Canyon National Park					454,600					
Lassen Volcanic National Park					105,922					
Lava Beds National Monument						46,239				
Sequoia National Park					386,500					
Yosemite National Park					760,951					
Death Valley National Monument (see also Nevada)						1,792,520				
Total		60,958	357,969	1,223,782	1,706,033	2,424,311				
Total in United States, 40,042,410.										
Territories, 14,967,445:										
Alaska, 14,720,697:										
Glacier Bay National Monument						2,274,565				
Katmai National Monument						2,697,560				
Mount McKinley National Park					1,939,493					
Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge							2,720,235			
Bogoslof National Wildlife Refuge							390			
Kenai National Moose Range								2,057,202		
Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge							1,921,802			
Nunivak National Wildlife Refuge							1,109,390			
Total					1,939,493	4,972,185	5,751,817	2,057,202		

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Hawaii, 246,748:										
Hawaii National Park					246,748					
Total in United States and Territories, 55,009,855:										
United States	1,038,743	726,168	4,275,077	8,365,983	10,949,853	3,965,225	711,132	5,233,709	4,708,520	78,000
Alaska					1,939,493	4,972,185	5,751,817	2,057,202		
Hawaii					246,748					
Grand total	1,038,743	726,168	4,275,077	8,365,983	13,136,094	8,937,410	6,462,949	7,290,911	4,708,520	78,000

Gross acreage in national wilderness preservation system:	
United States	40,042,410
Alaska	14,720,697
Hawaii	246,748
Grand total	55,009,855

[1] Memorial park.
[2] Seashore recreational area.
[3] Approximately ¼ of total area of 1,500,000 acres is in Utah.

CONCLUSION

The practical conclusion to this consideration of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture objections and the substitute bill proposed by the latter is the preparation of a suggested revised draft of the wilderness bill. This revision may also be found satisfactory as regards the California water problems suggested by Senator Kuchel and others during the hearings, inasmuch as the proviso in this regard adapted from the Department of Agriculture substitute bill provides for exceptions by the President where reservoirs are found to be in the best public interest. This revision also includes changes to meet objections from Indian representatives, and all those changes recommended in the testimony presented at the hearing in behalf of Trustees for Conservation. It likewise includes a number of other revisions made subsequent to the hearings to take advantage of suggestions or to remove objections.

The revised bill draft follows:

A BILL To establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, to provide for the protection and administration of the areas within this System by existing Federal agencies, and for the gathering and dissemination of information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness for its appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness, there is hereby established a National Wilderness Preservation System. As hereinafter provided, this System shall be composed of areas of public land in the United States and its Territories and possessions retaining their natural primeval environment and influence and being managed for purposes consistent with their continued preservation as wilderness, which areas shall serve the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use and enjoyment by the people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness.

(b) The Congress recognizes that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, is destined to occupy and modify all areas within the United States, its Territories, and possessions except those that are set apart for preservation and protection in their natural condition. Such preservation of areas of wilderness is recognized as a desirable policy of the Government of the United States of America for the health, welfare, and happiness of its citizens of present and future generations.

It is accordingly declared to be the policy of Congress (1) to secure the dedication of an adequate system of areas of wilderness to serve the recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical needs of the people, and (2) to provide for the protection of these areas in perpetuity and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness. Pursuant to this policy the Congress gives sanction to the continued preservation as wilderness of those areas federally owned or controlled that are within national parks, national forests, national wildlife refuges, or other public lands, and that have so far retained under their Federal administration their primeval character. It is pursuant to this policy and sanction that the National Wilderness Preservation System is established. Within the units of this System designated for inclusion by this Act, and in those that may later be designated in accordance with its provisions, the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount.

In establishing thus a National Wilderness Preservation System to include units within the national forests it is further declared to be the policy of Congress to administer the national forests with the general objectives of multiple use and sustained yield, and in order to carry out this policy the Secretary of Agriculture is accordingly directed to administer the national forests on a multiple-use basis so that the resources thereof will be used and developed to produce a sustained yield of products and services, including the establishment and

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maintenance of wilderness areas, for the benefit of all the people of this and future generations.

(c) A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails.

For the purposes of this Act the term "wilderness" shall include the areas provided for in section 2 and such other areas as shall be designated for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

SEC. 2. The National Wilderness Preservation System (hereafter referred to in this section as the System) shall comprise (subject to preexisting private rights, if any) the federally owned or controlled areas of land and water provided for in this section and the related airspace reservations.

NATIONAL FOREST AREAS

(a) The System shall include the areas within the national forests classified on June 1, 1957, by the Department of Agriculture or the Forest Service as "wilderness," "wild," "primitive," or "roadless."

Additional areas for inclusion in the System may be designated within national forests by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Any addition, modification, or elimination of any national forest area or part thereof to, in, or from the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act and shall be made only after not less than ninety days public notice in accordance with section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 238, U. S. C. 5: 1003), and the holding of a public hearing, if requested, and shall take effect as provided in subsection (f) below.

NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

(b) At the times and in the manner hereinafter provided for, the National Wilderness Preservation System shall include each park, monument, and seashore recreation area in the national park system on June 1, 1957, embracing a continuous area of 5,000 acres or more without roads.

Additional units of the national park system may be designated for inclusion in the Wilderness System by Act of Congress or by Executive order or proclamation of the President. No unit of the national park system shall be removed from the Wilderness System except by Act of Congress.

Ninety days after giving public notice in accordance with section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 238, U. S. C. 5: 1003) the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each unit of the national park system included in the Wilderness System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, and administrative installations. A notice of each such designation, together with a map and description of the affected area or areas, shall be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder.

No designation of an area for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, or administrative installations shall modify or affect the application to that area of the provisions of the Act approved August 25, 1916, entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes" (39 Stat. 535, as amended; 16 U. S. C. 1 and the following). The accommodations and installations in such designated areas shall be incident to the conservation and use and enjoyment of the scenery and the natural and historic objects and flora and fauna of the park or monument in its natural condition.

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NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES AND RANGES

(c) The System shall include, at the times and in the manner hereinafter provided for, the following national wildlife refuges and ranges: Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Aransas National Wildlife Refuge, Texas; Bogoslof National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Cabeza Prieta Game Range, Arizona; Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge, South Carolina; Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nevada; Delta National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana; Desert Game Range, Nevada; Fort Peck Game Range, Montana; Kenai National Moose Range, Alaska; Kodiak National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Kofa Game Range, Arizona; Moosehorn National Wildlife Refuge, Maine; Montana National Bison Range, Montana; Nunivak National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Georgia; Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Montana; Seney National Wildlife Refuge, Michigan; Sheldon National Antelope Refuge, Nevada; Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge, Oklahoma.

Additional national wildlife refuges and ranges or areas therein may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior for inclusion in the System. Such designations shall be reported, with maps and descriptions, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder. No wildlife refuge or range shall be removed from the System except by Act of Congress.

Ninety days after giving public notice in accordance with section 4, Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 238, U. S. C. 5: 1003) the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each national wildlife refuge and range or area therein named for inclusion in the System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads and buildings and other installations for administration and protection of the refuge or range for wildlife. A notice of each such designation together with a map and description of the affected area or areas shall be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council established hereunder.

THE INDIANS' WILDERNESS

(d) The System shall include such areas on Indian reservations as the Secretary of the Interior may designate upon the recommendation of or with the consent of the several tribes or bands, through their tribal councils or other duly constituted authorities, each with regard to the area or areas within its jurisdiction.

Any proposed addition, modification, or elimination of roadless or wild areas within Indian reservations shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act subject to the consent of the several tribes or bands, through their tribal councils or other duly constituted authorities, each with regard to the area or areas within its jurisdiction. Any addition, modification, or elimination shall be reported, with map and description, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. Nothing in this Act shall in any respect abrogate any treaty with any band or tribe of Indians, or in any way modify or otherwise affect existing hunting and fishing rights or privileges.

OTHER UNITS

(e) The System shall also include such units as may be designated within any federally owned or controlled land and/or water by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved, including any privately owned area or areas embracing 5,000 acres or more without roads which may be given or bequeathed to an agency of the Federal Government for preservation as wilderness. Addition to or modification or elimination of such units shall be in accordance with regulations that shall be established in conformity with the purposes of this Act by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved, and shall take effect as provided in subsection (f) below. Said official or officials shall forward a notice of such addition, modification, or elimination to the secretary of the Na-

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tional Wilderness Preservation Council. Such regulations with regard to any privately owned area given or bequeathed to a Federal agency for preservation as wilderness shall be in accordance with such agreements as shall be made at the time of such gift or bequest.

ADDITIONS, MODIFICATIONS, AND ELIMINATIONS

(f) Any proposed addition to, modification of, or elimination from the areas of the National Wilderness Preservation System established in accordance with subsections (a) and (e) of this section shall be reported to Congress by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, or other official or officials having jurisdiction over the lands involved and shall take effect upon the expiration of the first period of one hundred and twenty calendar days, of continuous session of Congress, following the date on which the report is received by Congress; but only if during this period there has not been passed by Congress a concurrent resolution opposing such proposed addition, modification, or elimination. A copy of each such report submitted to Congress shall at the same time be forwarded to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. Within any federally owned unit within the National Wilderness Preservation System the acquisition of any privately owned lands is hereby authorized and such sums as the Congress may decide are hereby authorized to be appropriated for such acquisition out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

(g) Designations of areas in National Park System units and national wildlife refuges and ranges as provided for in Section 2 (b) and (c) shall be made not later than January 1, 1966, or within two years after the unit has been added to the System, whichever is later. Each such National Park System unit and each such refuge or range area shall, exclusive of the specially designated portions, become a part of the National Wilderness Preservation System when the designation has been made. Should the Secretary fail to make such a designation within the time limits specified, the refuge, range, or unit of the National Park System involved shall in its entirety automatically then become a part of the System.

USE OF THE WILDERNESS

SEC. 3. (a) Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted as interfering with the purpose stated in the establishment of any national park or monument, national forest, national wildlife refuge, Indian reservation, or other Federal land area involved, except that any agency administering any area within the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area and shall so administer such area for such other purpose or purposes as to preserve also its wilderness character. The National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to the public purposes of recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical uses. All such use shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and with its preservation, and the areas within the System shall be so managed as to protect and preserve the soil and the vegetation thereon beneficial to wildlife.

The administration of areas in the national forests as units of the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act; and such purposes are hereby declared to be within and supplemental to but not in interference with the purposes for which national forests are established as set forth in the Act of June 4, 1897 (sec. 1, 30 Stat. 34, 35; 16 U. S. C. 475, 551).

The administration of the included national parks, national monuments, and wildlife refuges and ranges as units of the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this Act.

The administration of roadless and wild areas within Indian reservations included in the System shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this act subject to the consent of the several tribes or bands, through their tribal councils

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or other duly constituted authorities, each with regard to the area or areas within its jurisdiction.

The administration of any other area added to the System and not otherwise provided for in this section shall be in accordance with such regulations as shall be established in conformity with the purposes of this Act by the official or officials authorized to determine the use of the lands and waters involved.

Copies of the regulations established for such administration of any unit or units of the System and copies of any subsequent amendments thereto shall be forwarded by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, or such other official or officials as shall establish such regulations, to the secretary of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. The Council shall maintain a public file of such regulations but shall have no administrative jurisdiction over any unit in the System nor over any agency that does have such jurisdiction.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in this section, and subject to existing private rights (if any), no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this act. Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structure or installation in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this act.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

(c) The following special provisions are hereby made:

(1) Within national forest areas included in the System grazing of domestic livestock and the use of aircraft or motorboats where these practices have already become well established may be permitted to continue subject to such restrictions as the Chief of the Forest Service deems desirable.

(2) Within national forest areas included in the System the President may, within a specific area and in accordance with such regulations as he may deem desirable, authorize prospecting, mining, or the establishment or maintenance of reservoirs, including the permanent road construction in connection with such mining and reservoir construction, upon his determination that such use in the specific area will better serve the interests of the United States than will its denial.

(3) Other provisions of this Act to the contrary notwithstanding, the management of the Superior, Little Indian Sioux, and Caribou Roadless areas in the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, shall be in accordance with regulations established by the Secretary of Agriculture in accordance with the general purpose of maintaining, without unnecessary restrictions on other uses, including that of timber, the primitive character of the roadless areas, particularly in the vicinity of lakes, streams, and portages; *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall preclude the continuance within these roadless areas of any already established use of motor boats. Nothing in this Act shall modify the restrictions and provisions of the Shipstead-Nolan Act, Public Law 539, 71st Congress, 2d session, July 10, 1930, and the Humphrey-Thye-Blatnik-Andresen Act, Public Law 607, 84th Congress, 2d session, June 22, 1956, as applying to the Superior National Forest or the regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture. Modifications of roadless areas within the Superior National Forest shall be accomplished in the same manner as provided in Section 2 (a) and (f).

(4) Any existing use authorized or provided for in the Executive order or legislation establishing any national wildlife refuge or range may be continued in accordance with permit granted under such authorization or provision.

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION COUNCIL

SEC. 4. (a) A National Wilderness Preservation Council is hereby created to consist ex officio of the persons at the time designated as the Chief of the United States Forest Service, the Director of the National Park Service, the Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and also three citizen members known to be

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informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness, one of whom shall be named initially for a term of two years, one for a term of 4 years, and one for a term of 6 years, by the President. After the expiration of these initial terms, each citizen member shall be appointed for a 6-year term. The President shall designate from among its members a chairman, who shall serve for a 2-year term. The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution shall be the secretary of the Council and, subject to the Council, shall maintain its headquarters.

(b) The Council shall serve as the repository for, and shall maintain available for public inspection, such maps and official papers regarding the National Wilderness Preservation System as may be filed with it. The Council shall serve as a nonexclusive clearinghouse for exchange of information among the agencies administering areas within the System. The Council shall make, sponsor, and coordinate surveys of wilderness needs and conditions and gather and disseminate information, including maps, for the information of the public regarding use and preservation of the areas of wilderness within the System, including information and maps regarding State and other non-Federal areas which the Council shall consider important for wilderness preservation. The Council is directed to consult with, advise, and invoke the aid of appropriate officers of the United States Government and to assist in obtaining cooperation in wilderness preservation and use among Federal and State agencies and private agencies and organizations concerned therewith. The Council, through its Chairman, shall annually present to Congress, not later than the first Monday in December, a report on the operations of the Council during the preceding fiscal year and on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System at the close of that fiscal year, including an annotated list of the areas in the System showing their size, location, and administering agency, and shall make such recommendations to Congress as the Council shall deem advisable.

(c) The Council shall meet annually and at such times between annual meetings as the Council shall determine, or upon call of the Chairman or any three members. Members of the Council shall serve as such without compensation but shall receive transportation expenses and in addition a per diem payment to be fixed by the Council, not to exceed $25 a day, as reimbursement for expenditures in connection with attending any meeting of the Council. A sum sufficient to pay the necessary clerical and administrative expenses of the Council and its members, not to exceed an annual expenditure of $50,000, and such additional sums as the Congress may decide for carrying out the purposes of the Council, including printing, are hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The Council is authorized to accept private gifts and benefactions to be used to further the purposes of this Act, and such gifts and benefactions shall be deductible from income for Federal tax purposes and shall be exempt from Federal estate tax.

SEC. 5. This Act shall be known by the short title "National Wilderness Preservation Act."

Mr. STONG. Mr. Gordon Rule, counsel for the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, has asked to be heard.

STATEMENT OF GORDON W. RULE, COUNSEL, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGINE AND BOAT MANUFACTURERS, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. RULE. Mr. Chairman, my name is Gordon W. Rule. My address is the Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C., and I am counsel in Washington for the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, Inc.

I would like to read a short statement, if I may, sir.

Mr. STONG. Go right ahead, sir.

Mr. RULE. Thank you.

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The National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, Inc., is a nonprofit trade association incorporated in 1904 (under the laws of the State of New York) for the purpose of promoting the interests of its members as manufacturers of pleasure boats, engines and motors, and all kinds and types of gear and accessories that go on or in pleasure boats. Today, we have 335 member firms, all of which are in some way connected with recreational boating in the United States. We are the only national association representing all types of boat builders and engine manufacturers, i. e., inboard and outboard, sail, canoes, etc. Between meetings of the board of directors, our association functions under a committee system and this statement has been approved by the legislative committee.

The National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, Inc., appears here today in opposition to two specific provisions contained in S. 1176. Both provisions relate to the use of motorboats in the areas to be included in the System.

These two provisions are as follows:

Sec. 3 (b), line 20, page 20:

Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structure or installation in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this act.

Section 3 (c), line 11, page 21:

Within national forest areas included in the System grazing of domestic livestock and the use of aircraft or motorboats where these practices have already become well established may be permitted to continue subject to such restrictions as the Chief of the Forest Service deems desirable. Such practices shall be recognized as nonconforming use of the area of wilderness involved and shall be terminated whenever this can be effected with equity to, or in agreement with, those making such use.

The first of these provisions seems to be an absolute prohibition against any new use of motorboats in the wilderness areas, while the second obviously would be a mandate from the Congress to eliminate those already in the areas as soon as possible.

Insofar as the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture is concerned, there is in effect now a regulation concerning motorboats in wilderness areas as follows:

Regulation U-1 (B) dated November 1955 (title 36, CFR. 251.20):

"(B) Grazing of domestic livestock, development of water storage projects which do not involve road construction, and improvements necessary for the protection of the forest may be permitted subject to such restrictions as the chief deems desirable. Within such designated wildernesses when the use is for other than administrative needs and emergencies the landing of airplanes and the use of motorboats are prohibited on national forest land or water unless such use by airplanes or motorboats has already become well established and the use of motor vehicles is prohibited unless the use is in accordance with a statutory right of ingress and egress."

There is no comparable regulation in effect with respect to the national park areas to be included in the Wilderness System, the motorboat prohibitions contained in S. 1176 would constitute new and additional restrictions on the use of such boats.

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I might add at that point that the National Park Service does have regulations with respect to the use of motorboats on the waters in the national parks. They require permits from everybody who wants to put a boat in a body of water in the park, and they have specific provisions in those permits providing for the withdrawal or revoking of the permit for violation of the provision. But they do not have an absolute prohibition, as the Park Service does today.

Our position with respect to the use of motorboats in any wilderness areas is that we feel the administrative agencies concerned should be left with the authority and power to regulate such matters and that the Congress should not legislate such restrictions. To our knowledge, the Forest Service has not been guilty of any abuse of discretion in the regulation of motorboats, and we suggest to your committee that until or unless there can be shown such abuses, the Congress should continue to have faith and confidence in their administrative control over this matter.

Our opposition at this time is limited to these two provisions for the reasons stated. We do not endorse or oppose that part of S. 1176 which would set up the System itself because we do not possess sufficient knowledge at this time to enable us intelligently to evaluate the necessity or desirability of so doing. We are hopeful that the proposed study of all outdoor recreational resources in the United States, which was endorsed before this committee last month, will provide us with the required knowledge.

And again adding to the statement, I should like to say that we were very happy to see that S. 846 was ordered reported yesterday, and that that survey will get underway, which we certainly think should embrace the wilderness systems.

Your committee knows that in this country today, Americans of all income brackets are on the move, spending more and more recreational time in the outdoors. 52.6 million recreational visits to the national forests in 1956 as compared with 18.2 million in 1946, 56.5 million recreational visits to national parks in 1955, and 71 million visitor-days to the Corps of Engineers' reservoir projects in 1956, testify to this movement by Americans.

You ladies and gentlemen may be surprised to learn that in 1956, more than 28 million Americans went afloat in 5,971,000 pleasure boats in this country. The large majority of these boats are outboard boats and in 1956 there were 750,000 boat trailers in use. Boating today in the United States is the Nation's No. 1 family sport and the tremendous growth of the sport is attributable in part to more leisure time, higher pay, and participation by the middle and lower income groups in our country.

There is attached hereto a statistical review gotten up, showing in 1956 all the statistics of the boating industry, which you may find interesting.

We urge your committee and the Congress not to legislate limitations or restrictions on the boating public. We urge that you leave to the cognizant regulatory agencies of our Government the job of administering these areas in the same reasonable manner that is in effect today. We do not believe that the record indicates any neces-

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sity for, or sound reason why, the Congress should specifically legislate such restrictions as those set out above.

We thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for letting us present this statement to the committee.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Rule.

I wonder if there is anyone else here who, because of the hearing on the House side tomorrow, would find it more convenient to appear today than tomorrow.

I have here several statements for inclusion in the record, one on behalf of the Independent Timbermen's Committee of Spooner, Wis.; another submitted by Mr. Charles H. Stoddard for the Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin, presented by Mr. Stoddard for Harold Kruse, president; a telegram from the Roamer Hiking Club of Los Angeles, a telegram from Mrs. Neil Haig, trustee and conservation chairman of the Seattle Audubon Society, and a telegram from Ernest C. Oberholtzer, president of the Quetico-Superior council.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF CHARLES H. STODDARD PRESENTED FOR HAROLD KRUSE, PRESIDENT, CITIZENS NATURAL RESOURCES ASSOCIATION OF WISCONSIN IN SUPPORT OF WILDERNESS PRESERVATION BILL

My name is Charles H. Stoddard and I represent the board of directors of the Wisconsin conservation group known as the Citizens Natural Resources Association. We have a membership which has been actively working together on conservation matters largely affecting our own State but occasionally we speak out for or against issues of national import. Our membership is largely composed of conservation leaders in all parts and communities of the State.

Others who have spoken or will speak before the committee will stress the great esthetic values which are at stake here today. The vital importance of wilderness areas for scientific control and observation as well as a source of plants and animals which do not exist where man has interferred is well established and needs little reiteration. The small vestiges of wilderness which we have left today represent far less than 1 percent of our total land area—but some of the most interesting and spectacular. Even this tiny fraction of the vast trackless areas which lay beyond our frontier for two centuries and a half are a precious small monument to greatest single influence in molding American character. If our Nation, which values its historic past as no other country, can afford its archives for literary treasures and documents, its historic battlefield monuments, its great art museums and natural history collections of dead animals, why should there be any question about reserving from exploitation a few small bits of living natural history? How else will future generations of Americans walled in by concrete alleys, superhighways, and manicured countrysides have any opportunity to grasp the challenge of the wilderness if they can't see it?

The mere existence of a few wilderness areas undeveloped, unbulldozed, undammed, unlogged and ungrazed, free of billboards and beer cans and polluted waters can be the living proof that we as a Nation have a few values over and above the strictly material; and that we have a Congress and a Federal Government which has a sense of history higher than that of the few would-be exploiters who seek these treasures. And as yet, no one has proved at all that we need the timber, grass or minerals from these areas, because they can't prove it. We don't need them now or in the future.

Since no one can make a case for squeezing and polluting the last drop of water, cutting every stick of timber, grazing off every blade of grass, and mining the last ounce of ore from these wilderness areas, and since a rich nation can afford to set aside these natural treasures for posterity, the issue resolves itself around what measures we take to assure for all time that they are protected permanently from all forms of exploitation. Once destroyed their wilderness character is ruined forever.

The Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin wholeheartedly endorses the Humphrey-Saylor wilderness preservation bill without qualification.

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We do it for the following reasons: A new administration, or even the present one, can abolish these areas under their present status by the stroke of a pen of the Secretary of Agriculture. They were established by several Secretaries of Agriculture acting under authority of the Administration Act of 1897 which conferred powers relating to the management of the national forests. Thus the Secretary of Agriculture who is always a political appointee has the final decision over the continued existence of the national forest wilderness areas which are the point at issue. The Forest Service and its fine corps of professional foresters do not have the final word over this policy. If they did there would be no need for this bill because they have proven their integrity many times over.

Until 1953 the policy recommendations of the Forest Service were usually followed out by Secretaries of Agriculture of both parties. Since then, various Cabinet officers have made it crystal clear that they are responsible for formulating policy and for seeing to it that it is carried out—since they are accountable for it. This has many advantages from the standpoint of public administration, but it is not unknown in our political history that an administration can come to power committed to certain groups which have been helpful in the campaign.

For example, the Forest Service has always strongly opposed any attempt to convert grazing priveleges on national forests into grazing rights, until 1954. Every proposal of certain cattlemen's groups was beaten off until a rider was hitched onto the appropriation bill of the Department of Agriculture with the blessing of the President and the Secretary himself. The Forest Service had no choice but to go along with the policy made from above. Need any more be said?

Some honest opponents of the bill are saying that it would destroy the principle of multiple use by freezing for all time a single and exclusive use. Of course it would freeze out commodity use—if it didn't there wouldn't be any purpose in having the bill. But it would simply assure that these uses now established by regulation would have the force of law—and there would be continued multiple watershed, wildlife, and recreational uses as in the past. Protection of the wilderness from fire, insects, and disease would continue as at present. The Forest Service uses airplanes and helicopters to patrol and fight fires. Nothing in the bill would prevent this. It would prevent the building of roads without good reason or a national emergency.

We need more protection than the present precarious regulations establishing the wilderness areas on the national forests give. The Citizens Natural Resources Association of Wisconsin gives unqualified endorsement to the Humphrey-Saylor wilderness preservation bill, after having taken a poll of 100 percent of its membership.

INDEPENDENT TIMBERMEN'S COMMITTEE,
Spooner, Wis.

Subject: The National Wilderness Preservation System

The Independent Timbermen's Committee is a group of small loggers and individual forest owners seeking to improve their livelihood through voluntary association. Our members must sell their forest products—principally pulpwood—to large monopolistic companies which have held down wood prices for a number of years while all others have gone up. Nevertheless, we favor the reservation of some wilderness areas which neither we, nor the contract loggers of the large companies can exploit.

We favor setting aside these wilderness areas under the national wilderness preservations bill of Senator Humphrey and his colleagues and Congressmen Saylor, Reuss, and Metcalf. We have observed some of these wilderness areas and believe that they are of superior value to posterity if left intact.

As for the argument by the foresters with whom we deal every day that they cannot protect these areas if left in wilderness from fires, insects, and disease we feel that this is an irrelevant argument. They can protect them from fire and other damage by the use of airplanes which give good access to all forest areas today. The wilderness bill would not change this in any respect regardless of how the facts may be twisted to the contrary.

This bill will prevent the capricious type of changes in regulations which have been so common in recent years since the pressures of large campaign contributors have had so much influence in Federal circles. We fully endorse these bills and urge that the Congress make them stronger so as to assure that the wild places will be left untouched for future generations.

USAV-00000333

This statement is authorized by the board of directors of the Independent Timbermen's Committee on May 18, 1957, at Spooner, Wis.

MRS. JAMES PIES,
Secretary.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *June 19, 1957.*

JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We heartily endorse wilderness bill S. 1176 and urge your support in this vital issue.

ROAMER HIKING CLUB.

SEATTLE, WASH., *June 18, 1957.*

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Unable to attend hearing on Senate bill 1176. Please enter in record Seattle Audubon Society of 400 members heartily endorses efforts to preserve wilderness areas as outlined in bill. Finest piece of forward-looking legislation in many years.

MRS. NEIL HAIG,
Trustee and Conservation Chairman.

RAINIER, MINN., *June 19, 1957.*

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

After a lifetime of dealing with the problem of wilderness preservation particularly in the Quetico-Superior bordering between Minnesota and Ontario it is my firm belief that the pending wilderness bill provides in place of confusion, waste, and lack of coordination a program of balanced land use in the highest public interest, it makes wilderness at its best paramount as a human resource but not exclusive. It neither ignores nor diminishes any other land use in its appropriate place, whether for public or private purpose. No one can question today the alarming disproportion between the dwindling wilderness resources of the Nation and the rapid climb of population. The decline is by geometric progression. Tragic experience has long taught the folly of delay, both as to what can be saved and as to the costliness of the process once exploitation has begun. Passage of the wilderness bill, I am convinced is vital to the health, happiness, and inspiration of the people as a whole in the same way as schools, universities, theaters, and even hospitals. There would be fewer hospitals, if there were *more* wilderness. Few great nations have ever enjoyed such splendor of wilderness endowment or reflected it so nobly.

ERNEST C. OBERHOLTZER,
President, Quetico-Superior Council.

Mr. STONG. That concludes the list of witnesses for today.

The committee will convene at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning to hear additional witnesses.

(Whereupon, at 3:38 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 10 a. m., Thursday, June 20, 1957.)

USAV-00000334

NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT

THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to recess, Hon. James E. Murray, Montana, (chairman), presiding.

Present: Senators Murray (chairman), Neuberger, and Allott.

Present also: Benton J. Stong, professional staff member.

Senator NEUBERGER. The committee will be in order.

This morning we must make the best use we possibly can of our time.

The acting chairman must leave at 11 o'clock because the Senate is going into session today 1 hour earlier than is customary.

We have a very limited amount of time available. I will ask the witnesses to proceed as promptly as possible in the presentation of their testimony.

The first witness will be Mr. William Berry, Chief, Division of Planning, Department of Water Resources, State of California.

Mr. Berry, it is nice to have you here.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM L. BERRY, CHIEF, DIVISION OF RESOURCES PLANNING, DEPARTMENT OF WATER RESOURCES, STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. BERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am William L. Berry, a registered civil engineer and chief of the division of resources planning of the Department of Water Resources of the State of California.

I am appearing today on behalf of that department and Mr. Harvey O. Banks, the director of water resources.

My remarks were prepared in consultation with the directors of fish and game natural resources of the State.

Seven bills have been introduced in the 85th Congress proposing the establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System. These bills provide that designated wilderness, roadless, and primitive areas in the national forests, designated national parks, certain waterfowl management areas, and certain roadless areas in Indian reservations shall initially constitute the System.

Areas within the System could be increased or modified by action of the Federal agency that has jurisdiction of the particular class of area. This action would automatically become effective unless vetoed by a resolution of one House of the Congress within the first 120 days in

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which Congress is in session after the administrative action has become final.

Of the 7 bills now pending, 6 were introduced in the House of Representatives, and 1 in the Senate. They are: H. R. 361, H. R. 500, H. R. 540, H. R. 906, H. R. 1960, H. R. 2162, and H. R. 1176.

The purposes and procedures of all these bills appear to be substantially the same, although there are some differences in phraseology and approach.

For purposes of discussion and suggested amendments, I will confine my remarks to H. R. 1960, although they will be equally applicable to any of the other bills with slight modifications.

Since the introduction of S. 4013 in the 84th Congress, the California State Department of Water Resources has consistently supported the principle that reasonable measures should be taken for the preservation of wilderness areas.

We believe, however, that reasonable measures for the preservation of wilderness areas need not, indeed must not, conflict with vitally needed development of water resources.

We are firmly of the opinion that measures for the conservation and preservation of one natural resource should not be so worked out as to impede or perhaps preclude the conservation of another natural resource, and especially one so vital as water.

As a department concerned with the conservation of water resources, we must also be concerned with the conservation of other irreplaceable natural resources. The benefits of preserving wilderness areas cannot be doubted.

The historic, scenic, educational, and recreational values of these areas are unique and constitute an important part of the heritage of the Nation and of California.

Preservation of these areas will also make an important contribution to water conservation. Many of the wilderness areas constitute the watersheds in which originate large amounts of the water supplies of the State.

Preservation of these areas in their natural state prevents the rapid, destructive runoff that would occur from denuded watersheds and thus reduces the danger of flooding and erosion.

Preservation of these watersheds in a natural state, in effect, increases the effectiveness of downstream reservoirs by holding back and regulating the runoff. It also protects the reservoirs from being filled with eroded silt and thereby lengthens their usefulness by many years.

Our department has just completed the preparation of the California water plan, which has been published as our bulletin No. 3.

With the consent of the committee I would like to now submit a copy of bulletin No. 3 for your records.

Senator NEUBERGER. This document is so large that it will be placed in the committee files and will not be included in the record.

We are very pleased to have it.

Mr. BERRY. I am sure that will be satisfactory, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NEUBERGER. A document of that size would involve prohibitive expense to reprint, so we will merely keep it in the committee files for reference purposes. It will be referred to in this record by title, but it will not be added to the hearing record.

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Mr. BERRY. We will be very happy to supply individual members of the committee with copies of that report.

Senator NEUBERGER. I think it would be helpful if one copy were provided for each member of the committee, and there are 15 members of the committee.

(Bulletin No. 3, The California Water Plan, dated May 1957, was filed with the committee for reference.)

Mr. BERRY. We are naturally deeply concerned as to the effect of any land-use program, such as the proposed wilderness preservation system, on this plan.

The preparation of the California water plan has involved a decade of study and the expenditure of more than $8 million. It is a master plan for the development of all of California's water resources to meet the ultimate water needs for all purposes, of a population estimated at three times the present total.

The plan includes 376 surface reservoirs with a storage capacity of approximately 51 million acre-feet and thousands of miles of main and subsidiary conduits.

The plan, as presently outlined, is intended only as a framework for future water development and, therefore, is flexible and subject to revision.

Such revisions will be made constantly to keep the plan in step with changing needs, techniques, technology, and economic conditions.

In evaluating the impact of the wilderness preservation proposals on the development of water resources in California, it must be kept in mind that the California water plan indicates only the probable key features that will be required for the expected growth and development of the State.

Details as to location of units have not yet been fully worked out.

Major reservoirs may have to be located upstream or downstream from the locations so far considered, and conduits, regulating reservoirs, and other works, may be in considerably different locations after further study has been given to the problems presented.

Such detailed planning can only be accomplished with profit shortly before the inception of a unit, utilizing the data that will then be available, and taking into consideration the then existing conditions, including costs.

In some cases, features of the California water plan must, of necessity, be physically located within areas proposed for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System. There are no feasible alternatives available.

From a reasonable viewpoint, however, there is no necessary conflict between the two. With proper planning, operation, and maintenance, reservoirs can add to the beauty and recreational potential of these areas.

Other features, such as conduits and tunnels, need leave scarcely a visible trace after the completion of construction.

Proper planning, construction, and operation, would allow the integration of features of the California water plan into wilderness areas with a minimum disturbance of natural conditions and with a maximum of added recreational value.

Among the restrictions included in section 3 (b) of H. R. 1960 is a provision, reading, in part, that:

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* * * no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to * * * water diversion, water management practices involving manipulations of the plant cover, water impoundment, or reservoir storage * * *.

A careful review of the situation has convinced us that in its present form this provision is far too drastic and would seriously interfere with the effective and economic development of the water resources of California, and thus would have a severely detrimental effect upon the future growth and economy of the State.

As an example of the possible consequences of the present section 3 (b), the Rubicon diversion must be located in the Desolation Valley primitive area. Physically, it cannot be located elsewhere. This diversion is a necessary part of an important hydroelectric project planned for construction in the near future by the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.

Examples of other works contemplated by the California water plan which will probably be located within the wilderness system areas are:

Small reservoirs which may be required to supply water to Surprise Valley that will probably be located in the South Warner wilderness area;

A tunnel in connection with the Feather River project that will probably traverse the San Rafael primitive area; and

A terminal storage reservoir that will probably be required in the Devil Canyon-Bear Canyon primitive area.

As a part of the recreational developments proposed under the California water plan, works to maintain streamflow to improve the fishery resources in many small tributary streams are planned. This program will require the construction of small reservoirs on the headwaters of these streams, many of which will be located within areas proposed for inclusion in the wilderness system.

Forty-four of these small headwater reservoirs are now in operation in the national forests within the State, and an equal number are planned for early construction.

These reservoirs store some of the snowmelt high in the mountains for gradual release during the summer which the high rocky streambeds would otherwise dry up.

Reservoirs such as these, contemplated for construction in connection with the California water plan in wilderness areas, are built so as to harmonize with, rather than mar, the natural beauty. They offer a good example of planned, integrated development, for they will provide hundreds of miles of new summer and fall fishing streams, as well as water supplies for other wildlife.

They also provide good water supplies for those camping, hunting, and fishing in these remote areas.

Such developments would be impossible under the legislation now being considered.

Attached to this statement is a resolution adopted on April 4, 1957, by the California Fish and Game Commission opposing the enactment of wilderness preservation legislation and pointing out that such legislation would frustrate the program for streamflow maintenance reservoirs.

There can no longer be any question as to the vital importance of the development of water resources. Seen from a reasonable viewpoint,

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however, these vitally needed developments are entirely compatible with a wilderness preservation plan.

Properly planned reservoirs and controlled stream flow will produce recreational benefits which will far outweigh any impairment of the wilderness status of the areas involved.

Opportunities will thus be provided for the enjoyment of the recreational potential by a far larger number of people.

It must be recognized that the establishment of a national wilderness preservation system as proposed would be a very sweeping and far reaching measure. It would virtually freeze the land-use status for millions of acres.

Although we believe the effect of establishing such a system would be salutary, great care must be taken in framing legislation so as not to damage other vital interests such as the development of water resources.

Even in the outdoor recreation field, consideration should be given to all of the many recreational possibilities. Coordination of Federal, State, and local activities can produce greater recreational benefits.

Full consideration must be given to all aspects of the problem, including fire prevention and control, sanitary measures and the like.

Before enactment of a measure establishing a wilderness preservation system, I should like to recommend that you give consideration to holding hearings in various sections of the country to allow all those who might be affected to present their views. This could be accomplished either directly by congressional committee, or through the medium of a national outdoor recreation resources review commission, such as that proposed in H. R. 3952, which was the subject of hearings before this committee last month.

This recommendation is based in part on the fact that the areas proposed to be included initially in a wilderness preservation system are already protected to a considerable extent and a reasonable time for consideration would not harm the program.

With respect to the bills now before the committee, we have three suggestions for specific changes. As presently framed H. R. 1960 and the other bills would seriously hamper the vitally needed development of California's water resources.

If, however, such vitally needed projects are excepted from the restrictions of these bills, this disasterous result can be avoided without impairing the purposes of the wilderness system.

The following amendment is suggested to accomplish this end:

On page 21 commencing at line 20, insert a new subsection 3 (c) (5), reading as follows:

(5) Nothing in this act shall be construed as affecting or intended to prevent or interfere in any way with the use of those public lands within said National Wilderness Preservation System for the construction and operation of necessary water resource development projects and related facilities, including necessary access roads, if the construction and operation of such projects would otherwise be permissible under the laws of the United States.

If an amendment should not be adopted along the lines we have suggested exempting necessary water resource developments, the inclusion of the areas enumerated in H. R. 1960 could seriously impede future necessary development of California's water resources.

An even greater threat is posed in H. R. 1960 and the other bills by the possibility of adding vast tracts of land to the wilderness system

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by administrative action subject only to a congressional veto within a period of 120 days.

We are, therefore, suggesting for consideration that the bill also be amended to require congressional action to add areas to the system. This could be accomplished by the following amendment to H. R. 1960:

Strike out the first sentence of the present subsection 2 (f) on page 17, lines 8-19 of the bill, and insert in its place the following:

Any addition to the national wilderness preservation system shall be by act of Congress.

It would also be necessary in section 2 (c) and other parts of the bill, to change the authority of the administrative agencies to designate additional areas to an authorization for recommendations to the Congress.

In addition to requiring congressional action to enlarge the system, the affected States must be given advance notification concerning areas located within them which are recommended for inclusion.

The primitive areas listed in section 2 (a) should be the subject for study and further recommendations in the system. These primitive areas include in California those most likely to impede water development.

This committee is very familiar with the serious problems concerning the validity of State water law that have been brought about by court decisions in recent years, and especially by the Pelton Dam decision—Federal Power Commission versus Oregon, 349 U. S. 435, 1955.

I am not a lawyer and I will only talk generally about these legal problems.

As I understand it, however, the Pelton Dam case may be a precedent for holding that State water law has no validity on reserved or withdrawn Federal land. Some agencies of the Federal Government interpret the case that way, as evidenced by the refusal to comply with State law at the Hawthorne Naval Depot in Nevada.

This committee held extensive hearings on these problems during the last Congress.

The bills now before you would include large areas of national forests and wildlife management land in the national wilderness preservation system, and would, in section 2 (c) provide for the addition of any other public land.

The Federal courts might well hold that land within such a system was reserved in the same sense as the land involved in the Pelton Dam case, that the Desert Land Act did not apply, and that State water law need not be followed.

This problem would only be partially met by the amendments that have been suggested. To avoid any further impairment of State law, an amendment, utilizing the applicable language of H. R. 5871, 85th Congress, the "Western Water Right Settlement Act of 1957," is proposed:

On page 24, line 18, of H. R. 1960, renumber section 5 and insert a new section 5 as follows:

SEC. 5. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this act and subject to existing rights, all unappropriated navigable and nonnavigable grounds and surface waters within the area of the national wilderness preservation systems are

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reserved for appropriation and use of the public pursuant to State law, and rights to the use of such waters for beneficial purposes shall be acquired under State laws relating to the appropriation, control, use, and distribution of such waters: Provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed to permit any person or entity to acquire the rights to store or divert waters in any national park or monument unless otherwise authorized by act of Congress.

We are all very deeply interested in the progress of water development. I feel sure that you share my conviction that every effort should be made to reconcile necessary development of water resources with the preservation of wilderness areas.

I hope that the amendments that I have suggested may be a starting point for reaching an amicable solution that will be equitable to all interests.

I would like to say that this statement has been concurred in by the director of water resources, the director of fish and game, and the director of natural resources of the State of California.

To my statement, Mr. Chairman, is appended a resolution of the Fish and Game Commission of the State of California, which voices a somewhat different argument, but generally along the lines that I have advanced.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much.

The resolution which you have submitted will be placed in the record at this point.

(The resolution referred to is as follows:)

RESOLUTION OF CALIFORNIA FISH AND GAME COMMISSION, OPPOSING ANY FEDERAL LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD INTERFERE WITH THE PROPER MANAGEMENT OF WILDERNESS AREAS BY THE UNITED STATES FOREST SERVICE

Whereas several bills have been introduced in the current session of Congress to create a "National Wilderness Preservation System." To date these bills are H. R. 301, 500, 540, 906, 1960, and 2162, 85th Congress, and would greatly curtail the authority of the United States Forest Service and other Federal land agencies in the management of these areas: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the California Fish and Game Commission opposes enactment of any one or all of the foregoing bills, or other bills of similar purpose, on the ground that such bills would fix by statute the boundaries of wilderness areas and preclude the administrative latitude now resting with the said Forest Service to establish and modify such boundaries. Under such legislation it is conceivable that wilderness areas might no longer be a part of the national forest system. This would be adverse to the public interest since the most important function of these high mountain areas is control of snow pack and water runoff, and the watersheds must at all times be managed as natural watershed units. Moreover, the said bills, if enacted, would frustrate the cooperative program by the said Forest Service and the California Department of Fish and Game under which many small check dams in the High Sierra have been built to store water and to maintain better summer flows for fish life and indirectly to better provide summer flow. This program could be stopped under this legislation even though the program is of great public interest and adds significantly to recreational values without hurting the wilderness environment; and further be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution, duly apoted by this Commission at Los Angeles, Calif., on April 4, 1957, be transmitted to each member of the California delegation in Congress.

Senator NEUBERGER. I wish to ask you one question, if I may, Mr. Berry.

As I understand from your statement, not only do the California agencies represented by you oppose the bill before us, unless it is drastically amended, but you actually feel that the existing methods of setting aside wilderness areas should be greatly modified?

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Mr. BERRY. There is a difference of opinion among several of the agencies in California on the last part of your statement, Senator.

Senator NEUBERGER. For example, you say:

> In some cases, features of the California Water Plan must of necessity be physically located within areas proposed for inclusion in the national wilderness preservation system. There are no feasible alternatives available.

You realize that under existing regulations, forgetting this bill before us entirely, putting that aside, under existing regulations I think you realize that a commercial reservoir and the necessary access roads to construct it, not be located within the present wilderness system under existing regulations.

I think you are aware of that, are you not?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, sir.

Senator NEUBERGER. That is what I am driving at, that you not only oppose this bill in its present form, but you want the current regulations and rules modified governing wilderness areas within the national forest system.

Is that not correct?

Mr. BERRY. That is esentially correct. We have a current conflict in California in connection with this Sacramento municipal utility district project that I cited, where in the district, in order to make its project effective, needs to divert water at the edge of the Desolation Valley primitive area.

As I understand it, currently the Federal Power Commission is withholding permit and license to the district, all other administrative requirements having been fulfilled by the district, until the district can work out an arrangement, an agreement of some sort, with the Forest Service to effect that necessary part of their plan.

I think it is the consensus of those of us in California who are involved in this problem, that the concept of wilderness preservation is fine. We endorse it heartily.

But we do feel that in those cases where there is conflict with other needed and necessary uses of the land and waters, that all aspects of conservation should be equally evaluated in that specific case, and the decision made on the basis of hearings and evaluation, and the judgment of the legislative bodies, be they National or State.

Senator NEUBERGER. There is one other statement you made that I would like to ask you about. You said:

> We are, therefore, suggesting for consideration that the bill also be amended to require congressional action to add areas to the system.

In other words, that is another modification of the existing situation which you propose, even putting the bill aside.

In other words, you realize today that the Secretary can add areas to the wilderness system. He can say that in a certain national forest, the Moduk National Forest in your State, or the Willamette National Forest in my State, that a wilderness area of 100,000 acres can be enlarged to 140,000 acres within the national forest, and that is only by administrative action today. You realize that, do you not?

Mr. BERRY. Yes, Senator. There are exceptions, such as the one I have cited, Senator.

Our fish and game department is very happy with the administration of the primitive areas and the wilderness areas by the Forest

USAV-00000342

Service. They do have a slightly different viewpoint, as indicated by this appended resolution of the California Fish and Game Commission, in that respect. They maintain the status quo.

However, these bills, Senator, broaden this to include many lands, in effect, all Federal lands, although now the primitive areas and such are limited to the forest lands.

Senator NEUBERGER. The point that I am seeking to make is that not only are there some features of the bills which you oppose, which is certainly your right, but that you do want the existing method of setting aside and maintaining the wilderness areas, you want that existing method changed and modified to some degree?

Mr. BERRY. We would, I think, prefer to have these areas established, the future areas, on the basis of hearings by a legislative body.

Senator NEUBERGER. By Congress, do you mean?

Mr. BERRY. By Congress.

Senator NEUBERGER. The point I am again seeking to make on the record is this:

This has been an unusual hearing. These people came in with a bill that sought to provide congressional action before a wilderness area could be reduced. You have come in with a proposal seeking congressional action before a wilderness area can be enlarged or added to.

You see what I mean has happened to some degree?

I just want the record to show that, because it is a material fact in these hearings.

Mr. BERRY. I admittedly, and those agencies that I represent, many primarily interested in water development; water is vital to our western economy, as you well know. We feel that that very vital resource should be given consideration when these areas are expanded or new ones are established.

Senator NEUBERGER. Mr. Berry, thank you very much. I want you to know that while we may not wholly agree on this, I certainly have a great sympathy with the State of California and its water resource problems.

I remember talking about this to your former distinguished Governor, now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, a good many years ago when I was in the Oregon Legislature. I was in a delegation who went to Berkeley. He was a speaker there and he outlined very vividly your extremely urgent and critical dilemma with respect to water.

So we do sympathize with your problem.

Mr. BERRY. Our problem is still with us, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NEUBERGER. I know it is.

Thank you, Mr. Berry.

The next witness will be Mr. Gordon A. Weller, executive vice-president, Uranium Institute of America.

STATEMENT OF GORDON A. WELLER, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, URANIUM INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

Mr. WELLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I only arrived in Washington last night, and was not advised of the fact that this committee was holding hearings on this legislation. The statement that I am to present is in connection with the House hearing scheduled for today and tomorrow.

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The Uranium Institute of America appreciates this opportunity to submit testimony on the question of the proposed national wilderness preservation system.

I am Gordon A. Weller, executive vice president of the Uranium Institute of America, and our offices are in Grand Junction, Colo. The Uranium Institute is concerned with all economic and social phases of the development of the uranium industry from the exploration for mineral deposits bearing uranium, to the production of the marketable form of uranium in the form of fuel elements and other useful forms.

The purpose of our testimony before the committee today is to, first, endorse the general principle of preservation of wilderness areas in the United States, but at the same time, we wish to indicate our earnest concern over possible conflicts, and recommend the desirability of multiple-purpose programs being provided for this in the legislation so that development of national resources which lie below the surface of the ground in some of these areas may be possible as our knowledge of resources is extended.

Need for balance of our national values: We are concerned here today with a question which involves a pattern which has built over the past several decades concerning the need for preservation of scenic, topographic, and wildlife values in this great land of ours. This is certainly a worthy subject of concern for the National Congress and indeed it has been a problem which has come before this committee and other committees of the Congress over many years as the development of the entire country has advanced.

The question that might be posed at this point is: Would our Nation be the great country it is today if it had not been for the development of our tremendous reserve of resources?

Would the United States of America have the vitality and strength that it has?

Would it have the prestige in the world community were it not for the vast supply of minerals, agricultural produce, and resultant manufacturing capacity that has made us the industrial giant we are today?

The answer is, of course, "No."

We must, therefore, acknowledge the fact that the people of the United States have a legitimate stake in all of the values of the public lands which we are considering today, just as we all have a legitimate stake in our free enterprise system.

Certainly the values of magnificent scenery, unusual topography, and natural wildlife are of importance to the people of our Nation, but we must recognize as well the importance of the values which are found beneath the surface of the ground that are of such significance to our modern way of life.

We are indeed at a point today where we must carefully balance the values that are afforded to us in this great land—the human values that make our people strong, and the mineral values, the foodstuffs and fiber that must be taken from the soil and used and conserved for the maximum benefit of a strong people.

Mining is not antagonistic to enlightened wilderness programs. We have carefully reviewed proposed legislation which has been sponsored by distinguished Members of the Congress creating in the United States of America a National Wilderness Preservation System.

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First, we would like to have you all know of the profound affection that the entire mining fraternity has for the great wilderness areas of the United States, particularly as they exist in the West.

Indeed, you will find among the people that are engaged in production of mineral resources some of the greatest advocates for the preservation of these areas that we have in the United States.

It is also recognized by this group, however, that minerals must be extracted from the earth where they exist and where they are to be found. Many times mineral reserves also happen to lie in areas that are not developed, that are in remote locations, and are often in conflict with areas which we would like to preserve for their physical beauty and wildlife appeal.

Because of this appreciation for the objective of the proposed legislation being considered here today, we would like to remove the mining industry, and particularly that segment of the industry engaged in the extraction of uranium from the position as antagonists of the proponents for wilderness areas.

Implications of the proposed wilderness system to our atomic energy program. The concern of the uranium-producing industry with respect to this legislation is that the balance of values in certain cases may be so disturbed as to seriously impair the overall objectives of our country.

Atomic energy is now providing the free peoples of the world with the assurance that their standard of living can be advanced. Power, which is so important to such growth, will be available from the atom, when and where we reach the ultimate productive capacity for power from conventional fuels.

The United States stands today as the world's foremost leader in all phases of the new business of producing power from the atom. This fact alone has had an important bearing upon our diplomatic and defense positions in the community of nations.

Because of the broad importance of this new source of energy to a world living in peace and progress, many billions of dollars have been expended by the American taxpayers to assure our Nation's rapid advance in the field of atomic energy.

Many more millions of dollars have been spent by private industry to find and develop mineral reserves that would provide the raw material to support this vast program.

Equally large sums are being spent by the power and manufacturing concerns of the United States to supplement and extend the Federal Government's atomic energy programs.

The atomic energy program must continue to be supported by an adequate and expanding raw material base. Although it has not been possible to adequately analyze the areas that are presented in the bills before this committee today, it is highly possible that a number of the areas in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and South Dakota lie in regions that could be developed as important sources of uranium or thorium.

Our knowledge of the occurrence of uranium in the earth's crust has been advanced at a rapid rate over the past 10 years. Deep exploration is still, however, in its infancy.

Exploration techniques of other minerals important to atomic energy such as thorium, hafnium, and zirconium, are at an even more primitive state of development.

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It is accordingly impossible for us to predict the precise areas that should be subject to concern when wilderness preserves are being proposed.

NEED FOR CHANGES IN THE PRESENT BILL

We would like to join, therefore, the conservationists in programs of this nature and to work with all national influences in a program of maximum use benefit for the scenic, and resource values of our country.

We submit that there are certain regions in which these necessarily must conflict and there must be sound measures written into this legislation that will provide equity for all interests concerned.

There can be in this Nation no room for monopoly for any specific interest when conflicts for the use of our strategic resources is involved. These conflicts must be adjudicated and settled in a manner which will bring the greatest benefit to our entire society.

For this reason, we would like to recommend at this time that the following provisions be written into the proposed legislation that would create a National Wilderness Preservation System so that all of the great values which are identified with the West, the regions which are subject to this legislation, can be brought into proper balance and can be managed for the greatest benefit of our Nation:

1. The statute creating a National Wilderness Preservation System should provide exactly the same process for the removal of an area from the Wilderness System as is provided for its establishment.

2. A coordinated and continuing study of the various areas under operation by the National Wilderness Preservation System, and for those areas which are proposed to be incorporated in this System, should be made to consider all of the values which are involved in any given area and to balance these values against the requirements of the defense and economy of our Nation at any given time.

We strongly urge that the areas which are proposed to be incorporated in the National Wilderness Preservation System, under the proposed legislation, be carefully studied for the mineral values represented in these regions before they are permanently removed from potential development, under the National Wilderness Preservation System.

3. Where it is determined that there is a conflict of values, but that the scenic considerations in the area of concern are of such a nature to warrant the preservation to the maximum possible degree, provision should be made for such areas to be established as multiple-purpose areas, with the scenic values to be administered under the National Wilderness Preservation System, in order that adequate safeguards be maintained for the natural values of such areas. At the same time, the mineral resources of that area may be developed for the benefit of the Nation.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT ON INDIAN RESERVATION LANDS

As the white man pushed into the western portion of the United States early in the history of our country, the conflicts that developed with various tribes of Indians resulted in the inevitable treaties that banished the Indian to what was then considered the waste areas of the country.

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What may appear to be the irony of this record we have written in the West, but what many of us consider today to be a very fitting conclusion to be misguided acts of our predecessors, is the discovery of many deposits of oil and minerals on reservation lands in many of our Western States.

Mining and oil companies have learned to develop working agreements with Indian tribes of mutual benefit for the development of these deposits on reservation lands. As a result of this development, funds are coming to such Indian groups as the Navaho Indian Tribe and the Laguna Indian Pueblo which are making possible very constructive advancements by the Indians.

The uranium industry is proud of the part that it is playing in the advancement of these people in the West and we have grown to know them as our friends in this joint enterprise.

The Uranium Institute of America recently presented facts before the Arizona and New Mexico Highway Commissions concerning the need for the development of roads in the northern part of the Navaho Indian Reservation that would permit increased access to this area for both tourist travel and the development of mineral reserves which abound in this area.

A copy of the analysis which we made on this occasion is appended to this report.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

URANIUM INSTITUTE OF AMERICA,
Grand Junction, Colo., June 10, 1957.

ANTICIPATED ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO URANIUM OPERATIONS ON THE NAVAHO INDIAN RESERVATION

The region to be served by the proposed Indian Route No. 1 that would connect Farmington, N. Mex., with Tuba City, Ariz., is subject to considerable uranium activity. The following analysis is made on the basis of current operations and current buying procedures of the United States Atomic Energy Commission as set forth by Circular 5.

Haulage reimbursement is allowed uranium ore producers up to a radius of 100 miles from the point of production of uraniferous ore. On the basis of this haulage provision, uranium mills listed on table I may be considered favorably located facilities for ore produced on the Navaho Reservation in the general region served by the proposed Indian Route No. 1.

TABLE I.—*Uranium mills serving the Navaho Indian Reservation*

A Company	B Location	C Capacity, tons per day	D Percent tonnage from reservation	E Reserve ore, tons per day	F Mill employment
Atomic Energy Commission	Monticello, Utah	600	[1] 0	0	200
Kerr-McGee Oil Industries	Shiprock, N. Mex	500	58	290	177
Rare Metals Corp	Tuba City, Ariz	[2] 400	100	400	75
Texas Zinc Mineral Corp	Mexican Hat,[3] Utah	775	40	310	222
Vanadium Corporation of America.	Durango, Colo	440	76	335	144
Total		2,715	49.2	1,335	818

[1] No production from the Navajo Reservation is now going to the Monticello mill. The facility is within the 100-mile haulage limit of the reservation and is therefore listed as a potential milling facility of reservation ore.

[2] The Tuba City mill is expected to increase its present rated capacity of 250 to 400 tons per day by Sept. 1, 1957. The latter figure is used for these calculations.

[3] The Mexican Hat mill is now in final stages of construction and is expected to go into operation October 1957.

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Shown on table I, column D, is the estimated percent of capacity of mill facilities served by uranium ore from the Navaho Reservation. It is noted that at the present time no ore is being received at Monticello, Utah, from this region, but the facility is listed since it could favorably serve stimulated production in the future. The figures in column E of table No. I show tons of reservation-produced ore per day. Column F indicates the number of employees estimated to be required by each of the milling facilities.

On the basis of the analysis presented in this table the total milling capacity of the uranium industry in the region generally served by the Indian route No. 1 totals 2,715 tons per day for ores which are expected to average at least 5 pounds of U-308 per ton. On the basis of the most accurate information we now have on the conventional milling contract negotiated by the Atomic Energy Commission an average of not more than $10 per pound of U-308 is awarded these milling operations by the Atomic Energy Commission for the resultant uranium concentrate produced. On the basis of a 360-day milling operating year these figures give an estimated $40 million annual economic benefit.

The estimated annual tonnage of ore produced from the Navaho Reservation which is processed by these uranium mills may be therefore valued at between $23 million and $25 million.

It is also estimated that this production will also support a total of 818 employees and a total population of more than 2,500 people including employees' families and supporting services. It is anticipated that an equal number of people will be required in the milling operations which will support these ore-processing facilities.

It can, therefore, be conservatively assumed that 5,000 people will have been drawn to the general region (the area estimated 100 miles to the north or 100 miles to the south of the proposed Indian route No. 1).

In summary then an economy approaching $50 million per year and involving 5,000 people is being established for the uranium industry in the so-called Four-Corners region of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. All of this development will be effected substantially and beneficially by the establishment of an east-west highway between Farmington, N. Mex., and Tuba City, Ariz., and approximately half of it will be directly served by the proposed route.

Respectfully submitted.

GORDON A. WELLER,
Executive Vice President, Uranium Institute of America.

Mr. WELLER. In view of this Nation's past history of repeated encroachments upon Indian lands, it is the sincere recommendation of the Uranium Institute of America that no further attempts be made through legislation to dictate the use of lands which remain today within the boundaries of Indian reservations.

I have taken the liberty to discuss this proposed legislation with Mr. Paul Jones, chairman of the Navaho Tribal Council at Window Rock, Ariz., and I understand that because of his concern he has requested time to testify personally on the proposal contained in this legislation.

We strongly commend for your careful study the testimony that Mr. Jones is rendering to this committee. We urge that the fine programs for the constructive advancement of the Navaho people be acknowledged and supported under a program that is being pursued today under Mr. Jones' leadership.

I might say that, unfortunately, there was a death by one of the members of the tribal council, and Mr. Jones had to leave Washington yesterday to return to Window Rock. He will not be able to testify.

CONCLUSION

It is becoming increasingly evident in the course of the development of the West that multiple-purpose use of our public lands must be acknowledged as a general policy of operations.

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The designation of outstanding areas for recreational, scientific, educational, and conservation needs of the people is a most worthy purpose, but it must be acknowledged that the accommodation of these requirements can often be coordinated with the resource development requirements which our Nation shall experience with increasing frequency. For such areas to be removed from the use of the Nation for all other purposes in perpetuity is to commend our Nation to a blind course of predestined resource poverty.

Thank you very much.

Senator NEUBERGER. I want to say this, Mr. Weller, you mentioned Mr. Jones of the Navaho Tribal Council. If he is not able to be here, the hearing record will be kept open for about a week after the hearings are concluded, and if his statement is delivered to Mr. Stong or myself, we will see that it appears in full in the record.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF MR. PAUL JONES, CHAIRMAN, NAVAHO TRIBAL COUNCIL

The opportunity extended to me to appear before this committee on behalf of my people is greatly appreciated. It permits us to express our opposition to that part of H. R. 906 and any similar congressional bill which would authorize setting aside areas within the Navaho Reservation for inclusion in a national wildlife preservation system. This matter was carefully considered by the Navaho Tribal Council in connection with S. 4013 of the 84th Congress. We vigorously oppose the inclusion of Navaho tribal lands in such proposed legislation. In opposing legislation of this nature, the Navaho Tribal Council fully realized there would be incorporated in this law a provision requiring the consent of respective tribal councils before Indian reservation lands could be included in a wilderness preservation system. Nevertheless, we did not want any part of our land even to be mentioned in the bill. There are several reasons for this attitude of ours.

First, we assume that the inclusion of the Black Mesa roadless area, Navaho Indian Reservation: Painted Desert roadless area, Navaho Indian Reservation; and, Rainbow Bridge roadless area, Navaho Indian Reservation in H. R. 906 was done in the belief these areas are wildernesses. Such is not the case—these areas are more heavily populated than most of rural Arizona, and they are just as much inhabited by our people as are many other parts of our Navaho Reservation. I must regretfully admit these are not the only roadless areas of our reservation. Most of our reservation is a roadless area. This condition exists not because we wanted to preserve these areas for their recreational, scenic, or scientific purposes, but because our Navaho Reservation has been ignored in respect to roads for many years by those responsible for and holding control over our lands. This condition has denied these American citizens, living within these so-called wilderness areas, many necessities of life. It has denied them access to doctors when they were ill. Many have died of acute appendicitis before they could reach a doctor. It has forced them to send their little children miles away from home to boarding schools, because school buses could not take their children to day schools.

To fully appreciate the grave problems facing us because of lack of good roads, one must be exposed for many years to the miseries of my people. I can, therefore, understand why the casual visitor looks at various parts of our reservation and believes them to be wilderness areas and finds them attractive targets for creating permanent wilderness reserves. They think the Navaho people themselves are part of the scenery, and not people like themselves, who need jobs, doctors, and schools. Experience has been a painful teacher for we have found that the perpetuating of the Navaho Reservation as a roadless area has only produced great misery among us Navahos, and has made the job of catching up a tremendous one.

Second, H. R. 906 lumps our privately owned lands as if they were public domain. We live, work, guard and rightfully consider our reservation as privately owned, notwithstanding its present trust status. When we need to protect our scenic areas, we ourselves take appropriate action which is consistent with the lives of our people living within them. Last year we created our own tribal

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park commission. We station rangers in Monument Valley to serve visitors and protect the scenery. But we do not forbid roads, school buses, and ambulance service, as H. R. 906 would do.

The advisory committee of the Navaho Tribal Council on June 19, 1956, in requesting the abolishment of an order of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated October 25, 1937, providing for roadless areas within the Navaho Reservation, stated in part as follows:

2. This order was never approved by the Navaho people, is out of accord with the policy of the Navaho-Hopi Rehabilitation Act, and seems to be based on a theory that the Navaho Reservation is a national park rather than a densely populated area where thousands of American citizens are struggling to live at bare subsistence levels because of too long delayed development of natural and human resources.

3. This order at the present time impedes uranium and copper mining on the Navaho Reservation and will interfere with construction of Glen Canyon Dam.

You can see, we need from our many friends here in Washington some well-considered legislation which will assist us in combating the many problems these roadless areas are creating. Such assistance would introduce for the first time badly needed medical and day school facilities for these less fortunate citizens. This would be a step in harmony with the work we are presently doing. Legislation such as the proposed H. R. 906 would only work to create a vacuum in these areas and would deny the residents therein an opportunity to progress along with the rest of the citizens of the United States.

Based on the above enumerated justification besides many others, my Navaho people strongly oppose H. R. 906 as it concerns the Navaho Reservation. It is, therefore, respectfully requested this bill be properly amended to show the complete deletion of any mention of any areas within the Navaho Reservation.

I have here, and wish to submit for your records copies of Resolution No. CN-63-56 of the Navaho Tibal Council and Resolution No. ACJ-46-56 of the advisory committee, opposing roadless areas on the Navaho Reservation.

RESOLUTION NO. ACJ-46-56 OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE NAVAHO TRIBAL COUNCIL REQUESTING THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR TO ABOLISH ROADLESS AREAS ON THE NAVAHO RESERVATION

Whereas:

1. By an order of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated October 25, 1937, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior October 29, 1937 (reproduced in part in 25 CFR, pt. 281), a policy of the Department of the Interior to refuse consent to the construction or establishment of passable roads in approximately 2,035,000 acres of the Navaho Reservation was established.

2. This order was never approved by the Navaho people, is out of accord with the policy of the Navaho-Hopi Rehabilitation Act, and seems to be based on a theory that the Navaho Reservation is a national park rather than a densely populated areas where thousands of American citizens are struggling to live at bare subsistence levels because of too long delayed development of natural and human resources.

3. This order at the present time impedes uranium and copper mining on the Navaho Reservation and will interfere with construction of Glen Canyon Dam: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior are hereby respectfully urged to revoke all designations of any part of the Navaho Reservation as roadless areas.

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly considered by the advisory committee of the Navaho Tribal Council at a duly called meeting at Window Rock, Ariz., at which a quorum was present and that same was approved by a vote of 8 in favor and 0 opposed, this 19th day of June 1956.

SCOTT PRESTON,
Acting Chairman, Navaho Tribal Council.

Approved:

G. WARREN SPAULDING,
General Superintendent.

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RESOLUTION NO. CN-63-56 OF THE NAVAHO TRIBAL COUNCIL OPPOSING ROADLESS AREAS ON THE NAVAHO RESERVATION

Whereas:

1. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in an order dated October 25, 1937, approved by the Secretary of the Interior October 29, 1937, without the consent of the Navaho Tribe, established a policy of refusing consent to the construction or establishment of passable roads in an area of approximately 2,035,000 acres of the Navaho Indian Reservation.

2. The lack of passable roads on the Navaho Reservation is one of the chief contributing causes of poverty and ignorance among the Navaho people. The lack of passable roads excessively increases the cost of getting Navaho products to market and of the necessities of life which the Navahos must purchase from outside their reservation; it makes impossible the establishment of day schools in many sections of the reservation and necessitates the Navaho people sending their little children hundreds of miles away from home to attend boarding schools if they are to receive an education at all; it discourages oil and gas and mining development in many areas of the reservation, and in every way is an undesirable and harmful condition to the Navaho people.

3. The policy of maintaining roadless areas on the Navaho Reservation is contrary to the program of economic development contemplated by the Navaho-Hopi Rehabilitation Act of 1950.

4. There was introduced in the 84th Congress a bill (S. 4013) to establish by law a national wilderness system which would include permanent roadless areas on the Navaho and other Indian reservations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That (1) the Navaho Tribal Council condemns the existence of roadless areas on the Navaho Reservation and hereby requests the Secretary of the Interior to revoke without delay all designations of any part of the Navaho Indian Reservation as a roadless area.

2. The Navaho Tribal Council disapproves the inclusion of any part of the Navaho Indian Reservation in any National Wilderness Preservation System which may hereafter be established and requests the Congress of the United States, in the event a bill similar to S. 4103 is introduced in the 85th Congress to make no mention therein of the Navaho Indian Reservation and to make no provision therein for the continuance of roadless areas on the Navaho Indian Reservation.

3. The Navaho Tribal Council approves in principle the establishment and maintenance of national parks in various areas of the United States where all American citizens, including Navaho Indians, may go on vacations to enjoy scenic grandeus untouched by the development for economic purposes. However, the Navaho Tribal Council feels that such public parks should be established only on publicly owned land and under conditions that will not deprive the customary users of such land of their livelihood. The Navaho Tribal Council points out that the Navaho Indian Reservation is the private property of the Navaho people upon which they are dependent for their sustenance and that consequently it is not available and should not be taken for national park purposes or similar public recreational purposes.

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly considered by the Navaho Tribal Council at a duly called meeting at Window Rock, Ariz., at which a quorum was present, and that same was approved by a vote of 63 in favor, and 0 opposed, this 2d day of November 1956.

PAUL JONES,
Chairman, Navaho Tribal Council.

Mr. WELLER. Thank you, sir.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you so much for coming here today.

Mr. WELLER. Thank you.

Senator NEUBERGER. The next witness is Mr. Harry Mosebrook, chief forester, American Pulpwood Association.

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STATEMENT OF HARRY S. MOSEBROOK, FORESTER, AMERICAN PULPWOOD ASSOCIATION

Mr. MOSEBROOK. I am Harry S. Mosebrook, forester for the American Pulpwood Association, but speaking as a representative of the pulpwood, pulp, paper, and paperboard industries as a whole.

This association is composed of pulpwood producers, dealers, and consumers of pulpwood and others directly or indirectly concerned with the growing and harvesting of pulpwood, the principal raw material used in the manufacture of paper and paper products.

All members of this association are vitally concerned with the utilization of the commercial forest resources to be found on Federal lands, and believe that these lands should be managed under the principle of multiple use.

The headquarters of this association is at 220 East 42d Street, New York City.

We are grateful for this opportunity to present our views in opposition to bills before this subcommittee which would establish a National Wilderness Preservation System, but we would also strongly urge that this subcommittee give due consideration to holding hearings in the West where the economy would be seriously affected by this legislation.

In opposing a National Wilderness Preservation System, I should like to make it clear that our industry recognizes and supports a national policy of protecting and preserving wilderness areas for the enjoyment of the American people where such use constitutes the predominant value.

We will continue to support a national wilderness policy which will protect, preserve, and maintain those areas predominantly valuable for that purpose, at the same time having due regard for the use of other resources, such as timber, minerals, water, and opportunities for mass recreational use which may be needed by our growing population.

Decision as to the predominant use of each area should be made after an impartial consideration of all the resources present, all uses and all users.

We do object to setting up a preservation system on the basis of boundary lines drawn up years ago, many of them wholly inconsistent with reality because of lack of proper survey or classification at the time they were drawn.

I should like to outline briefly why this industry feels that the establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System as proposed in the legislation before you would not be consistent with sound wilderness policy in which wilderness values can be fully appraised against other values in the light of ever-changing economic conditions.

A National Wilderness Preservation System is not necessary. These bills would blanket into a Wilderness Preservation System perpetually for all practical purposes, against roads and all other commercial uses, almost all of the national parks, many national monuments, the primitive, wilderness, wild, and roadless areas within the national forests, many wildlife and game refuges, and some Indian reservation wilderness areas.

It is possible that a maximum of almost 54 million acres could be blanketed into a Wilderness Preservation System immediately under this legislation.

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The great bulk of this area is in the Western States and Alaska, areas economically dependent upon the maximum use of all resources.

There is no accurate estimate available as to the amount of resources, including timber, which would be frozen in these areas and seriously retard further industrial development of the Western States and Alaska.

The legislation is inconsistent in that it would permit the continuation of many activities presently being carried on in these areas, and at the same time require the administering agency to see that the areas in the system under its jurisdiction remain wilderness areas.

This makes it appear that many of these areas to be blanketed into a wilderness system should be not classified as wilderness at all.

The proposal to create a National Wilderness Preservation System and a National Wilderness Preservation Council is not only unnecessary, but it is unwise. It implies a criticism of the administration of wilderness areas by the respective agencies in the Interior and Agriculture Departments.

The national forests have been governed on the principle of multiple-use and sustained yield of products and services for the greatest possible number of people—a principle to which my industry heartily subscribes.

Wilderness areas have been established in the national forest where wilderness values are predominant to other uses. The important thing is that the Forest Service has been able to exercise administrative elasticity and to revise its wilderness policies and areas as changing times and conditions have dictated.

Of key importance is the fact that the Forest Service has never granted special rights to one category of use or user. In our opinion the establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System would grant special privileges to a small group of national forest users, the wilderness enthusiasts, who are less than 1 percent of the recreational public.

What has happened to national forest wilderness areas under the Forest Service? Although sizable boundary adjustments have been made as economic conditions have changed, the Forest Service reports that there is a net increase of 65,376 acres of wilderness administered by the agency since the wilderness regulations were established in 1939.

A total of 14 million acres set aside as wilderness areas in the national forests demonstrate a recognition by the Forest Service of a continuity of policy and purpose in the protection and preservation of land for wilderness use.

Our industry believes that evaluation of national forest wilderness areas should be continuously made and local hearings called in the areas affected to assure that wilderness values in areas so classified remain the dominant use.

National parks and monuments comprise those areas which are of such superlative scenery, natural and historic values that they are of national importance to all our people. They are managed on the principle that they shall be handed over to future generations unimpaired, but actually, the organic National Park Service Act of 1916 offers nearly as much flexibility in managing recreation resources as the multiple-use principle of Forest Service administration.

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Changes in the national park boundaries can be made only by Congress and you are well aware that proposals to build dams in national parks have recently met with strong opposition by the public and in the Congress.

The Park Service has devoted considerable attention to preserving the natural character and wilderness aspects of the national parks, and at the same time to bring people into them for their enjoyment.

Wildlife refuges and roadless and wild areas within Indian reservations are now administered under regulations by the Secretary of Interior. Indian reservations, which are the property of the Indians themselves and administered in trust by the Federal Government, contain many valuable resources which are utilized for the economic betterment of the American Indian.

A proposal to freeze further economic utilization of these resources, even with their consent, shows little concern for the economic well-being of these American citizens.

The only equitable solution as far as the Indians are concerned would be for the Federal Government to purchase these lands from the Indians. We would be absolutely opposed to this on the basis that far too much land and resources are already owned and controlled by the Federal Government.

The administration of wilderness areas under regulations of the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior, and under various acts of Congress, has provided a degree of flexibility and continuity of purpose to give us confidence in the continuing management of wilderness areas by executive agencies without establishing a commission to ride herd on them.

It would eliminate the multiple-use management of public lands. Under the terms of this legislation all commercial use of wilderness areas would eventually be eliminated without any regard for the people and communities dependent upon proper utilization of the resources found in these areas.

Practically every wilderness area contains timber, water, minerals, and other resources, and the combination of uses which will yield the highest net returns, benefits, and services has to be determined for each individual area based on a thorough and impartial study of the pertinent facts.

Under a Wilderness Preservation System, wilderness areas would tend to perpetuate themselves, regardless of whether they were wisely selected in the first place, or whether changing conditions would make a different evaluation necessary.

The pulpwood, pulp, paper, and paperboard industries depend upon wood as their chief raw material. The consumption of pulpwood in this country increased 267 percent since the close of World War I, and is expected to increase another 84 percent in the next 20 years.

Although we have been getting only 9 percent of our pulpwood from Government forest lands over the whole United States but 16 percent in the West, we believe that all Federal forest lands in the the future must provide a greater share of our raw material.

We favor a multiple-use management for the national forests where dominant uses can be reviewed from time to time after adequate inventories and classifications of land have been made to determine whether adjustments are needed.

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Under this legislation a National Wilderness Preservation Council would be created. We maintain that it would be just as equitable to establish a Federal timber-users council to make sure we get enough timber from Federal forests, or a grazing council, or a water-users council. Certainly, the forest resources of this Nation contribute as much or more as wilderness to the economic well-being of this Nation.

It has been estimated that 99 percent of all the people who hunt, fish, picnic, or look at scenery never get into wilderness areas.

In 1955 there were 45½ million visits to the national forests for recreational use; expected to climb to 66 million in 1962 and 100 million by 1975.

The Forest Service has Operation Outdoors, and the Park Service has Mission 66, to develop these mass recreational opportunities.

In our opinion, these mass recreational users present a greater threat to wilderness areas than timber or grazing or any other use of these areas.

My industry recognizes the need of the public for recreational areas in the forest and is providing these opportunities on company-owned lands. Locking up vast areas of land permanently in a wilderness system will serve to intensify the pressures on other areas for recreational use. Only a flexible system geared to meet these new conditions can deal with such a problem.

Administrative jurisdiction for wilderness areas should remain with the Executive. The Wilderness Preservation System legislation proposes setting up a National Wilderness Preservation Council. This would establish a potential bottleneck in the matter of additions, deletions, or management of wilderness areas. Such a mode of operation would prove cumbersome and ineffective for the agencies administering such areas under existing acts or regulations.

In practice, such a council would either be totally ineffective, or over a period of time would assume broader powers and act as a very effective lobby to get additional wilderness areas set aside and to resist changes in administration.

The preservation of wilderness values is not solved simply by setting aside areas into a wilderness system and prohibiting building of roads or commercial utilization of resources. Fire, insects, as Dr. McArdle said yesterday, disease and windthrow, are not only a constant threat to wilderness values, but these destructive forces may also spread to adjoining public or private forest areas.

Legislation isn't going to solve this problem. Indeed, legislation of this type would only make it worse by denying the administering agency the latitude of administrative judgment necessary to cope with such problems.

If we set aside wilderness areas that are too large without any access and with little regard for reexamination from time to time, we may find enormous wilderness values may be destroyed by the forces of nature, and along with them other resources of great value which our economy needs.

So we believe it would be contrary to public interest to interpose a National Wilderness Preservation Council between the Congress and the executive agencies.

Why should six citizen members of the Council "known to be informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness,"

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and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution sit between the Congress and the executive agencies in the administration of wilderness areas?

This Council would not function in a purely advisory capacity, but would tend to assume ever-increasing powers over a period of time.

An inventory of outdoor recreation resources and needs has not been made.

Legislation is still pending before this subcommittee to establish a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. This Commission would undertake an inventory of outdoor recreation resources and opportunities.

No such inventory or overall appraisal has ever been made. The Wilderness Preservation System legislation proposes to freeze large areas into a perpetual wilderness system without regard for the future needs for this type of resource or other resources found in wilderness areas.

Although such a vast system of wilderness areas, almost 54 million acres, would be economically unsound at any time, further inventory and appraisal of the values of all resources should be made by the executive agencies to guide them in future plans and programs for wilderness and other recreation areas.

The establishment of a huge National Wilderness Preservation System without adequate inventory and land classification study would be haphazard and injurious to the future economic development of this country.

I would like to again urge that the committee give consideration to holding hearings in the West, in parts of the country where the economy would be very vitally affected by this legislation.

Our industry thanks you for the privilege of presenting our views to this committee.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you, Mr. Mosebrook. I have just a few questions.

One thing I would like to know is do you favor the existing system that is now in effect at the present time, of setting aside wilderness areas and maintaining them, adding to them or reducing them, as the case may be?

Mr. MOSEBROOK. We think it has proved fairly effective. The history of the wilderness administration under the Forest Service, for example, has indicated that that agency has proved a continuity of administration of wilderness areas.

In fact, they have increased the acreage. The national parks, we think, are similarly protected, and the national parks probably embrace the most valuable of all the wilderness areas that we have.

We do think that those agencies have given consideration to changing conditions as they have presented themselves and they have been fairly effective in the administration; yes, sir.

Senator NEUBERGER. In other words, you have no particular opposition to existing laws and regulations that govern wilderness areas.

Mr. MOSEBROOK. No; we do not.

The only thing we would like to urge is that the agencies continue to give consideration to reevaluations from time to time. We think it is only wise that these evaluations should be made as conditions change from year to year.

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Senator NEUBERGER. You said:

The consumption of pulpwood in this country increased 267 percent since the close of World War I, and is expected to increase another 84 percent in the next 20 years.

I want to say to you that I share with you the desire to see pulpwood production expanded, particularly in some of the Western States where I think they need those payrolls.

I think that it would be very useful if Mr. Stong, the clerk, could obtain for the committee the increase in timber cutting, bought for lumber and for pulpwood, on the national forests since the close of World War I.

It is my assumption, my belief, although I am not an expert, technically in this field, that our timber cutting on the national forests has more than kept pace with the percentage increases you mentioned.

You are much more of an expert in that than I.

Mr. Stong will get the exact figures from the Forest Service.

I would not be very much surprised, and the record may prove me wrong, if actually timber cutting for commercial purposes of one kind or another on the national forests since the close of World War I has actually increased more than 267 percent.

Mr. MOSEBROOK. I think you are probably right; yes, sir.

(The Forest Service subsequently supplied the following data:)

Volume of timber cut on the national forests since World War I

Fiscal year	Volume cut, thousand board-feet	Percent of 1918 cut	Fiscal year	Volume cut, thousand board-feet	Percent of 1918 cut
1918	730,179	.....	1938	1,287,917	176.4
1919	705,589	96.6	1939	1,249,761	170.7
1920	805,375	110.3	1940	1,740,271	238.3
1921	800,452	109.6	1941	2,067,279	283.1
1922	722,779	99.0	1942	2,204,749	301.9
1923	994,805	136.2	1943	2,369,473	323.1
1924	1,143,654	156.6	1944	3,353,167	459.4
1925	1,021,879	140.0	1945	3,144,789	430.6
1926	1,192,717	163.3	1946	2,729,518	373.8
1927	1,336,242	183.3	1947	3,834,588	525.1
1928	1,271,762	174.1	1948	3,738,885	514.8
1929	1,496,725	205.0	1949	3,749,810	512.3
1930	1,653,265	226.4	1950	3,501,937	479.6
1931	1,222,301	167.4	1951	4,688,280	642.1
1932	611,751	83.8	1952	4,418,530	605.1
1933	473,922	64.9	1953	5,160,355	706.7
1934	674,742	92.4	1954	5,365,113	734.6
1935	752,368	103.0	1955	6,328,229	866.7
1936	1,021,156	139.9	1956	6,907,041	945.9
1937	1,290,623	176.8			

Senator NEUBERGER. So I do not think there is any comparability between the commercial uses you stress and the existing wilderness system.

The only point I want to ask you about again is this: Do any of your members, to your knowledge, contemplate or desire to log commercially within the borders of existing wilderness areas?

Mr. MOSEBROOK. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Senator NEUBERGER. In other words, if existing wilderness areas are maintained, and are not added to, your people will not have too much objection?

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Mr. MOSEBROOK. I think they would not have too much objection, provided, as I stated, that provisions are made for evaluation of these areas from time to time, that we do not close the door on boundaries; that we do not draw a boundary and say "This is a boundary."

We think that conditions do change, and we have to make evaluations or reevaluations from time to time.

Senator NEUBERGER. Would you object to legislation which said that existing wilderness areas could not be enlarged without the approval of Congress, nor could they be reduced without the approval of Congress?

Mr. MOSEBROOK. Yes, we would approve that principle.

Senator NEUBERGER. You would approve that principle?

Mr. MOSEBROOK. Yes.

Senator NEUBERGER. If that applied to enlargement of wilderness areas and to reduction of wilderness areas, you would have no objection if it applied both ways, if the door swung in both directions?

Mr. MOSEBROOK. That is correct.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much. We appreciate your coming here.

Our next witness will be Dr. Spencer M. Smith, secretary, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources.

STATEMENT OF DR. SPENCER M. SMITH, JR., SECRETARY, CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON NATURAL RESOURCES

Senator NEUBERGER. Dr. Smith, we are glad to have you here.

Senator Allott, I want to report to you that we cooperated with your request and put your constituent, Mr. Weller, on very early as you requested.

Senator ALLOTT. I appreciate that very much.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, it is almost "carrying coals to Newcastle" to come before you and plead for conservation matters, and the chairman of the full committee likewise, because both of you have been most active and most helpful in practically all of the desires, hopes, and aspirations of conservation groups everywhere.

I should like to be very brief this morning and simply say that the citizens committee appears here in behalf of the present legislation on four basic criteria: First, that there is a desperate need for this legislation; that we are not obstructing or upsetting any system of reevaluation or keeping up with the times of these areas; three, we are not indicting any of the existing agencies for their jurisdiction or administration; and, four, we seek this legislation primarily for some security to the determination of what uses are to be put of our recreational resources.

As to the first of these, it seems to me that the economic facts of life which are inevitably brought to this committee's attention, when we are dealing with such matters as timber, minerals, and the other various resources that have great commercial value, that we have somehow left out of this consideration the economic importance of recreation, and, need I say, Mr. Chairman, the increasing need of economic importance of recreation.

Since 1929, despite depressions, wars, inflations, adjustments, and readjustments, and higher taxes, it still remains that the per capita disposable real income of the American people has steadily increased.

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In less technical terms, this means, in essence, that after allowances are made for rising prices, after allowances are made for higher taxes, and after allowances are made for an increased population, each individual has more money to spend by a considerable amount than he had in 1929.

What has he done with it?

We think that we compile documentation upon documentation before this committee to prove, without too much refutation, that basically he has spent a greater and greater share of it for outdoor recreational activities.

We know, for example, in 1955, that over 20 million fishermen traveled 17 billion miles and spent almost $2 billion on fishing trips alone.

Not too long ago we heard before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report that one of the outstanding expenditures on the part of consumers had been recreational resources.

One might say just how is this germane to setting aside a particular area for wilderness, where some of these outdoor recreational facilities may not be as important in a wilderness as they are in others.

Well, recreation is a multivariant. Everyone has his ideas as to what he wants to do in terms of outdoor recreation. Just as it is a multiplicity of want, certainly we should provide for some of these. We certainly feel that the time for legislation to move in and at least stay the hands of precipitous action should be undertaken at the earliest convenience of this body.

As to the second consideration, we want to point out that the conservation organizations by and large are not obstructionists. It seems to me that our opponents many times are providing a case that we can beat, but it is not the real case. We have not said that we do not want development, none of us commute from time to time via oxcart. We do take advantage of all the modern techniques of civilization.

We are impressed with the technology that has allowed us to consume more goods and services. But, by the same token, we do not feel this to be inconsistent with a full use of our resources that involve recreation.

Interestingly enough, Mr. Chairman, when we take this attitude, we are seriously criticized for entering into politics and for extending ourselves outside our normal interests.

An example of this, as the Chair is most aware, is the Hells Canyon controversy, for we are not primarily injecting ourselves into this for political reasons, but we simply want our resources to deliver the most that can be delivered from them, and we want also included in that full use the recreational resources of a variety of types.

I think it is important, also, that this bill should not be claimed as an obstructionist piece of legislation. It does not do anything, basically, that has not already been policy.

What it does, however, is that it attempts to strengthen the hand of these agencies in protection of these areas.

We feel that the National Park Service, the wildlife management organizations of the Interior, the Forest Service, have done a most creditable job in the past. But we do not think that is the problem.

That leads us to our concluding point.

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Mr. Chairman, conservationists, frankly, are getting sick and tired of being faced with faits accomplis. Let me give you an example of some of them. Though a few of us here in Washington try to find out what is going on—we must confess that we do this perhaps to the best of our ability—we do not do this too well.

We woke up not too long ago to find that oil leases had been granted, willy-nilly, across this land on refuge lands. We didn't know this until it was a fait accompli.

We then came to the Congress and attempted to receive some adjudication of this policy or some reversal thereof.

We just got through testifying before the Chudoff committee in the House on Government operations, when we found that the Army engineers, in acquiring land which normally in the past had been used for recreational resources, has now been foreclosed, and flowage easements have been granted, or in the words of the chairman, private lakes have been constructed at the expense of the public.

Right here, we had the parkway in the District of Columbia. I am just as sure as I sit here that had it not been for the intervention of the chairman and others of this committee, that probably we would have had a parkway that certainly would have resulted in the disposition of the C. & O. Canal.

We have had other occasions where the changing of boundaries by administrative acts are presented to us with no opportunity to make our voices heard or no opportunity to have any hearing.

It is not that we are against the professional agencies who have the legal jurisdiction in the management of these areas.

Prior to 1952 or 1953, there had been a policy on the part of the Forest Service that they had bucked significantly any attempt to achieve particular private rights in the national forests. But then came the bill, later the Hope-Bacon bill, and the Forest Service sat quietly in support of the bill.

I don't know whether they can change that quickly or not.

I am simply saying and trying to say to you what Congressman John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, long an advocate of parks and outdoor recreational facilities, states:

> I sense the need, also, to strengthen the hands of the National Park Service in this work for the preservation of the primeval back country as wilderness. This might likewise be applied to other agencies with similar jurisdiction.

What we are wanting and seeking in this bill, Mr. Chairman, is the opportunity, before any of these changes are made, to be able to come before the committees of Congress and present our cases and to have a hearing on it.

We also seek, since so many changes have been made in the past, the judgment of this committee and the judgment of the country indeed, that the burden of proof be placed on those who seek to change them.

This is our primary reason for support of the bill, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you very much, Dr. Smith.

Senator Allott, have you any questions?

Senator ALLOTT. Dr. Smith, when you say the burden of proof ought to be placed on those who seek to change it, you assume, then, that the status quo is, of necessity, right. What basis do you have for making that assumption?

Mr. SMITH. I do not necessarily assume that status quo is right.

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Senator ALLOTT. You have to make such an assumption.

Mr. SMITH. I have no objection to making it, Senator. The only situation I am relating to is the fact that many of these actions in the past have been precipitous. We have not had the opportunity to come down here and discuss them with the Congress. As a result, they say well, if there is some commercial venture here that is needed, obviously this is a prior want.

I suppose that you could change a strong case. I am sure that a restaurant in the middle of the Capitol rotunda would be a paying proposition, but I am not sure that it would be one that the country as a whole would support.

What I am trying to say is if we have wilderness areas which have been "willied" away, our general recreational resources come constantly under assault, we want the opportunity to defend them. We think if they are of such limited amount now, that certainly a person who wants to despoil them or use them for some other resource, for some other means, ought to come down here and place their case before the Congress. If we feel in disagreement with it, we are then in a position to rebut it.

Senator ALLOTT. Do you think that 8 percent of the total area for the use of 1 percent of the population or of the users is too little?

Mr. SMITH. Eight percent of what total areas?

Senator ALLOTT. The total areas of the national parks as Dr. McArdle testified yesterday.

Mr. SMITH. The national parks or the national forests?

Senator ALLOTT. The national forests, I should have said.

Mr. SMITH. If the wilderness area is only 8 percent of the national forest, what the use is of individuals, I don't think you can take a pro rata basis upon exactly what individuals do at a given time.

Senator ALLOTT. I agree to that. I think that is right. I have been in conservation work all my life, not through the park system so much as through practical conservation work with farmlands and other types of work of that sort.

I think I have conservation in my heart as much as anybody in this room.

But when you come to Congress, and you do have to look at the welfare of all of the people, I do not think that any one man can say, "I am a conservationist and this is my idea and everybody else is wrong and is trying to destroy our public property."

The testimony of Dr. McArdle yesterday, and I think his subsequent replies to the chairman of this committee, indicated that he was not trying to take a partisan attitude, at least that was my impression.

Mr. Chairman, was it your idea that Dr. McArdle was not trying to take a partisan attitude in this matter?

Senator NEUBERGER. I do not know what you mean by a partisan attitude.

Senator ALLOTT. I mean by saying this is too much or too little. Well, at any rate, that was my impression.

Senator NEUBERGER. I thought Dr. McArdle in answer to my question said that he supported the existing system of wildernesses as to size and as to the method of maintaining them.

Senator ALLOTT. That is right.

I think he was trying to be completely fair and completely objective.

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But I believe that Congress has the responsibility also of looking at this matter. Just because a group of people come in and say, "This wilderness area is ours," I do not think it necessarily is. You have to look at these other people.

Here is the statement of Dr. McArdle. He says, "These areas" speaking of wilderness, wild areas, roadless areas, and primitive areas, which he has characterized into one broad thing, "occur on 73 national forests in 12 States, all of which are in the west except Minnesota and North Carolina. The areas comprise 8 percent of the total national acreage forest. Attached to this statement is a map showing the location of these areas." Then he goes on to say, further in his statement, that in figuring the land usage on this, that 1 percent of the population, or 1 percent of the total users of our national forests use this 8 percent of the land. Just to put this thing in a perspective and try to talk to you, I have looked at this map which was attached to Dr. McArdle's statement. I have looked at my own State, and I believe I have traveled the length and breadth almost as much as any man alive. I do not think that the wilderness areas in my own State certainly are excessive by any means.

The only point that I am raising is that I do not think that we, as Members of the Congress, can just afford to take this status quo and say it is right. I cannot afford, personally, the luxury of coming to any hearing with my mind made up.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I should like to respond to the Senator on two bases.

In the first place, you have taken, Senator, primarily, the amount of lands in relationship to the people who use it. I should like to point out to you that there are hundreds and literally thousands of people in these United States that are desperately in favor of wilderness area and national parks who have never set foot in wilderness areas.

I would also like to point out that in the response to the Echo Park fight, there were thousands of people who responded to that, that had never been in a national park.

I recall one Congressman from a highly metropolitan area of the East, who said, in the committee hearing, "I have more letters on this particular item from people who have never been into a national park."

I do not see how these particular groups of people can fit into the 1 percent.

Senator ALLOTT. In the first place, it was one of the cleverest public-relations propaganda campaigns that has ever been held. Let us put it in its proper perspective.

The number of letters that a Congressman receives does not indicate what the feelings of his people are. Anybody who is smart and intelligent can organize a letter-writing campaign.

Mr. SMITH. We are aware of that, because we have to buck some of them, in the case of gas bills and other things. We are aware of that.

I know that the people, frankly, that were supporting the Upper Colorado were not exactly in Echo Park. Are you saying that they got outsignaled in a public-relations way?

Senator ALLOTT. Yes, sir; I say that they did, and there is no point in denying it. I take off my hat to the people who did it, be-

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cause it was one of the cleverest jobs I have ever seen. And the thing that I am trying to get at here, and my point, is this: I think, in this area, without just taking a bunch of things for granted, because a bunch of people who have their minds made up say it is so, I think we have the obligation here to look at this thing, and when 1 percent of the users of our national parks get 8 percent of the area, I do not see how anyone can pass those figures by without looking at them.

They are just like a red flag. Maybe they are right, but I am not going to walk by them without looking at them.

Mr. SMITH. Senator, that is precisely what this bill does, of course, is to give the Congress the opportunity to look at them. As Mr. Zahniser, who is the director of the Wilderness Society, has said, we are not putting a lock upon these areas, because a lock without a key destroys the lock. We are aware of that.

Therefore, this is an opportunity which I do not think that the Senate and the Congress has at the present time, to review the changes or reevaluations of these boundaries.

All we are saying is that we know that if the Senate has this opportunity, they will do exactly what you are saying they are going to do.

Senator ALLOTT. I presume you did not hear the testimony before this committee last week upon the Everglades National Park.

Mr. SMITH. Senator, right at this time, they have so many rabbits running, we cannot shoot them all.

Senator ALLOTT. I tend to be very much in favor of the proposal which the two distinguished Senators from Florida have proposed in that instance, but it raises exactly some of the questions that you and I are talking about. One of the things that I am very concerned about is this: I do not mind people going in and fishing and getting the best fishing or even the best hunting. That is all right with me.

But I do think that we owe a responsibility to the millions and millions of people who, one, cannot afford pack trips; two, are not physically able or qualified to get into these areas.

Do I say that we should do away with them? Not by any means, not by any means, but I think somehow, as in all things, you have to bring these into balance.

My questions have been directed, and I shall continue to direct them, to try and elicit facts which will bring it into balance for me.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that, Senator.

I would like to quote to you one of the things. For example, lumber has been mentioned here, and I would like to mention it.

One of the principal authors of this bill is Senator Humphrey, and he has made the statement, I think in front of the American Forestry Association, where he said:

> If ever the American people come to the borders of our wilderness area with a need for timber that cannot be met elsewhere, then, gentlemen, I say to you our wilderness areas are doomed.

I think the only thing that I can understand of your inquiries, Senator, and I appreciate them fully, is the fact that I do not see how this bill keeps the kind of reevaluation for more recreation or less recreational needs, or more timber or less timber, I do not see how this necessarily vitiates the basic purposes of the bill.

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Senator ALLOTT. My point is not to the bill. It is to a question of fact. I might say this. You were in the room, probably, when a constituent of mine, Mr. Weller, appeared here. I asked the clerk of the committee what was the general tenor of his statement. I do not associate myself with it, for it, or against it. I want to make that a matter of record.

I have not had an opportunity to see his statement. When he came here, I did not know whether he was coming to support the bill, or coming to tear the bill apart.

He represents a group of people in western Colorado who are interested in this situation.

Mr. SMITH. Certainly. We are perfectly aware that there are many resource values in these areas now designated as wilderness areas. We would not argue against that for a moment. What we are saying, however, is that we certainly want a strong case made in the case of a wilderness area, because once a wilderness area is converted to another use, Senator, and then we find we made a mistake, it is too late.

This is not a question of rearranging concrete.

Senator ALLOTT. That is absolutely right.

Mr. SMITH. That is one of the reasons why I think the burden of proof ought to be set in this fashion, because once we change it, we cannot go back. We have some trial and error mechanisms to use in other areas, and even if the trial does not work out we can change the situation.

But here we cannot do that, when we make our original determination, and we allow it, let's say, to be opened up for lumbering, or some of these other items.

By the way, the Forest Service right now is appealing to the Appropriations Committee for more money so that they can get up to their necessary cut of sustained yield on the national forests.

I would like to see this come along. I would like to see the Forest Service given this money, because every time this can be done in other areas, it allows some of these areas to be set aside for wilderness.

Senator NEUBERGER. Mr. Chairman, evidently we have to go for a rollcall or a quorum call. I think the record should show some interesting statistics which have just been given to me by a member of the staff of this committee. He points out that there are 14 million acres of wilderness in the national forests; there are 12 million acres in national parks, not all of which is so-called wilderness dedicated reserves.

In the United States as a whole, there are 2 billion acres of land. Thus, for the entire Nation, about one percent is set aside in so-called wilderness.

For a country that is only 150 years old with respect to the first white people who crossed this continent, Lewis and Clark, only 150 years ago, it does seem to me that one percent dedicated in wilderness reserves is not a very large total percentage of the American Nation to be so set aside at such an early stage in our history, when you compare us in age to the nations of the Middle East, Europe, and Asia.

One other thing I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, by way of comment, is this: I am not very much impressed by the argument that is

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made only a small percentage of the people who visit national forests go to the wilderness portion of it, even though that is 8 percent of the total area. If we applied that right on through to our national life, we could indict many American institutions which are vigorously defended. I would venture the guess that if Mr. Stong obtains for us the total percentage of Americans who own common stock in American industry, it is a very small portion of the total number of people who live in this country from Puget Sound to New England.

Yet would that be made the basis for totally discarding our capitalistic system and have the Government outlaw the New York Stock Exchange?

We could go on indefinitely about these percentages. I wonder what percentage of total soil-bank payments in this past year have gone to the vast percentage of farm families in the United States. I will wager it is very small.

Senator ALLOTT. Will the Senator yield?

Senator NEUBERGER. I yield.

Senator ALLOTT. You will remember we are not at odds on that situation, that I was one of those few who stood up to be counted to try to limit those soil-bank payments last year. I was most happy to vote for it this year, too.

Senator NEUBERGER. In all candor, were there not only seven of us that voted for the limitation of $2,500 per farm? It is not that that is at issue here, but I think only seven of us voted for that amendment by Senator Lausche.

Senator ALLOTT. I was not on the floor when that was voted on, I do not think. That could be true. If I had been there at that moment, I certainly would have supported it.

Senator NEUBERGER. That is certainly not at issue here, Senator Allott, but I want to point out that the whole matter of relating percentages could be gone through in all kinds of institutions in American life. We are going to vote very soon on whether or not we should surrender all the water power in a vast, vast stretch of one of the major rivers in this Nation to a company that is owned by only an infinitesimal fraction of the people of the United States, and by an even small fraction of the people who live in the area where that river rises and flows. We can carry on this percentage matter and relate it to so many issues that they are beyond computation.

Senator ALLOTT. Mr. Chairman, I have a call that I have to go on the floor, but I would not want the record to show that I was here and agreed with all the Senator said. I will have to leave the hearing for the time being.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that is a live quorum and all the Senators are expected to be on the floor. I will therefore ask Mr. Stong, my assistant, to continue the hearings while we are on the floor.

Senator NEUBERGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put at the end of my statement, a statement of the vice chairman of the committee and the remarks that he made on this bill in front of the Society of American Foresters, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be carried in the record, as requested.

(The document referred to appears at p. 210 in the testimony of Mr. Howard Zahniser.)

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Mr. STONG. The next witness is George Fell, Nature Conservancy, Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE FELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATURE CONSERVANCY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. FELL. I am George B. Fell, executive director of the Nature Conservancy. My statement is extremely brief.

I wish to mention several of the high points.

The Nature Conservancy is a fairly new institution on the American scene. It is a nationwide nonprofit membership society devoted primarily to bringing about the preservation of natural areas for their scientific, educational, and esthetic values. It was formed by scientists who have become increasingly concerned about the need for preserving natural areas for use in biological research.

It is engaged in an active program of establishing nature preserves under its own administration or under the ownership of other agencies. Thus far, it has 9 tracts in 4 States and has participated in the preservation of at least 20 other areas. These nature preserves are essentially little wilderness areas that supplement the magnificent wilderness preserves in Federal ownership. They are located in our more populous regions where large wilderness areas no longer exist.

The direct efforts of our organization, however, are inadequate before the onslaughts of the organized forces of exploitation. We can save from desecration plots here and there, but we must look to Government action to preserve the larger areas in public ownership.

Wilderness areas have very great values from a scenic and recreational standpoint. In addition, they have inestimable scientific and educational values.

These preserves are the laboratories, and the myriad kinds of plants and animals that live within them are the raw materials, for future biological research. They are storehouses of scientific treasure ranking with libraries and museums. Scientists have hardly begun the task of unlocking the knowledge and benefits hidden within them.

It has been pointed out, for instance, that despite the existence of many thousands of plants which may have crop potentials, modern agriculture is still wholly dependent on a few dozen that were domesticated by our prehistoric ancestors back in the stone age. Wilderness areas also provide scientists with check areas or experimental "controls" to gage the effects of farming, forestry, grazing, and other practices on similar lands. Ecologists carrying on long-term research on the relationships within various natural plant-animal communities are dependent on the existence of preserved areas.

I might say with reference to the discussion which just occurred—reference to the 1 percent of the public who presumably use the national forests, this, I feel, is very misleading, because, for example, here, the scientific value of these areas is important to everyone in the United States, not just the 1 percent that might set foot on a tract.

We particularly wish to commend the proposal in the present bill that the Smithsonian Institution maintain the headquarters and records of the National Wilderness Preservation Council. This should assure adequate recognition of the scientific value of the wilderness areas and of the records to be accumulated by the Council over the years.

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Because wilderness is so readily destroyed by our modern civilization, we believe adequate checks and balances are an essential part of a wilderness preservation system.

This is done through reverter clauses in deeds, or some agreement with other agencies that might have an interest in it. Then if one agency should fail in its obligation, another one can take up and help out with a particular area in one way or another.

We think this concept is a very fundamental part of preserving wilderness because of the fact, as was mentioned, wilderness destruction is a one-way process. Once it has happened, you cannot reverse it.

We therefore feel that this bill which provides for checks and balances is an essential part of wilderness preservation.

The fate of these areas should not be in the hands of single individuals or agencies. We believe the present bill provides appropriate safeguards.

It cannot be overemphasized that we in this generation have the last chance to set aside wilderness. Only those lands which we deliberately establish as preserves will remain in anywhere near their natural condition for the benefit of future generations. All the rest of our landscape will be progressively altered to serve man's interests. The next generation and the generations following will always have the choice of exploiting the areas we have preserved, but they will not be able to preserve the areas we have exploited.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SIOSO. Thank you.

The next witness is Mr. J. W. Penfold, of the Izaak Walton League.

STATEMENT OF J. W. PENFOLD, CONSERVATION DIRECTOR, IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

Mr. PENFOLD. I am J. W. Penfold, conservation director, the Izaak Walton League.

In preparing this statement, I have deliberately avoided a discussion of the intrinsic values of wilderness itself, because that can better be done by other witnesses.

The Izaak Walton League of America, Inc., has had a deep, sincere, and continuing interest in the wilderness resources of the Nation since its organization over 35 years ago.

It can be said that threats to the roadless lake country of northern Minnesota, the Quetico-Superior, furnished considerable motivation for the founding of the league.

Certainly the threat of senseless roads, destructive power dams, ill advised logging proposals and, most recently, encroachment by aircraft, have kept succeeding generations of Waltonians busy in striving to preserve that last great wilderness canoe country.

I am sure the committee is familiar with the land purchase program through which the league has assisted in the elimination of within holdings which have constituted one of the most serious threats to the primitive character of the area.

The league has involved itself in most every threat to wilderness preservation, and they have been endless in number and variety, and in every part of the country.

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For this we make no apology, as we firmly believe that wilderness is an essential, logical, and desirable aspect of the Nation's overall land, water, and resource use pattern.

We have, over the years, worked closely and cooperatively with the several Federal land management agencies which have wilderness preservation as operating policy and program—State agencies, as well.

We have not always seen eye to eye with them on specific problems, nor they with us, yet, our differences, for the most part, have been minor in relation to the broad picture, and illustrate, more than anything else, how little any of us know about protecting intangible values in the face of prodigiously expanding population, industry, mechanization, and all the other material facets of our social and economic complex.

It is important to recognize at the start that wilderness is not something separate and apart from the rest of our world. I have suggested before that wilderness begins at home. By this I mean, among other things, that in both the materialistic and resource using sense, and in the human experience sense, wilderness values may be preserved only as we preserve other values to the utmost.

For example, it seems obvious that the better job we do in managing timber resources located elsewhere, the less will be our material need for timber within wilderness.

The better job we do with respect to water development outside wilderness, the less need to exploit dam sites within the wilderness.

The better conservation job we do with minerals available outside, the less need to exploit those within.

We all look forward to the day when all renewable resources will be managed on the optimum sustained yield principle, and when all nonrenewable resources are husbanded realistically. We shall eventually be forced to do so to meet the demands of a vastly increased population and to continue as a strong people able successfully to maintain a free world.

In the process, we shall see great changes in the face of the landscape. The changes due to intensified agriculture are becoming more and more apparent.

Water development in the West is well on the way to doing so, while increased demands for water supply in the more humid regions foretells the same.

Intensified management of forest lands for timber and pulp will be universal before long.

I predict that within a half century most of what we now call wild land will be managed in a manner that more nearly resembles an agricultural operation. We shall grow more timber and pulp, utilizing close to 100 percent of material harvested; more grass and forage; in all likelihood, more wildlife.

Multiple use, which today in too many instances is merely superimposing several uses one upon the other and then trying to resolve the inevitable conflicts, will come of age. All uses will be coordinated, and where one use must be dominant because of its paramount value in that place, other uses will be permitted and coordinated in terms of the paramount use.

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Thus the moral objective of the "greatest good to the greatest number in the long run" will be measured nationwide rather than locally, as if each locality were independent of the rest of the country.

It is very probable that lands and waters so managed will produce far more recreation for the public in the aggregate. It is just as probable that the scope of recreation opportunity will contract and thereby tend toward uniformity and loss of quality in human experience.

For example, the opportunity to picnic in a city park is of inestimable value and one which should be expanded throughout the country. Yet picnicking in one city park is little different from picnicking in another.

It seems to me that the ultimate value in any outdoor recreation activity is gained from the possession of the whole range of outdoor recreation opportunity, experienced before or anticipated.

The fishing trip conversation around the campfire seems about equally divided between reminiscenses of experiences that were poor and those that were good, highlighted by hopes of someday getting to the lakes and streams lying beyond the next range.

Lands and waters so managed will produce more recreation, but will not provide the opportunity for wilderness adventure, because the lands will no longer be wild. Wild lands will remain to us and to future generations only as we specifically provide for them in selected areas where wilderness opportunity is the dominant use.

While pondering these things one night, during a cross-country flight, I picked up a science fiction paper back, and whiled away an hour or two. It contained some colorful language which illustrates the point:

> Old earth was in better shape than ever before. Her cities were bright with plastic and stainless steel. Her remaining forests were carefully tended bits of greenery where one might picnic in perfect safety, since all beasts and insects had been removed to sanitary zoos, which reproduced their living conditions with admirable skill. Even the climate of earth had been mastered. Farmers received their quota of rain between 3 and 3:30 in the morning. People gathered at stadiums to watch a program of sunsets, and a tornado was produced once a year in a special arena as part of the World Peace Day celebration.

Silly? Sure. Fanciful? Perhaps, because when we consider scientific advances made during the past few decades, I, for one, find it difficult to discount even more fantastic possibilities.

The plot of the science fiction yarn concerned the leading character's frustration is satisfying his simple and fundamental urges which science and technology had singularly failed to provide in the antiseptic world it had produced.

We shall need to preserve opportunity as well as to provide it, if future generations are to have their heritage based on incentive, initiative, and the opportunity for individual growth. In respect to outdoor recreation as to every other aspect of our civilization.

If wilderness begins at home, then it constitutes a variety of conditions, from the natural area in which there is no human use or modification for any purpose, except the scientist in the interest of knowledge, to the heavy use areas where the public concentrates.

There is today a considerable number of "degrees" of wilderness, springing from patterns of relatively uncontrolled human use, recrea-

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tion, as well as other. We need to know more about these factors as we plot our course for the future.

We have learned from city and metropolitan zoning, based on all needs and ambitions, that it can produce greater and more enduring values for everyone, even though each may lose a little momentarily.

The principle holds equally for long-range planning on what we now call our wildlands.

The Izaak Walton League sees in the presentation before you two principal objectives:

The first, to obtain from Congress itself recognition that wilderness preservation is a sound, sensible, and logical aspect of the overall land, water, and resource management pattern. We endorse that objective.

The second, to seek through Congress itself some means whereby the limited remaining areas of wilderness may better withstand the pressures which would destroy them, pending development of policies, patterns, and programs which will preserve wilderness in all its phases as sound operating principle.

We endorse these objectives.

We commend the sponsors of the legislation who through a specific proposal have brought the problems involved out where they may be fully and carefully examined and studied by all citizens. We hope that the committees will be able to continue these hearings in the field, close to where wilderness exists, so as to extend to more citizens and interests the opportunity to look at it closely and express their viewpoints.

We commend the committee for its interest and its dedication to finding proper solutions. And we commend the legion of people both within and outside the Government whose efforts have retained for all of us some of America's unspoiled beauty. May we be successful in retaining that heritage for the future.

Thank you.

Mr. SIOUX. Thank you very much.

Next we have scheduled a witness for the National Parks Association, Mrs. Jean R. Packard.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JEAN R. PACKARD, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, NATIONAL PARKS ASSOCIATION

Mrs. PACKARD. I am Jean Packard, director of information of the National Parks Association, a nongovernmental citizens' organization dedicated to the continued preservation of the national park system, and to stimulating an informed public understanding and appreciation of the values represented by these reservations to the welfare of our people now and in the future.

The purposes and provisions of the wilderness bill are directly within the province of the association and they have been discussed thoroughly by its executive committee since it was first proposed that such legislation be introduced.

On April 2, 1957, the executive committee unanimously adopted the following resolution endorsing the pending proposals:

The protection and perpetuation of wilderness is one of the primary purposes for which the National Parks Association was established. From its founding in 1919, the association has steadfastly supported programs for the preservation of our wilderness resources in our national parks, national forests, State parks, and wherever it remains as part of the American scene.

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The reservation of the national park system and of the wilderness areas and wild areas in the national forests has stimulated public recognition of the outstanding contributions preservation of the natural outdoors makes to the welfare of the people. Increased population pressures, combined with more leisure time, have multiplied the pressures on our national parks and similar areas and have made imperative permanent reservation of suitable lands to fill this need.

Perpetuation of the wilderness resource is contingent on the strongest possible safeguards to prevent its destruction or dilution, once it has been determined this resource represents the highest and wisest use of a particular land area. The association believes recognition of the value of wilderness as a policy of the Congress is essential to insure permanence to this program.

Therefore, the National Parks Association affirms its support of legislation now before Congress to establish a national wilderness preservation system and endorses that legislation in the belief it is essential to the welfare of the Nation.

Since other witnesses will give special consideration to the features of these bills which relate to national forest areas, national wildlife refuges and Indian lands, this statement is confined to discussion of the sections dealing with the national park system.

A basic question is whether any of the provisions including national parks and monuments within the National Wilderness Preservation System would have adverse effect on or weaken the existing laws under which the National Park Service administers its areas, or interfere with such administration as now conducted.

We believe no such effect will result.

Section 2 (b) conforms to present legal requirements that only Congress can abolish a national park or national monument. It provides for the designation of those particular places within the national parks and monuments that shall be kept in the original wilderness state unmodified by such development.

This appears to be in accord with National Park Service thinking and with the Mission 66 program, for Park Service officials refer to the areas to be developed as "sacrifice areas" and Mission 66 planning contemplates restriction of construction activities to such places.

This proposed law would, in all likelihood, make such planning more permanently effective and insure that the care with which this program is being conducted will not be controverted by future action.

Indeed, we believe just this kind of thinking led John Muir and the other great pioneers of the national park concept to found the national parks for the preservation of outstanding natural features for the enjoyment of the people under developmental policies that will not impair these features. This concept was eloquently written into the foundational act of August 25, 1916, and is reemphasized in the present proposed legislation.

There is one feature of this legislation about which there is some variance of opinion among the members of the executive committee of the National Parks Association; namely, whether it is essential or desirable that individual units of the national park system be selected for inclusion by name. Some members thought it preferable that the provisions of section 2 (b) and other pertinent parts of the legislation serve to bring all units of the national park system into the National Wilderness Preservation System.

It is quite possible to suggest some areas, in addition to those named, as qualified, because they contain wilderness, as, for example, the Cumberland Gap National Historical Park and the anticipated Chesapeake & Ohio National Historical Park, to name but two.

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The association has no firm opinion on the point, and relies on the wisdom of the Congress to determine which approach best serves the purposes of the bill.

Finally, it should be noted that enactment of this proposal may well have far-reaching effects toward advancing sound conservation thinking in many other nations. More than 40 percent other countries have followed America's example by establishing national parks, and many of them have other kinds of wilderness reserves as well. In some countries the park systems are most ably protected and administered, notable examples being those of Japan and of Belgium in the Belgian Congo, and of Brazil.

Other nations, however, have a less mature attitude toward such reservations; they have not formulated definite policies and are prone to protect such areas only so long as some powerful politician or interest does not exert pressure to exploit them.

Sometimes their national parks are thought of mainly as attractions to reap tourist revenue.

To the dedicated administrators and citizen conservationists confronted with such attitudes, positive expression by the Congress of the United States that preservation of wilderness in its natural state is a policy of the United States Government will be encouraging, gratifying, and stimulating.

Thank you.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mrs. Packard, for your appearance today.

The next witness is Mr. Olson.

You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF SIGURD OLSON, ELY, MINN.

Mr. OLSON. In view of the shortness of time, I will not read my statement at all. I will be brief and paraphrase it. I have only one major point.

Mr. STONG. You may proceed.

Mr. OLSON. My name is Sigurd F. Olson. My residence is Ely, Minn.

I have come before this committee as an individual, paying his own expenses down here, rather than drawing on the funds of any organization. I am an officer, affiliate, consultant, and adviser to a number of conservation groups, all of whom are represented here by others. Therefore, I will not attempt to cover the ground they have covered, though I am familiar with all statements.

I came down here because I am sincerely interested in this wilderness preservation bill. I have devoted most of my life to wilderness conservation. I feel so deeply about this measure, I feel that it is so important, that anything that I could do, or anything that the rest of us can do, is tremendously worth while.

In my early years, I was a guide on wilderness expeditions, hunting and fishing trips, explorations, scientific work of various kinds. I have traveled many thousands of miles through wilderness areas on this continent.

One of the reasons it is difficult for me to come down is that I am preparing to go on an expedition in the far north as soon as I return from this trip, to explore some of the wilds of unknown Canadian

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rivers with a group of Canadians in the Athabaska and Great Slave territories of the Northwest Territory.

All my life I have been in contact with people who have done this sort of thing, and I am tremendously impressed and have been all this time at the effect of wilderness on people, not only those who participate in actual expeditions but those who are aware that it exists at all.

The reason for my great interest in the preservation of wilderness, no matter where it might be, is based on the belief that the existence of wilderness has a direct impact on public welfare and, particularly, mental health.

Dr. William C. Menninger, within the last few weeks made a statement that mental ill health is the greatest menace to America. That comes from one of the world's greatest scientists and authorities on mental health.

Mr. STONG. I might mention to you that Dr. Menninger has corresponded with the chairman, and has supported the point that wilderness has impact on mental health.

Mr. OLSON. In the Saturday Review of Literature was an editorial that started out this way:

> We Americans consume 50 million aspirin tablets daily. We consume 20 million sleeping tablets, 20 million wake-up tablets, 40 million daily prescriptions for tranquilizers. Seventy-five million of us are good and healthy drinkers. Five million of us are alcoholics. One out of every 10 children has some mental quirk or deficiency of some kind. At least 50 percent and possibly 75—and some medical authorities say much more than that—of all the beds in our hospitals are occupied by the mentally ill.

I am sure Dr. Menninger knew those figures, too.

When medical authorities and psychiatric authorities say that mental health is the greatest menace to American equilibrium, such statements are backed by facts.

Realizing this, you wonder why, in the face of the highest standard of living the world has ever known, why in the face of comforts, conveniences, and gadgets that should make us the happiest people on earth, why are we the most jittery, excitable, temperamental, psychiatric people in the world?

Something seems to be wrong with our particular way of living or doing things. Some of you have read Harrison Brown's book, I think, Man and the Future. Harrison Brown very briefly sums up the case for man's dependence on the out of doors, particularly natural areas, or the wild areas that we are talking about. He says in the 3-billion-year history of the earth, man has been here only a million years. He said if the time clock of that 3-billion-year span was reduced to 1 year, man would be only 3 hours old. Then he goes on and brings it down to cases. He said out of these million years, only during the last 100,000 has man emerged from the primeval darkness to become the creature we know as homo sapiens. That is only 20 minutes out of this time span.

He says only during the last 20,000 years, only 2 minutes out of this time span, has man evolved with any sort of a culture, and only during the last hundred years, a mere second and a fifth of this long history, has man left a predominantly agrarian way of life.

In other words, man is terribly close to the past. He is only a second away from his agrarian ancestors, those who lived largely on

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farms, hunted and fished, and did the primitive things close to the soil. He is so close that nine-tenths of his subconscious which forms the basis of his nature, is still physiologically and psychologically adapted to a primitive way of life.

Man in this day and age, catapulted from a quiet pastoral or hunting existence, catapulted into the whirring complexities of a machine age, with sights, sounds, tastes, smells and impressions, that human kind has never been accustomed to before, has reason for taking 40 million tranquilizers a day.

He simply cannot adjust. He is not ready for his machine civilization. He has to get back to normal, to recapture some of the old simplicities, some of the perspective, some of the quietness, some of the way of doing things that he suddenly abandoned in the last second of this existence.

So, when you look at this wilderness bill, it really has much greater connotation than would appear at first glance. It is far more than pulp and paper, far more than uranium, far more than watersheds, far more than wildlife, far more than actual wilderness expeditions as such. It has to do with the welfare, the happiness, and contentment of people. It has to do with their minds. It has to do with their opportunity to recapture some of the past.

If Dr. Menninger were here I am sure he would say let's forget all of these extraneous things. Let's look at these wilderness areas as to their effect on human happiness, their effect on contentment, their effect as a balance wheel against mechanization, their effect as promoting equilibrium and peace of mind.

That, I am sure, would measure high in his ability in evaluating this proposed legislation.

We are very close to the past, as I said. We have gone through a pioneer era of some 400 years. We have done a pretty good job of pioneering. As you fly across the continent, as some of us did coming down to this hearing, and as we do repeatedly in conservation work, we cannot help but be impressed that the continent is largely crisscrossed with roads, power lines, oil lines, telephone lines, the gleam from cities, flying at night. As I noticed last night, you never lose one gleam until you see another. In other words, cities all seem to be merged by their lights below.

A bare hundred years ago, much of that country was still wild.

As Senator Neuberger mentioned, out of the 2 billion acres that we set out to pioneer and open up, we have only about 1 percent, or perhaps a little more, set aside as wild country, a rather infinitesimal amount, you might say, to be dedicated to mental health and human happiness.

During our pioneering days, we developed a pioneering concept of doing things, and we still have it. The concept of unlimited expansion, the concept of exploitation of resources, the concept of eliminating the wilderness. That is still very much with us, and we do not seem to be able to escape it.

In hearings like this, we hear repeated statements of individuals who claim that the real issues at hand are the issues of economics; whereas, actually, the real issues are not of economics at all, but they are issues that have to do with spiritual values, intangible values that have no price tag, values that cannot estimate in board feet, dollars and cents, on tons of ore.

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We have set aside under Federal dominion some 55 million acres, with the States probably 58 million acres, all told, presumably classified as wilderness. Because of our pioneer tradition, it is a constant effort to try and hold these areas and keep them intact.

All of us who have been in this work know the battles, one after another, to save areas from unwise exploitation. These battles will go on, and they will go on and on, and the pressures to exploit these areas, which we think are severe now, will be pyramided.

I would venture to predict that what we have seen to date will just be a drop in the bucket to the pressures that will develop within the next decade.

With our expanding population, and I do not have to repeat the figures to you, with our expanding needs of industry, the pressures we have seen will be nothing as to what is to come.

That is the real reason I am concerned about this wilderness bill.

Boiled down into very simple language, putting it all into one paragraph, one brief statement, it is simply this: In view of these mounting pressures, if we are to protect these areas, if we are to hold them for future generations, then they must have the dignity of congressional approval. There must be some bulwark against swift and immediate and unwarranted change. They must have the prestige and dignity of a congressional mandate, because without such protection, the diminution, the whittling away, the inroads of interests who might destroy them, will be very difficult to prevent.

I would like to say that the National Park Service has done an excellent job in preserving the wilderness. I heard Horace Albright say at the annual meeting of the National Parks Association just a few weeks ago that the developmental areas of the national parks occupy only about 10 percent of the national park areas. In other words, 90 percent is still wilderness. That is a wonderful record in view of the fact that these parks have been the target of exploitation for the last 50 years, some of them more and some of them less, but we all know the problems and we all know the cases.

But the fact that the Park Service, because of its administrative feeling about these areas, has saved 90 percent of their areas as wilderness is a remarkable achievement.

The Forest Service has held the line, too, and has done a mighty good job. I would say this: They have done a good job in the face of rather minor infringements and threats; that if they are going to do a good job in the future, their hands must be strengthened by Congress. Only through congressional help and strengthening will they be able to hold the line in the future.

None of us knows what administrative changes will be made. None of us knows what new policies will be made. It is to give some permanence, some perpetuity, to these areas that we hope this legislation will go through.

During previous testimony, when Senator Allott asked the question of Spencer Smith about the 1 percent using 8 percent of the land area of the national forests, I thought of this: That may be true as far as figures go, and it could be true as far as the national parks go. But this was not brought out, that what gives the national parks importance and significance is the wilderness beyond the developmental areas, period.

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What would Yellowstone be if there were not that back country to support the bears, the other animals, and the feelings of wilderness there? What would Glacier be? What would Yosemite be if you didn't have the back country?

In other words, the back country gives the beauty to the areas. A person driving through the country senses the wilderness. He does not have to go in, but he senses it is there, and it gives importance and significance to the area where he happens to be. It is the same with the national forests. Sure 1 percent may only use the 8 percent, but what about the millions who drive by, who stop, look, and feel, and who get exactly the same sort of feeling that they do in the national parks. So the figure of 1 percent to 8 percent is a misnomer.

It is incorrect. Furthermore, as Dr. Smith mentioned, there are millions of people who never go to parks or forests at all, or wilderness areas, but who, nevertheless, benefit. It gives them peace of mind and strength.

I also think of Stephen Leacock up in Toronto giving a speech in which he lauded his merry England, and a heckler got up, as they often do in England and Canada, and said, "If you like England so much, why don't you go back there and live."

He said:

I will tell you a secret. I do like merry England, but I like Canada, too. I have a cabin up in the north and I go there on weekends and sit down. I am not a bush man. I wouldn't get in a canoe if you paid me. But it is nice to know that there is a million acres of wild canoe country to the north of my cabin. It gives me an expansiveness of soul. It makes me feel big and proud to be a Canadian. It makes me feel like I have my feet on the ground. That is why I am going to stay in Canada. I can't get that feeling in England.

Thank you.

Mr. STONG. Thank you very much. Your prepared statement will be included in the record of the hearings.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF SIGURD F. OLSON ELY, MINN.

To the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, regarding the establishment of a Wilderness Preservation System.

My name is Sigurd F. Olson, my residence, Ely, Minn. While I am affiliated with a number of conservation groups in an official, advisory, and consultant capacity, I am speaking today as an individual inasmuch as the groups with which I am associated are submitting their own statements through others. As an individual, I am paying my own expenses and not drawing on the funds of any organization. I do this because of my life-long interest in the matter of wilderness preservation, and because I am much concerned as to the future of our remaining wild areas.

In my early years, I was a guide to wilderness expeditions, exploring new country, carrying on scientific investigations, fishing and hunting, and during those years I came to realize that the wilderness experience was very important to many people, one that contributed to happiness and contentment. I became so impressed with what wilderness did to men that I decided to do whatever I could to preserve it.

Since those years, while I have continued my personal exploration of wilderness all over the continent, I have seen as all of you have its steady diminution. All of you know what it means to see a wild place of primitive beauty desecrated and more and more, in the face of our expanding economy, and swiftly rising population, this seems inevitable. I have been greatly concerned about this gradual disappearance of natural areas, because I feel it indicates a trend of development which ultimately might destroy the last vestiges of the America that was.

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I am convinced that wilderness is necessary to the welfare of our people, that without it they will not survive the stresses and strains of a mechanical age.

Dr. William C. Menninger, the famous psychiatrist, said just a short time ago, "Today mental ill health is perhaps the greatest menace to the equilibrium of American life. Mental relaxation is far more important than physical rest."

Exactly what does he mean by such a statement? Why do we as Americans fill over half of our hospital beds with the mentally ill? Why do we consume 45 million aspirin tablets daily, 20 million sleeping pills, 40 million prescriptions of tranquilizers? Why is 1 child in 10 suffering from some mental affliction? Why is heart disease, high blood pressure, and related disturbances at an all time high? Why, in spite of comforts, conveniences, and a high standard of living, are we such a nervous, high-strung, jittery people?

I believe the answer to those questions involves a look backward into our past as a race. Harrison Brown in his book, Man and the Future, says:

"Man has been on this planet for perhaps a million years, having arrived through the slow and tortuous processes of evolution some 3 billion years after the earth was formed."

According to Harrison Brown, if we were to compress the age of the earth to 1 year, man would only be 3 hours of age, an infant among species. But only during the past 100,000 years less than 20 minutes out of this 3-hour time span, has he emerged from the primitive and assumed the stature both physically and mentally of the homo sapiens we know today. This period included the Stone Age of the primitive hunter and fisherman, the endless nomadic wanderings, the Paleolithic and Mesolithic cultures from which all of us have come. Gradually man evolved into a tribal and community era in which the first attempts were made to till the soil, make provision for the future, and to live with his fellows for mutual protection.

But only during the last 10,000 to 20,000 years, 2 minutes on this time clock, has there been any evidence of real culture advance. During this 2 minutes of man's 3-hour history, he built the ancient civilizations of the Near East. Archeologists are unearthing them today, digging them out from the windblown dust that has covered them. To us they seem very old, but actually they are young. Most north Europeans however need not look that far back before they find their own primitive beginnings and the birth of their particular cultures and we must remember that even as late as the Roman conquests, a mere few seconds away, many of their ancestral stocks were living primitive lives.

Even a hundred years ago, 1 second of our history, we were close to the soil and though our civilization was changing swiftly, it was still predominantly agrarian, very much a part of a pattern of life that with few exceptions had been one with the slow rhythms of nature. Then around the turn of the century we began to experience the first explosions of technological advance. Two great wars added impetus and urgency to scientific research and suddenly we found ourselves hurled into the whirring complexity of the machine age.

Today millions are cut off from any direct contact with the earth, are discovering they can live without having to gather wood, carry water, or hunt food, that matters of security and community welfare are taken care of by others who are never seen. It is an exciting world in which to live and to many it seems as though the millenium is at hand. No longer is there anything to fear except man's own ingenuity and he can devote himself in large part to the pursuit of pleasure and to the arts.

But evidence is appearing that all is not well. There is wide unrest, frustration and even boredom with the new life. It is the pace, say the experts, the speed of modern city life, Freudian complexes, new foods, the wars, a thousand aberrations of the mind, but none of them tell all the truth, none of them place their diagnostic fingers on the whole trouble, that man is not yet ready for his machine civilization, that physiologically and psychologically he is still so close to the simplicities and elemental struggles from which he recently evolved that he cannot forget.

The fact is that modern man in spite of his seeming urbanity and sophistication is still a primitive roaming the forests of his range, killing his meat, scratching the earth with a stick, gathering nuts and fruits and harvesting grain between the stumps of burned-out trees, that the old fears as well as the basic satisfactions are still very much a part of him.

Even though he is embracing new religious beliefs, new philosophies and nostrums which attempt to explain his relationship to the universe and to God, there is a sense of incompleteness. Within him is a powerful nostalgia he cannot understand, a gnawing unrest that the new world of gadgetry and amusement

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cannot still. He dashes from place to place filling his leisure time with diversions, never daring to be alone with his thought. The old sense of belonging is gone and the inherent need of being part of a stabilized ecological complex. In spite of comforts and almost complete control of his environment, he is confused and unsecure.

A strange and violent world is his with the great silences replaced by the roar of jets and the cities he has built vibrating with noise. The smells of woods and fields and forests are replaced by those of combustion and industry, and his senses are bombarded with impressions he has never known before. He has come a long way during the past 100,000 years and were it not for the submerged nine-tenths of his subconscious, a subconscious steeped in a racial experience that knew nothing of technology, he might make his adjustment more easily. But unfortunately the biological and mental processes of any species simply refuse to be hurried. Adaptations take eons of time.

G. M. Trevelyan once said, "We are literally children of the earth and removed from her our spirit withers and runs to various forms of insanity. Unless we can refresh ourselves at least by intermittent contact with nature we grow awry."

The great historian was right. We are literally children of the earth. When modern man steps into a dimly lighted cocktail lounge for a meeting with his fellows, he is back in his cave; when he checks the thermostat of his apartment, he is still kindling a fire; when he steps out on the street at night and sees Orion glowing in the sky even though it is dimmed by the lights of the city, he is doing what men have done since the dawn of the race. Man of the atomic age and its conflicting ideologies is still part of the past.

The pioneer days are over and the entire complex of American life has changed. The land is harnessed now, roads everywhere, telephone and power and oil lines enmeshing more and more tightly the last wild areas. Only in a few places is there any wilderness left. The rest is tamed and subject to the will of man and all this has taken place in the short space of 458 years and most of it actually within the last century.

Ours is a prosperous land and all the good things of life seem available for everyone. In spite of the tensions of the cold war and the outbursts of violence in many quarters of the globe, there is optimism and hope. Business is expanding and the national income growing by leaps and bounds. Housing and industrial expansion are swiftly filling in the blank spaces between the towns. The face of the earth is being changed and with tremendous ingenuity in the invention and manufacture of earth-moving equipment, we are turning loose fleets of gigantic behemoths which are altering the courses of rivers, building superhighways across terrain that until now was considered impassable.

It is not easy for a people who are only a few generations removed from the frontier to change the pattern of their thinking swiftly. Millions still refuse to believe that resources are not inexhaustible and the frontiers a thing of the past. Inherently Americans are still part of the boom days, with the exploitation of all resources and elimination of the wild the expected course of events. Talk of spiritual values still does not take equal place with the concrete evidence of an expanding economy.

However, we have set aside some 55 million acres of wilderness encompassed by our national parks and monuments, our national forests, wild life refuges, and Indian lands. Since these reservations were established they have been constantly challenged and weighed in the light of the old pioneer philosophy that has dominated thought on the North American Continent since the days of discovery. Today we are forced to justify them constantly to protect them from industrial exploitation or commercial developments which could destroy them. During the past few years, we have fought invasions of the national parks, national forests, and wildlife refuge systems.

The battles go on constantly and are increasing in intensity. The great task today of all interested in the preservation of natural areas is to justify them in the eyes of a people the majority of whom are still convinced that nothing should interfere with the grinding progress of our mechanical age. Even though these areas are seemingly protected by law and administrative decrees, it has become necessary to justify their protection from every conceivable angle.

To place a precise value on wilderness is as difficult as to place a dollar sign on the worth of an heirloom or a landmark. There are certain things that cannot be evaluated because of their emotional impact. Wilderness is in this category. While certain areas might have worth as a museum piece or because of certain scenic, scientific, or economic factors, its real worth will always depend on how people feel about it and what it does to them. If it contributes to spiritual

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welfare, if it gives them perspective and a sense of oneness with mountains, forests, and waters, or in any way enriches their lives, then the area is beyond price.

Wilderness fills a vital need today as a spiritual backlog to the high speed mechanical world in which we live. It is not surprising when production lines and synthetic pleasures fail to satisfy the ancient needs of modern man that he instinctively turns toward the wilderness to find the naturalness and stability the race once knew. The fifty-odd million who visited the national parks and forests last year thought they went for the scenery and the joy of travel, but what they really went for was to catch a hint of the primeval, a sense of the old majesty and mystery of the unknown. A mere glimpse of the wild sets in motion dormant reactions long associated with solitude.

It behooves us to look long and searchingly at our last wilderness regions before we abandon them. We must not fail in our engrossment with physical needs to also make provision in equal proportion for the satisfaction of cultural needs. Wilderness regions may be a key to equilibrium in an age where technological advance has far outstripped man's knowledge of his humanitarian and spiritual needs. Any nation which today has the vision to set aside and hold for the future sanctuaries of the spirit is acting in accordance with man's profoundest requirements. In the days to come, the wilderness concept must be clear and shining enough to capture imaginations. It must take its place as a cultural force with all expressions of man's deepest yearnings and his noblest achievements in the realm of the mind. It must be powerful enough to withstand everywhere in the world, the coming and enormous pressures of industry and population. A great decision faces us today and in the choices that must be made may lie the future of the race and the road man must follow. America can ill afford not to do everything in its power to preserve the wild areas which have such importance to our welfare.

Mr. STONG. Our next witness is Mr. Charles A. Phelan, Jr., executive director of American Planning and Civic Association, Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES A. PHELAN, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN PLANNING AND CIVIC ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. PHELAN. I have a statement of our president, U. S. Grant III, who was unable to be present today, and I would like to read it for him, if I may.

Mr. STONG. You may proceed.

Mr. PHELAN. This is a statement of U. S. Grant III, American Planning and Civic Association, on H. R. 1960, S. 1176, and related bills.

The American Planning and Civic Association, one of the older conservation organizations, has for more than 50 years advocated the preservation of natural scenery in the National and State parks and in the national forest.

Indeed, from the participation of J. Horace McFarland in President Theodore Roosevelt's Conservation Conference of Governors in 1908, the association assisted in preparing legislation, which finally passed Congress in 1916 to create the National Park Service.

The Service, under its mandate from Congress in the act of 1916 and amendments, has made a major contribution in the preservation of wilderness areas.

Our association is deeply interested in preserving wilderness areas. We particularly congratulate the Congress for its directives over the years to the National Park Service and we congratulate the National Park Service for its consistent program of preservation of wilderness areas.

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The United States forests were first set aside on a 10-league canvas, and during the years the United States Forest Service has consolidated its holdings and has designated roughly wilderness, wild and roadless areas.

But in recent years the Forest Service has drawn the boundaries carefully for a number of wilderness areas. In the end these areas will be defined throughout the system by executive order of the Secretary of Agriculture, or the Chief of the Forest Service. It may well be that Congress may wish to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to define these wilderness areas.

Wilderness, as has been said, is a characteristic of land and water, not a category. In the national parks we also have some superlative scenic areas which are not always wilderness. We have some historic and scientific sites and a good many archeological areas of great significance.

All these lands and waters have been assembled into a system of national parks. We think the term "wilderness system" is a misnomer. Are we now to have systems of wilderness, systems of scenery, systems of scientific, historic, and archeological areas superimposed across the Federal agencies which now administer systems containing these areas?

We suggest that wilderness be defined in the bill without trying to create a system. We favor legislation which will declare that it is the policy of Congress and the Federal Government to preserve wilderness areas in their natural state for the use and enjoyment of the people now and in the future.

We favor legislation setting up an advisory committee composed of the agencies now exercising jurisdiction over wilderness areas, plus four citizens experienced in the preservation and operation of wilderness areas, to be appointed by the President, which will have authority to advise the Federal agencies concerning the relative values of different areas as wilderness, and in regard to any questions relating to their maintenance and operation that may be put to it by the agency having jurisdiction over the area.

We are strongly opposed to any supercouncil or commission which would be an additional authority to which matters would have to be referred and which would have no responsibility itself for producing results, and might easily become a means of exerting pressure from the outside on hard working and much worried responsible agencies.

Let us remember the wise refusal of George Washington "to appoint two men," Government agencies in this case, "to do the work that one man" or agency, "can do best."

The bill recognizes that the existing agencies are the administrators, and rightly decides against a new Federal agency which would administer only wilderness area.

But the bill does set up a new National Wilderness Preservation Council, which admittedly has no direct administrative authority, but to which detailed information must be submitted by the four Federal agencies involved, under a time-limit schedule. The council is also authorized to gather and disseminate information to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness.

It is our belief that it is good administrative practice to keep the jurisdiction of the four Federal agencies concerned as they are now,

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each administering its appropriate system, but containing certain areas with wilderness characteristics, as defined in the bill.

Thank you. We appreciate this opportunity.

Mr. STONE. Thank you, Mr. Phelan.

The next witness will be Mrs. Robert Tyler.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ROBERT TYLER, FAIRFAX, VA., CHAIRMAN OF THE PIEDMONT DISTRICT OF THE FEDERATION OF GARDEN CLUBS OF VIRGINIA

Mrs. TYLER. I, Mrs. Robert L. Tyler, of Route 5, Fairfax, Va., chairman of the Piedmont district of the Federation of Garden Clubs of Virginia, wish to approve bill S. 1176.

Thank you.

Mr. STONE. Thank you.

The American Mining Congress has requested, and has been granted, permission to file a statement in opposition to the bill and have it incorporated in the printed record.

(Statement referred to follows:)

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C., June 20, 1957.

Re National Wilderness Preservation System.

SENATE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The American Mining Congress, a national organization composed of both large and small producers of all metals and minerals mined in the United States, wishes to register its opposition to pending measures which would establish a National Wilderness Preservation System on the public lands of the United States.

The mining industry, meeting in Los Angeles, Calif., in October of last year, adopted a declaration of policy which reads in part as follows: "We oppose the withholding of public domain lands from mining location * * *. We consider as unwarranted any withdrawals precluding mining development on large areas even though undemonstrated objectives thereof may have been documented as defense or conservation."

This same policy statement made it clear that the mining industry is firmly behind the system established by the general mining laws for the location and patenting of mining claims as the means of encouraging and providing for development of the mineral resources of the public domain through private initiative and enterprise.

The pending measures, which have as their objective the creation of a permanent National Wilderness Preservation System, are contrary to the principles long espoused by the mining industry and are in contradiction of those principles, carried out by intrepid prospectors, which have furthered the development of our Western States. The great natural resources of the Western States formed the foundation for the development of the industrial and agricultural economies of those States and have made possible their rapid growth and progress over the years. Any measure which would deter further mineral development through the curbing of the ardor of the prospector would result in a great disservice not only to the Western States but to the Nation as a whole.

We in the mining industry cannot understand why legislation is believed to be required to provide for the creation of wilderness areas and for their extension through the acquisition of other areas when such power already resides within the executive branch of the Federal Government. This power in the past has been confined to activities in national parks, monuments and forests and has been respected and upheld by the mining industry. Those wielding the administrative authority have, for the most part, recognized that mineral development, particularly in our national forests, has been a necessity to the further development and utilization of our natural resources. We see no reason why this situation should be changed at this date.

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Congress throughout the years has made it clear that mining on the public domain was to be encouraged in order that the resources of the public domain might be fully developed for the benefit of the Nation as a whole. Thus, the incentive for prospecting, exploration, development, and mining through the assurance of ultimate private ownership of the minerals and lands so brought into economic development has been recognized by Congress since 1872. Under existing laws, a prospector may go out on the public domain, locate a mining claim, search out its mineral wealth and, if discovery of minerals is made, can then obtain a patent to those lands. That property, upon the issuance of a patent, becomes the individual's, to develop or sell according to his initiative or desire.

Without such an incentive the future development of mineral resources on the public domain is likely to wither on the vine.

We submit that the pending measures are neither in the public interest nor would they result in the development of industrial enterprises necessary to the future progress of our Western States.

Section 3 (b) of the bill now before you states as follows: "No portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to commodity production, to lumbering, prospecting, mining or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by animals in connection with the administration of recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), water diversions, water management processes involving manipulation of the plant cover, water impounded on reservoir storage or to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this act."

So far as the mining industry is concerned, this provision constitutes the heart of the measure before you. This section would prevent any prospector from setting foot upon any wilderness areas authorized by the act. The development of untold mineral assets necessary for the economic well-being of the Nation, or for the advancement of science requisite for national defense, could be denied by such a law.

Another provision in the measure now pending would require the Federal Government to institute a program to reacquire, by agreement, the vested rights of those who now hold such rights in wilderness areas or future wilderness areas. No doubt the implication of these measures, also, is that the Federal agencies, by denying means of ingress or egress or by setting up permit systems for roads, access to water, use of timber or other such practices, could make life so miserable for those private citizens now holding lands within the wilderness areas that they might be forced to divest themselves of those rights, hard-earned though they might have been, to the Federal Government.

The Congress of the United States over the past several years has made plain its intent and has explicitly required the encouragement of the multiple use and development of the natural resources of our public domain lands. It specifically set forth this objective in Public Law 585 of the 83d Congress, and further reiterated its belief in these principles in Public Law 167 of the 84th Congress. Your committee itself, no longer than 2 years ago, in reporting on what later became Public Law 167, stated in its report:

The broadest possible use of all of the resources of our public lands and forests for the benefit of the American people is a matter of great national import. The rapidly expanding population and economy of our Nation and of the Western States in particular, have been accompanied by an ever-growing need for more general and more intensive use of our natural resources. The high tempo of our housing industry has brought about heavy demands for timber; stock growers need more grazing area to meet the increasing consumption of meat, leather and wool; our mining industry is under the constant necessity of exploring for and developing additional sources of new and old minerals to meet the ever-increasing requirements of our national security and industrial economy; and our growing population requires expanded recreational areas.

Conflict between surface and subsurface uses of our publicly owned lands is as old as the West itself, where most of the remaining public domain lies. Surface uses include stock grazing, forestry, soil-erosion control, watershed purposes, fish and wildlife preservation, and recreational areas. The subsurface use is that of development of the minerals that have been a basis for our great industrial and economic development.

As long as there was plenty of land that could be dedicated to each use, separately, the results of conflicts between surface and non-surface uses were generally local and minor in character.

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However, in recent years our security needs, the growth of our population, and the expansion of our economy have brought about a situation in which it is no longer in the national interest that the public domain should be used for one of the uses to the exclusion of the other.

We do not see how your committee, which has so clearly expressed its conviction that multiple use of our natural resources on the public domain is of prime national interest, could approve the measure now pending before you.

We in the mining industry are unalterably opposed to the locking up of natural resources of any kind from development for the public good. We believe that the future of the Nation, and of the Western States in particular, lies in continued development of these resources. For these reasons and those cited before, we urge you to disapprove the measures now pending before you which would establish a public system devoted to national wilderness preservation and would prevent development of those areas now open for mineral location.

Very respectfully yours,

W. HOWARD GRAY,
Chairman, Ely, Nev.

Mr. SIONG. Mr. William Welsh, of the National Reclamation Association, has requested, and has been granted, permission to file a statement for the hearing for the record.

(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM E. WELSH, SECRETARY-MANAGER, NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

My name is William E. Welsh. I am secretary-manager of the National Reclamation Association. I am appearing before this committee today on behalf of that association.

PURPOSE OF ASSOCIATION

The purpose of the National Reclamation Association, as well as the extent of its membership throughout the entire West, are well known to the members of this committee. I should, however, emphasize that a very large percentage of our membership includes officers, directors, and other representatives of various types of water-user organizations.

This committee, I am sure, realizes that the irrigation farmers of the West have perhaps a greater reason for being interested in conservation than any other group of citizens. For the successful growing of crops, it is absolutely essential that there shall be available a well-sustained streamflow runoff or water supply during the entire growing season. This requires an adequate, well-planned program of watershed protection on all of the watersheds of the West where irrigation is dependent upon the streamflow for its available water supply.

We are opposed to the legislation pending before this committee, which would establish a National Wilderness Preservation System, primarily for the reason that the pending bills would limit the use of the areas within the Wilderness System to one purpose. We believe that, particularly in the arid and semiarid West, all of the available resources within a river basin or a watershed should be used to the fullest extent possible without doing injury to the primary purpose of the watershed; namely, conservation and water supply.

For the foregoing reasons the National Reclamation Association is vitally interested in conservation. We believe, however, that the desired conservation can be accomplished without limiting the use of the resources of a watershed to a single purpose such as is proposed in the legislation before this committee.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND GIFFORD PINCHOT—TRUE CONSERVATIONISTS

The conservation movement, as we know it today, was given its greatest momentum under the leadership of former President Theodore Roosevelt and former and first Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot. It is truly refreshing to note that neither Theodore Roosevelt nor Gifford Pinchot ever for a moment advanced the theory that conservation meant to set aside vast areas of a watershed where all of the natural resources should be bottled up and denied to the public except as something to look at. Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford

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Pinchot were not dreamers and stargazers. They were true conservationists, but they were realistic. They realized that all of the natural resources of our great river basins, and particularly the river basins of the arid and semiarid West, could be utilized without destroying the natural beauty of those areas and without detracting from the effectiveness of the watersheds from the standpoint of conservation.

It is interesting to note that Theodore Roosevelt, in six of his annual messages to the Congress, wherein he dealt with the subject of conservation, utilization, and development of our natural resources, in every instance referred specifically to the value and benefits to be derived from reclamation. In his first message, December 3, 1901, he said, "The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States."

In his sixth annual message, December 3, 1906, he said: "Irrigation should be far more extensively developed than at present * * *. The Federal Government should seriously devote itself to this task, realizing that utilization of waterways and waterpower, forestry, and the reclamation of lands are all interdependent parts of the same problem."

About a year ago Mrs. Gifford Pinchot appeared before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee at hearings which were being held on Senate Joint Resolution 139, relating to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the first conference of State governors on conservation. At those hearings she outlined the history and background of the conservation movement as it was developed into a national policy by her distinguished husband. I was particularly impressed by her statement that "Conservation to Gifford Pinchot was never a vague, fuzzy aspiration * * *. The conservation he preached dealt with protection of the forest in terms of wise use and sustained yield. It dealt with the relation of those forests to the fertility of the soil, to erosion, and flood prevention * * *." The first of the three great purposes of Mr. Pinchot, she said, was "To wisely use, protect, and renew the natural resources of the earth * * *." Then she summarized by saying, "In other words, the greatest good, for the greatest number, for the longest time."

OPPOSE WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM BILLS

I am here to oppose the National Wilderness Preservation System bills which are before this committee for the reason that we believe they are fundamentally wrong. They are diametrically opposed in principle to the policies of conservation that were inaugurated and put into force by Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot. They would set aside vast areas, particularly on the watersheds of our western streams to be reserved only for a single purpose—for recreation. All other uses, including even the building of roads, would be prohibited. They would set aside these areas as a playground for only the very select few. Indeed, a very small percentage of our population would ever have the privilege of enjoying the areas which would be included in the Wilderness System—yet they would be maintained by taxes at the expense of all of our people.

The extent to which a drastic limit would be placed upon the use that might be made of any of the natural resources within the areas included within a National Wilderness Preservation System is clearly defined in section 3 (b) of S. 1176, which reads as follows:

"*Except as otherwise provided in this section*, and subject to existing private rights (if any), *no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to* commodity production, to lumbering, prospecting, mining, or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by animals in connection with the administration of recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), *water diversions, water management practices involving manipulation of the plant cover, water impoundment or reservoir storage*, or to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of the act. Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport, or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structure or installation *in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this act*." [Italic supplied.]

We believe that the limitation upon the use of the resources of the area as defined in section 3 (b) quoted above is unreasonable, unjustified, and unnecessary.

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A great portion of the watersheds of the West is now under the jurisdiction of the United States Forest Service and we believe that the Forest Service is doing an excellent job in the manner in which it is handling these watersheds. The policy of conserving and protecting these watersheds has been the objective of the Forest Service over the years since it was first created. The water supply necessary to keep our great reclamation projects operating successfully has been greatly enhanced by conservation programs on virtually all of our western watersheds which were initiated and promulgated by Gifford Pinchot while he was our first Chief Forester. In fact, both Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot adhered to this commonsense theory that the great God-given natural resources of our western watersheds were created for the benefit of man to enjoy and to use—but to use wisely.

Our experiences during the past decade have brought to the attention of all of us the importance of water and the fact that water is becoming a limited natural resource. In fact, it has already become evident that in a great many areas of the Nation the extent to which those areas will continue to grow and to prosper will depend very largely, if not entirely, upon the manner in which the waters of those areas are conserved and utilized.

The purposes of these bills, which we believe to be fundamentally wrong, are fairly well defined by the following excerpts from section 1 of S. 1176:

"That, in order to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness, there is hereby established a National Wilderness Preservation System. As hereinafter provided this System shall be composed of areas in the United States and its Territories and possessions retaining their natural primeval environment and influence, which areas shall serve the public purpose of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservational, historical use, and enjoyment by the people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness.

"It is accordingly declared to be the policy of Congress (1) to secure the dedication of an adequate system of areas of wilderness to serve the recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and conservation needs of the people; and (2) to provide for the protection of these areas in perpetuity and for the gathering and dissemination of information regarding their use and enjoyment as wilderness. Pursuant to this policy the Congress gives sanction to the continued preservation as wilderness of those areas federally owned or controlled that are within national parks, national forests, national wildlife refuges, or other public lands, and that have so far retained under their Federal administration their primeval character. It is pursuant to this policy and sanction that the National Wilderness Preservation System is established. Within the units of this System designated for inclusion by this act, and in those that may later be designated in accordance with its provisions, *the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount.*" [Italic supplied.]

Another provision of these bills to which we strongly object is that which would permit additions to the wilderness areas without the consent of the States in which the areas are located or without the approval of the people locally who are most vitally affected. True, hearings are to be held, but the final determination is still not made by the people locally. Yet, it is very evident that precluding the development and use of the resources of these areas would vitally affect the economy of the local people and the States in which the areas are situated.

There are plenty of areas in the West which will always remain primitive and undeveloped without the necessity of the restrictions proposed in this legislation. This is true not only because of the isolation but the inaccessibility of many of these areas. As one illustration, I refer to the so-called primitive areas in northern Idaho.

In my opinion this legislation which would give such power to a council of six and a few bureaucrats in Washington over the economy of a people several thousand miles away is just as wrong fundamentally today as was the imposition of taxation without representation at the time the American Colonies seceded from Great Britain and sought their independence. A few days ago I had the privilege of visiting the Jamestown area where we are now celebrating the 350th anniversary of the settlement of the first permanent English colony on this continent. I was particularly impressed by the fact that one of the most difficult problems confronting the early settlers in Virginia, and the other Colonies, was that of the imposition of taxes by the mother country without the consent or approval of the local people. I am wondering what those early set-

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tiers would have said if an attempt had been made to deny to them the right to use the reources of the Colonies without their consent and approval.

We are opposed to this legislation because we believe it is fundamentally unsound, undemocratic, and opposed to the best interests, particularly in the Western States, of the local areas most vitally affected.

Mr. STONG. We have received a very considerable number of statements for the record.

The Appalachian Mountain Club, of Boston, Mass., Marjorie Hurd, chairman of the conservation committee, has written endorsing the bill.

(Letter referred to follows:)

APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN CLUB,
Cambridge, Mass., June 17, 1957.

The Honorable JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR O'MAHONEY: As chairman of the subcommittee holding a hearing on S. 1176, for the establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System will you please take note that the Appalachian Mountain Club is most ardently in favor of this or similar legislation.

Our club was founded in 1876 and now numbers some 6,000 members, scattered throughout the country, although the greatest number is here in New England. Our activities take us to many beauty spots of the West as well as more locally. I, myself, have spent many happy days in the mountains of your beautiful State. As a group we are enthusiastically devoted to the out-of-doors, so any measure to protect the wilderness merits our approval.

The establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System seems a simple and obvious way of preventing or delaying the despoiling of those primitive and open lands which form so valuable part of our heritage and once lost can never be regained.

I trust that you and your subcommittee will act favorably on S. 1176 and do all possible to further its enactment.

Sincerely yours,

MARJORIE HURD,
Chairman, Conservation Committee.

Mr. STONG. Yvonne Prater, conservation chairman of the Yakima Cascadians, has wired in support of the bill. Her telegram will be included in the record.

(Telegram referred to follows:)

ELLENSBURG, WASH., *June 19, 1957.*

Chairman JAMES E. MURRAY,
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Cascadians of Yakima, an outdoor recreation and conservation group, strongly urge your support and adoption of the Wilderness Preservation bill (S. 1176), which will give valuable protection to existing and future wilderness areas. If passed, this bill will place greater tools for protection in hands of existing Federal agencies set up for administering wilderness areas and will better protect valuable public resources.

YVONNE PRATER,
Conservation Chairman, Yakima Cascadians.

Mr. STONG. Harold A. Treibs, of Richland, Wash., has wired in support of the bill. His telegram will be included in the record.

(Telegram referred to follows:)

RICHLAND, WASH., *June 19, 1957.*

JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Public Lands Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

I strongly urge your favorable support of S. 1176, to establish a national wilderness preservation system.

HAROLD A. TREIBS.

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Mr. STONE. A statement has been filed and will be put into the record from Ruth M. Onthank, of Eugene, Oreg.

(The statement referred to follows:)

EUGENE, OREG., *June 18, 1957.*

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I would appreciate having the following letter made a part of the record of Senate hearing of June 19 and June 20 (or longer) on S. 1176.

I am Ruth M. Onthank, of Eugene, Oreg. Ever since college days my husband and I have hiked, camped, and often lived in region 6 of the National Forest Service (Oregon and Washington), in our national parks, and other out-of-doors places in the valleys, foothills, and at the seacoast. As grandparents of eight, we are still doing this. But the natural scene has changed greatly. If the rate of change continues, very soon the only unaltered landscapes will be those carefully set aside and fully protected by law.

These unaltered landscapes have great value: As (1) living museums to show (*a*) what our pioneers found, their routes and the kind of country they lived with: (*b*) the kind of place in which our Indians lived; (2) scientific museum, par excellence, showing the "wisdom of the ages" and the "balance of nature" produced through the ages—a living museum where this ecological process is now continuing from year to year; a fascinating place for young and old to learn and study some of life's greatest lessons happily; (3) "control areas" for the many research projects now being carried on, and for the far greater number we will soon need—such areas must be truly large, and we must "manage to keep the managers out" if there are to be true control areas 10, 50, a hundred years or more from now; (4) for inspiration, not only of the poet, the musician, the painter, the color photographer, but of our leaders (including Congressmen), our everyday citizen who finds he benefits by visits to such a sanctuary, and of their families, hiking, camping, horseback riding together; (5) for peace of mind in this age so filled with problems and tensions; (6) for recreation and training in self-sustaining abilities; (7) to fulfill our obligation to pass on to our children this inheritance of ours which has made possible inspirational and spiritual renewal.

Since these "unaltered" natural areas are very easily changed, and that change is usually permanent, it is exceedingly important that our fast dwindling supply of these areas have the best of protection and that the policymaking in regard to their size, preservation, use, etc., be in the hands of the policymaking branch of our Government; namely, Congress. Most policy in regard to these areas is now being made by administrative bodies, with the final decisions being made by heads of departments or Cabinet members, rather than by Congress, which should determine policy of such a far-reaching permanent type.

So I urge that the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs recommend strongly the immediate passage of Senate 1176.

Most of the unaltered areas are in United States Government ownership. The opportunity to preserve such areas as those the USFS has farsightedly set aside as wild, wilderness, and primitive areas, and in region 6 as limited areas, is still ours. It should be done through Congress. S. 1176 is the result of 10 years and more of study of this problem by many qualified people in many walks of life. Five biennial wilderness conferences held by the Sierra Club (and other groups) have gradually been of great aid in evolving this bill. Many of their leaders and their members have been, and are, connected with the University of California, always an intellectual leader and pioneer in the field of natural science—the interpretation of the natural scene and in the preservation of beauty. The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs held the first Northwest Conference on Wilderness in April 1956; it strongly supported the draft of the bill introduced in June as S. 4013 (84th Congress). S. 1176 is bipartisan. May I suggest, if any of you have not already done so, that you read pages 1707 to 1720 of the Congressional Record for February 1957, the 11th day. It is supported by fine Senators from all parts of the United States (as is H. R. 500 and related bills, also bipartisan).

I urge that a bill be immediately passed to give congressional status to wild, wilderness, and related areas and that makes it possible for Congress to set aside new areas and to express itself on suggested changes in "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself

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is a member of the natural community, a wanderer who visits but does not remain and whose travels leave only trails."

Personally I would like to see the bill (S. 1176) strengthened and made more comprehensive by giving the present primitive areas of the USFS the same status in the bill that wild and wilderness areas now have there. These primitive areas were the first to be set aside by the USFS, and are often the finest areas. Congress, it seems to me, should control the policy which may change their size. Irreversible decisions should be made where all people can express themselves: namely, in Congress. By irreversible I mean that once these areas are invaded by roads, by logging, etc. the decision cannot be changed back again. Fragile wilderness is thus destroyed. I do not mean "locking them up" in the sense that these decisions cannot be changed should the policymaking body of the United States see fit to do so.

I would not only give the present primitive areas of the USFS the same status as wild and wilderness areas of the USFS in S. 1176 but I would also like to see the 14 limited areas of region 6 given this status. Such areas as Glacier Peak limited area should certainly not be reduced without the Congress determining the policy which might reduce or might add greatly to its size as a future wilderness area.

I want to urge strongly that the section prohibiting mining in wilderness, wild areas be retained in S. 1176 (p. 20, sec. 3 (b), lines 10 and 11).

Changes suggested to include primitive and limited areas: Page 3, line 24 (add), and limited areas of region 6. Page 6, insert between lines 21 and 22 (line 7 of p. 7 to be eliminated) lines 8 to 25, page 7; lines 1 to 25, inclusive, page 8; lines 1 to 15, inclusive, page 9. On page 7 eliminate from "These design, line 1, and also all of lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. On page 9 insert between lines 15 and 16 the enclosed list of 14 limited areas.

Thank you very much for holding this hearing and for giving me the opportunity of making this letter a part of the record.

Sincerely,

RUTH M. ONTHANK.

Mr. STONO. A letter from the American White Water Affiliation will be placed in the record.

(The letter referred to follows:)

AMERICAN WHITE WATER AFFILIATION,
New York, N. Y., June 19, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The American White Water Affiliation greatly appreciates your invitation to present our views to the hearing being held this week by your committee on the bill to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System, S. 1176.

The A. W. W. A. is wholeheartedly in favor of this legislation. I have myself carefully read this bill, and our only criticism would be that the proposed System would include only about one-third of the total number of areas in the categories listed in the bill. We would strongly favor the inclusion of all of our national forests, parks, and wilderness areas under the protection of the proposed National Wilderness Preservation System, and hope that the many not now included will be added later.

Details of phrasing and operation, however, will no doubt be hashed out by experts personally appearing before your committee; we are concerned with the public need for wilderness and for its preservation against encroachment and destruction.

With the increasing complexity and pressures of modern "civilized" life, there is an ever greater need for our people to get out into the wilderness to release accumulated nervous tensions, and recover their emotional equilibrium. It is not just a matter of "recreation" for which some other form of diversion can be substituted: whether the immediate pursuit is fishing, hunting, mountain climbing, paddling canoe or kayak, or just observing the birds and the flowers, these are merely the excuse for getting out in the wilderness and renewing our identity with the earth from which civilized life has divorced us.

It is relatively easy to assess the economic value of a mountainside of timber, or of the power derived from a destructive dam in a national park, but who can

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measure the dollars-and-cents value of a week, or a month, spent in the wilderness, the spiritual regeneration thereof for young and old?

What the wilderness means to us of the A. W. W. A. has been well expressed on the conservation page of the current issue of our journal, which a leading conservationist has urged me to include with this statement. I append it hereto and respectfully request that it be included in the record.

But these spiritual values of wilderness do not seem to be universally recognized. The pressures for exploitation of our wilderness areas for private profit are likewise becoming vastly greater. Only this winter the Secretary of Agriculture lopped over 50,000 acres off the Three Sisters Wilderness area in Oregon—because the lumber interests wanted it for timber. Stockmen who have overgrazed their own ranges have long demanded the right similarly to destroy national forest areas. And surely I need not remind your committee of Echo Park Dam and the Serena mining fraud. These and many other incidents make clear the urgent need for a control agency which will relieve the pressures upon individual administrators and politicians, and preserve our wilderness areas for future generations, for whom the need will be even greater.

For these reasons, the American White Water Affiliation strongly urges the enactment of this legislation.

Respectfully yours,

D. K. BRADLEY,
Chairman A. W. W. A. Conservation Committee.

P. S.: For your information, the A. W. W. A. is an affiliation of active river-cruising groups from coast to coast, and of canoeing sections of larger outdoor organizations, such as the Appalachian Mountain Club, Prairie Club, Sierra Club, as well as many hundreds of individual canoeists, kayakers, and others who cruise the wilderness waterways. Total membership is about 750.

[Excerpt from Conservation News, American White Water Magazine, spring 1957]

Time was when a man who needed to get away from the daily pressures and get a longer perspective on the really significant things in life need only grab his fishing pole and amble out to the woodland stream beyond the back pasture. Today it isn't quite so simple. Most of us, surrounded by our frenetic, noisy civilization, must now drive many hours to find comparable tranquility and peace of mind. Our wilderness isn't what it was.

Robert Marshall, a great outdoorsman and one of the first national Superintendent of Parks, once pointed out that "the wilderness is unique esthetically in that it stimulates not just the sense of sight as does art, nor just the sense of sound, as does music, but all of the senses which man has."

Through our sense of sight, we can perceive the pattern of the trees against the lake sunset, and the dew-sparkled cobwebs in the dawn.

With our sense of hearing, we perceive the roar of white water ahead, and the wild cry of the loon in the heavens.

Through our sense of smell, we perceive the aroma of the pines and the flowers, the whiff of a passing "wood kitty"—and the sniff of tomorrow's rain.

With our sense of touch, we can feel the cozy snugness of a warm bunk in our tent on a cool night—a sublime sensation which cannot be found in any four walls on earth.

Even our sense of taste is stimulated by the wilderness—for the steak may be burnt and the corn roasted to a crisp, but still it is more wonderful than anything the finest chef can dream up.

And even our sixth sense—call it hunch, intuition, perception, or what you will—that, too, is immeasurably sharpened by the wilderness.

And it might be added that the wilderness is a great teacher: It teaches us not only independence and self-reliance but also, paradoxically, our inescapable interdependence upon each other.

All this is the wilderness—"the singing wilderness"—to which we return ever and again for spiritual regeneration; all this, a hundred times over, rolled into one vast immensity that is for many of us the most perfect experience on earth.

Mr. STONG. Mr. C. B. Morse, manager of the National Forest Recreation Association, of San Francisco, Calif., has filed a statement for the record opposing the bill.

That will be included in the record.

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(The statement referred to follows:)

NATIONAL FOREST RECREATION ASSOCIATION,
San Francisco, Calif., June 18, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: The National Forest Recreation Association is definitely opposed to the "wilderness bills"—bills to create a national wilderness preservation system insofar as they would apply to national forest roadless wild, wilderness, and primitive areas.

Some of these bills are S. 1176; H. R. 361, 500, 540, 906, 1960, and 2162.

We are opposed because:

1. The Forest Service is now administering these areas properly and in an outstanding manner. It has always done so.

2. The policy of the Forest Service and of the Secretary of Agriculture as well as all previous Secretaries of Agriculture since wilderness areas were conceived by the Forest Service is and will be to continue the administration of these areas as at present.

3. These bills would greatly curtail the authority of the Forest Service in the management of these areas. We submit that one agency should be given authority over and held responsible for the administration of natural watershed units; that to divide this responsibility will result in less effective management, confusion and delays.

4. The National Wilderness Preservation Council would divide with the Forest Service or supersede its existing authority over these parts of the national forests. If not, why create it?

5. Management of the national forests is an administrative, not a legislative function.

6. These bills would set aside parts of the national forests for single-purpose use. They would nullify the multiple-use principle which has been eminently successful in national forest administration. If such a bill becomes law it will set a precedent for other single-purpose uses such as grazing, timber production, mining, etc. The Congress has previously refused to pass such legislation.

7. Only a very small minority of the recreation users of the national forests now use or ever will use the wilderness and similar areas. This proposed legislation would dedicate vast areas of public land for the use of a very small minority of the public.

The National Forest Recreation Association is strongly in favor of wilderness areas. It favors their full administration by the Forest Service, as at present. It opposes the changes proposed by the wilderness bills.

We respectfully request that this letter be made a part of the record of the hearings on the wilderness bills.

Respectfully yours,

C. B. MORSE, *Manager.*

Mr. STONE. Mr. Karl W. Onthank, president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, has filed a statement on behalf of that organization, and a second statement on behalf of the Friends of the Three Sisters Wilderness, Inc. Those will be included in the record.

(The statements referred to follow:)

FEDERATION OF WESTERN OUTDOOR CLUBS,
Eugene, Oreg., June 18, 1957.

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs requests that this statement, including the resolution below, passed at its last annual meeting in Spokane, Wash., September 1, 2 and 3, 1956, be made a part of the record of the hearing on S. 1176 and related bills to establish a national wilderness system, scheduled for June 19 and 20, 1957.

The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs comprises some 30 mountaineering, hiking, "outdoor" and conservation organizations west of the Rocky Mountains, aggregating over 25,000 members. This annual meeting was attended by delegates from the member clubs and by numerous individual members who par-

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ticipated in its business, including the unanimous approval of the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 4—WILDERNESS PRESERVATION BILL

It is resolved, That to give congressional recognition and protection to the Nation's wilderness areas, the federation urges the creation of a national wilderness preservation system as proposed in the legislation introduced in the 84th Congress by Senator Hubert Humphrey and others in the Senate and by Representative John P. Saylor and others in the House."

I regret that it is not possible for an officer of the federation to appear at the hearing but we have asked Mr. Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society and Mr. David Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club, one of the constituent members of the federation, to speak for us at the hearing.

Respectfully submitted.

KARL W. ONTHANK, *President*.

FRIENDS OF THE THREE SISTERS WILDERNESS, INC.,
Eugene, Oreg., June 18, 1957.

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: The Friends of the Three Sisters Wilderness, Inc., is an organization of some 300 members, chiefly residents of Oregon but scattered widely in other States, concerned with the proper use, protection and scientific study of wilderness and related areas in the Three Sisters region of the Oregon Cascades. Out of its recent experience in seeing the former Three Sisters primitive area reduced by 53,000 acres as it was reclassified by the Department as a wilderness area, it is completely convinced that wilderness, and for that matter primitive and limited areas, should have much more dependable protection than they now possess. To leave to administrative determination alone an irreversible decision of such magnitude and in a matter involving to such a degree public policy, is not, in our judgment and that of many others sound government. Clearance with congressional authority should be required.

The Friends of the Three Sisters Wilderness, Inc., are on record by action at their annual meeting urging strongly that Congress enact legislation such as that proposed in Senate bill 1176 and H. R. 1960 designed to give wilderness more adequate protection. May we ask that this statement be made a part of the record of the hearings on these and related bills.

Respectfully submitted.

KARL W. ONTHANK, *President*.

Mr. STONG. Mr. Henry Carlson, president of the Obsidians, of Eugene, Oreg., has written in support of the bill.

His letter will be included in the record.

(The letter referred to follows:)

OBSIDIANS,
Eugene, Oreg., June 18, 1957.

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Murray: The directors of the Obsidians, an outdoor and mountaineering society of Eugene, Oreg., of some 200 members, passed a resolution at its February meeting urging that wilderness and similar areas on public lands be given more durable protection than they now have by requiring congressional sanction for boundary changes. We accordingly support legislation for such protection as is provided in S. 1176. The drastic reduction of the Three Sisters wilderness area in our own neighborhood has convinced us that such protection is essential if wilderness typical of this region is to survive for the use and enjoyment of future generations.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY CARLSON, *President*.

Mr. STONG. Mabel H. James, chairman of the Conservation Forum, New York State, has also written supporting the bill.

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Her letter will be included in the record.

(The letter referred to follows:)

CONSERVATION FORUM,
NEW YORK STATE,
Holland, N. Y., June 17, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Subcommittee, Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate.

DEAR MR. MURRAY: The Conservation Forum of New York State, supported by 55 affiliated clubs, including scientific, outdoor, educational, and garden club groups, is heartily in favor of the wilderness bill. We urge that your committee report favorably upon it and that every effort be made to enact it into law as an effective deterrent to losses that continually threaten areas set aside for wilderness and wildlife.

In our own State such a law might have saved the Montezuma National Wildlife Refuge from invasion and division into two separate parts by construction of the New York State Thruway.

We shall appreciate your making this expression of our support a part of the record of the hearings.

Sincerely,

MABEL H. JAMES, *Chairman.*

Referring to S. 1176, to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System. Hearings June 19–20, 1957.

Mr. STONG. I have here also a statement from Mrs. C. D. Shoemaker, member of the legislative committee of the National Council of State Garden Clubs.

Her statement will be put into the record.

(Statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF MRS. C. D. SHOEMAKER, ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE GARDEN CLUBS

The National Council of State Garden Clubs is composed of affiliated garden clubs in 45 States and the District of Columbia, and represents a total membership of more than 300,000 members. Embracing as one of its objectives, the preservation of special areas, and alive to the desirability for congressional recognition of a positive program to protect areas of wilderness value on public lands of the United States, the National Council of State Garden Clubs has gone on record with the following resolution:

"RESOLUTION: THE NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

"In recognition of the diminishing portion of the United States that remains in its primitive condition, and of the increasing importance of wilderness areas to the people of a technological society, a plan which would help perpetuate these lands has been submitted to Congress.

"We believe that in the conservation of natural resources wilderness preservation has a place; that wilderness areas have unique values which are esthetic and spiritual as well as scientific and educational. In the broad field of planning for the future, perhaps no type of land use requires such explicit and firm designation as these areas which are so vulnerable to an expanding economy. The wilderness areas of America are living historical museums. They are the areas to which many of our crowded and anxious population of the future may look for perennial recreation: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the National Council of State Garden Clubs, meeting in Miami, Fla., April 1957,* That we endorse and strongly support the bill to provide a National Wilderness Preservation System (S. 1176)."

Mr. STONG. Stuart Moir, forest counsel, Western Forestry and Conservation Association, Portland, Oreg., has submitted a statement suggesting amendment of the bill to eliminate any council or commission before its adoption, if it is to be adopted.

His statement will be included in the record.

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(The statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF STUART MOIR, FOREST COUNSEL, WESTERN FORESTRY AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION, PORTLAND, OREG.

The subject of a national wilderness preservation system was a topic of discussion at the Western Forestry Conference at Victoria, British Columbia, in December 1956.

This conference was attended by over 600 representatives from various parts of the United States in addition to landowners, forest-industry representatives, conservationists, and foresters from the Western States. The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the conference:

"2. Establishment of limited-use areas of public lands: The Western Forestry and Conservation Association believes that, before an area of public land is set aside for limited use, there should first be made a thorough study of its desirability and need followed by public hearings;

"That, before boundaries of existing or new limited-use areas are changed or 'frozen,' an overall study should be made of desirable realinement of boundaries and areas of all public forest lands; and further

"That no council or commission should be superimposed upon present forest and park administrative agencies.

"This resolution to be transmitted to the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior and Members of congressional delegations."

The current legislative proposals abandon the principle of multiple use, the greatest benefit to the greatest number of people, and utterly ignore and disregard local needs and the possible effects on regional economy.

In 1923, E. T. Allen, then forest counsel for this association, made the following statement:

"It is a colossal selfishness on the part of those professional forest lovers who are fortunate enough to be able to travel throughout America's forest regions and sell their descriptions thereof to want these regions treated as parks for their private delectation, at the expense of the homeless who want lumber at reasonable prices but can never see these parks, and at the expense of those local communities who live by supplying them."

These remarks are just as applicable in 1957 as they were in 1923 and apply most distinctly to the current legislation proposing a National Wilderness Preservation System.

Mr. STONE. W. D. Hagestein, executive vice president, Industrial Forestry Association of Portland, Oreg., has wired a statement in regard to the bill, and asks that it be made a part of the record.

That will be done.

(The statement referred to follows:)

PORTLAND, OREG., *June 19, 1957.*

Hon. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,

Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Because of inability to appear before your subcommittee on June 20 and 21 on S. 1176, would like to include our views in the hearing record by these means. This association, founders of the now national tree-farm program, has been engaged for 25 years in promoting better land management in Douglas-fir region. When we started there practically were no foresters managing private timberland. Now our industry employs more than 1,000 professional foresters. More than two-fifths of all private land in the region are now managed under tree-farm principles, which include stable ownership, adequate protection, managed harvesting, and artificial reforestation where necessary. Our tree farms are used for recreation by public under same safeguards for safety and fire as public lands. Last year 130,000 hunters were our guests. Members of this association employ more than 60,000 people whose jobs depend on a continuing timber supply.

As Federal Government owns more than 38 percent commercial forest land and has nearly half total timber, economy of our region depends on multiple-use land management. In other parts of West the same percentages are much higher with specific reference to the proposed wilderness-preservation system. We believe the motoring public throughout the country should have it thoroughly explained to them and their views sought, because more than 99 percent of all outdoor recreation is by automobile. We believe that administrative decisions

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for Federal land management should be left to career land managers rather than subjected to political pressure inherent in the pending bill. Forest Service record of national forest administration under policy of greatest good for greatest number in long run has received wide public acceptance for 50 years. With increased outdoor recreation of all kinds, setting aside of some 54 million acres, 90 percent of which are in the West and Alaska, under a wilderness-preservation system, reserving veto power over boundary adjustments to the Congress is unsound public policy. As more knowledge is gained of the areas enumerated in the bill and as changing economics indicate, it is clear that our Nation will need more multiple-use land management, not less.

With a constantly increasing need for more jobs, the United States must manage all its land resources under the principle of highest and best use. Highest and best use means multiple use, whenever possible, but doesn't preclude exclusive or single-purpose use. It requires study of each area to determine best use. Long experience has shown that management of forests under multiple use provides water, timber, recreational opportunity for hunting, fishing, camping, hiking, picnicking, nature study, and winter sports, and where possible, grazing, mining, and hydroelectric development.

Recreational use of forest indicates reservation of some areas exclusively for wilderness. Such areas are generally remote and accessible to only a few people who have time, money, and physical endurance to use them.

Management of public lands under the multiple-use principle should let land managers determine how each area can make its highest contribution to society. Having personal familiarity with resources of their areas, they are in the best position to recommend which lands be managed under multiple use and which for exclusive use for wilderness, campgrounds, scenic strips, natural area, etc.

Because 90 percent of the lands affected by the bills are in the West, we respectfully urge that full hearings be held in every Western State and Alaska, where hundreds of local communities depend on management and use of Federal lands for a continued economy.

W. D. HAGENSTEIN,
Executive Vice President, Industrial Forestry Association, Portland, Oreg.

Mr. STONG. We have also a statement from Jean Stephenson, for the Appalachian Mountain Club, in favor of the bill.

The statement includes for the record an article which appeared in the magazine Appalachia of June 1957, by Mr. Robert S. Monahan, which will be included in the record.

(Statement referred to follows:)

STATEMENT OF JEAN STEPHENSON ON BEHALF OF THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN CLUB

The Appalachian Mountain Club (5 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.) desires to be recorded as in favor of the bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system.

This club is one of the oldest and largest mountaineering and outdoor organizations in the country, having been in existence and active for over three-quarters of a century, and numbering its members in the thousands, and from almost every State in the Union.

As a member of its conservation committee, I have been asked to file with this Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a copy of the club's publication, Appalachia, for June 1957, calling attention to the comment endorsing this bill on pages 421 and 422 thereof.

The objectives of this legislation are long overdue. It recognizes the importance of preserving certain areas from encroaching urbanization or destruction through overuse so that future generations may still see some segments of our country in its natural state. It does not remove such areas from the control of the agencies now administering them, but it does provide that their character will not be changed unless the Congress of these United States consents thereto. It is difficult to see how there can be any valid objection to this.

The Appalachian Mountain Club urges the enactment of this legislation.

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[From Appalachia, June 1957]

The bill for a National Wilderness Preservation System, mentioned briefly in the last Appalachia, has been filed again in both branches of the present Congress. It is sponsored by 10 Senators and 4 Representatives from both parties and representing all sections of the country. Two facts are recognized: our wilderness area has been shrinking throughout our history; we have valid need for wilderness, for open spaces in their natural condition. As civilization moves and population increases, there is mounting pressure on primeval lands; but there are still unspoiled regions whose greatest usefulness is as wilderness. To preserve such regions in their present natural state is the purpose of this bill.

The National Wilderness Preservation System is concerned with lands already under Federal control in the four agencies of the National Park Service, Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Bureau of Indian Affairs. Each of these agencies has set aside certain areas under its jurisdiction as wilderness, primitive, or roadless. The list includes some 50 areas in the national park system, 80 in national forests, 20 in wildlife refuges and ranges, and 15 in Indian lands. (Note that no Indian lands shall be included in the System without the express consent of the Indians affected.) The bill will give the weight of congressional recognition to this classification by providing for wilderness preservation as a national policy. Pressure, bound to come with our mounting population, to open up these unspoiled regions for commercial and economic purposes, will be more easily withstood. Each of these areas of primeval America, still wilderness and in Federal ownership, will continue to be administered by the same agency as at present. No transfers of land from one agency to another and no creation of a new land-administering agency are involved. The various units, though protected as wilderness, will thus be managed for various purposes with diverse emphases, as they are now; only future mining is eliminated. The method of removal of any lands from the System varies with the controlling agency, but it can be effected only with the approval of Congress.

An important feature is the establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation Council, composed of the heads of the bureaus administering the areas within the System, 4 Congressmen, 6 citizen members, and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The last-named is to act as secretary, maintaining files and providing headquarters. The Council is required to meet annually or more often, and to present a yearly report to Congress.

It might be said in briefest terms that the proposal for a National Wilderness Preservation System is a measure to insure the continuation of the status quo in regard to our resources of wilderness. This is a real advance and a very definite gain for conservation; the preservation of wilderness is recognized not as a starry-eyed dream but as a national policy. Such legislation, by focusing popular attention on our heritage of unspoiled back country, cannot fail to have an influence far beyond its immediate accomplishment. Since so frequently it is the conservationist's position to protest, to seek to avert spoliation, it is a satisfaction that here is an opportunity for the positive rather than the negative approach to a program which looms large in every conservationist's eyes.

Mr. STONG. There is word from the Senate floor that no Senator will be permitted to sit for the time being. Unless there are witnesses who must appear now in order to depart the city, we will recess the hearing until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

There are 4 or 5 remaining witnesses. There is a possibility that some of the Senators may be able to be back at 2 o'clock.

Unless someone is anxious to appear now, we will adjourn until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. STONG. The committee will come to order. I do not see Mr. Brower here, who is first on the list, so we will start this afternoon with Stewart Brandborg, of the National Wildlife Federation.

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STATEMENTS OF STEWART M. BRANDBORG, ASSISTANT CONSERVATION DIRECTOR, NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION; AND RUSSELL S. ORR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LEAGUE OF MARYLAND SPORTSMEN, INC.

Mr. BRANDBORG. Mr. Chairman, my name is Stewart Brandborg. I am the Assistant Conservation Director of the National Wildlife Federation. I have with me today Mr. Russell Orr, executive director of the League of Maryland Sportsmen, our affiliate in the State of Maryland.

The National Wildlife Federation, a nationwide organization of sportsmen and lay conservationists, is deeply concerned about the preservation and future protection of wilderness in the United States and the Territory of Alaska. Many of the contributors to the Federation's conservation program, the thousands of people who faithfully send in their dollars in return for national wildlife conservation stamps, recognize the need for careful protection of our remaining areas of wild and undeveloped country. They share the concern of the leaders of our State affiliate organizations which is expressed in the resolution that was passed at the 21st annual meeting of the National Wildlife Federation, last March 1, 2, and 3, here in Washington:

Whereas wilderness, wild and primitive areas are steadily diminishing before the pressures of expanding human population and industrialization on the North American Continent; and

Whereas the recreational, esthetic, and scientific values of wilderness grow in direct proportion to the increasing urbanization of American civilization; and

Whereas certain rare and valuable wildlife species are endangered by the disappearance of wilderness habitat; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Wildlife Federation request the Congress to enact legislation to accomplish the following: (1) Establish wilderness preservation as a national policy; (2) provide greater security for the designated wilderness, wild and primitive areas within the national forests, now maintained only by executive policy, and (3) encourage the preservation of the wilderness character of certain areas within the national parks, national wildlife refuges, and other public lands of the United States.

I wish to request that the article Wilderness Issues, by Mr. Ernest Swift, Executive Director of the National Wildlife Federation, as published in the December 1, 1956, issue of Conservation News, be included in the record at this point.

Mr. STONE. That will be included.

(The document referred to follows:)

[From Conservation News, December 1, 1956]

WILDERNESS ISSUE

It is apparent that the battle lines are being drawn on the wilderness bill. Whether the opposition is to the wilderness bill as introduced in the last session of Congress, or to a wilderness philosophy, cannot be determined until all and sundry stand to be counted.

On June 7, 1956, on behalf of Senators Neuberger and Morse of Oregon, Smith of Maine, Lehman of New York, Duff of Pennsylvania, Douglas of Illinois, Kuchel of California, Mundt of South Dakota, and Laird of West Virginia, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota introduced bill S. 4013, a bill to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system. Congressmen John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania, Lee Metcalf of Montana, Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, and George P. Miller of California, introduced the same measure in the House.

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Even before the actual introduction of the bill, the National Chamber of Commerce, the American Forestry Association, and segments of private industry were raising questions as to its justification.

There have been several comments in American Forests, the official organ of the American Forestry Association. In the November 1956 issue, the magazine published open letters which speak on behalf of the bill, and with them editorial comments which question it. These letters are from Senator Humphrey; Olaus Murie, president of the Wilderness Society; Charles Haines, judge (retired), superior court, San Diego, Calif.; and Charles Porter, Tamworth, N. H.

Quoting from the editor's note: "* * * It comes back to the original question, 'Why is this legislation necessary?' On national forests," the magazine states, "the career Forest Service professional has administered these lands—including the wilderness areas he created—both intelligently and well. He does this under multiple use in which we believe, as opposed to the locking up or setting aside of specific areas for specific purposes by congressional action in which we do not believe. Success of this program" the comment continues, "has been due to the elasticity of a management pattern as set up and maintained under the executive branch. * * * Certainly there will be boundary adjustments and sometimes professional decisions will favor one group, sometimes another. The important thing is that those decisions will be based on professional criteria and facts by dedicated men who believe in the 'greatest good for the greatest number.' * * * Who can do the job better?"

Now let us take these questions, statements, and assertions down the line and analyze them.

WHY IS THIS LEGISLATION NECESSARY?

So far as I know, there is little or no quarrel with the present administration of wilderness areas within the national forests. If anything, there should be honest commendation, but these wilderness areas are now established within the framework of the Forest Service authority, and it is known to all that the policies of any public agency are subject to the pressures of many interests. They are also subject to the philosophies of the men who will run them in the future. It is also a well-known fact that most public agencies desire broad managerial powers, to which there is a great deal of merit and substance. But there is inherent in this philosophy the danger of rule by man instead of rule by law.

Staff members of the AFA have stated their belief in the wilderness philosophy, but making inquiry in a friendly discussion: Does the AFA believe that the present Forest Service wilderness policy is a sufficient guaranty to hold these areas in perpetuity? Does the AFA believe that the wilderness policy would be impossible to abolish through pressures? If such pressures were exerted, what stand would the AFA take? Does the AFA believe in wilderness areas simply as an abstract philosophy, or as a practical land-management objective?

Does the AFA believe in preserving these wilderness areas indefinitely or simply until the lumbering industry decides it needs them?

It is stated that the Forest Service professionals created the wilderness areas. Leaving out any part that the Almighty had to do with their creation, just who took whom up on the mountain top to show the kingdoms of the earth—the Forest Service or the wilderness advocates?

In truth, it was both sides cooperating. John Muir before there was a Forest Service; later Aldo Leopold and Bob Marshall, pioneers within the Service whose early crusading was not always welcomed and accepted within their own ranks, but nevertheless was effective. On the other side there were such men as Howard Zahniser, Olaus Murie, and Sig Olson. From my own knowledge I know that the wilderness advocates have done considerable nudging for the creation and preservation of wilderness.

WHAT IS MEANT BY MULTIPLE USE?

It is repeatedly stated as a sacred tenet in the general discussion of public domain that the primary use of national forests is for watershed protection and timber production. These two uses it would seem are primary and take precedent over all others.

Nothing will be solved in debate until there is a better understanding and common denominator for the term "multiple use." Does multiple use contemplate all uses on every acre, or does it mean all uses as applied to a "forest" as an entire unit? Do Government land descriptions have any affinity with multiple use?

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I cannot help but conclude that the AFA and many other professionals mean all uses on every acre, whereas other professionals interpret it to mean the several uses on an entire forest basis.

If the first interpretation is correct, it would mean logging, watershed protection, grazing, wildlife, and wilderness on every acre, although not necessarily equal uses for all. If the second interpretation is correct, it would mean multiple use by land classification, wherein a part of the forest would be used primarily for timber production, another part primarily for watershed protection, another primarily for grazing, still others primarily for wildlife and others again for wilderness areas. In every instance in this latter interpretation at least one or more uses would be compatible, but not all on every acre.

Multiple use does not mean an equality of uses, but it cannot be practiced without some rather broad concepts of land classification. Too many specialized land managers fail to understand what the term "land classification" implies.

If the budget figures of the Forest Service can be used as an indicator, they do not bear out the multiple-use philosophy. In fact, comparison of the budget figures of the Forest Service indicates that we are not getting multiple use and that wildlife and recreation are almost accidental uses.

I doubt that anyone would argue that the lion's share of the tional forests should now be classified for timber production and watershe otection, with other uses taking a well-ordered secondary place on those lands so classified; but by the same token other lands of less forest productivity could be classified as recreational or wilderness which would be compatible with wildlife and watersheds. True multiple use on the public domain including the national forests is a long way from being a fact; specialists practicing land management have a penchant for practicing their own specialties.

Continuing to be alarmed about the goblin of locking up resources can only imply a lack of faith in the wilderness concept, and with it the ghost of future timber shortages. The citizens of the United States cannot today justify many of the present uses of its timber resources. This is also true of many of the minerals, which are nonrenewable. Until citizens develop higher standards of civic responsibility arguments about timber shortages and other resources are fallacious.

On the other hand, does the AFA believe that Congress, in case of a national emergency, would fail to make these timber reserves available for the public need? Who under the stress of a legitimate and nationally recognized emergency would object?—Ernest Swift.

Mr. BRANDBORG. This resolution and article define the interests of the National Wildlife Federation that can be related to the legislation being considered today. In general, these bills appear to satisfy the requirements set forth in the resolution by establishing wilderness preservation as a national policy and by designating those areas which must be protected as part of a national wilderness preservation system.

Those who debunk the idea of wilderness preservation argue that only a small group of so-called purists share any real concern for wilderness. Mr. Chairman, I want to make it clear now that millions of sportsmen and other outdoor enthusiasts claim an important stake in the areas of undeveloped country which would be classified as wilderness under the definitions of this legislation. Many are frequent visitors to these areas. Others can only hope that some day they will have an opportunity to get into the back country, and they want it to be there if and when that day comes. The hunter or fisherman who plans a trip into one of these wilderness or primitive areas places a high value on the outdoor experience that it affords him. And he takes the responsibilities of public ownership of these areas seriously by his stanch defense against instrusions upon them.

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FUNDS NEEDED FOR WILDERNESS MANAGEMENT

The Federal agencies, which are responsible for the administration of the various units proposed for inclusion in the wilderness preservation system, have been seriously handicapped by shortages of funds for access and recreational improvements within the outdoor areas under their jurisdictions. For example, in the case of wild, wilderness, and primitive areas administered by the Forest Service, the horse and foot trails which were once considered to be arterial lanes for fire protection and maintenance of an extensive lookout system have been abandoned as a result of the improvement in methods of forest fire detection and suppression. Pack strings and thousands of miles of fire trails have been replaced to a great extent by aerial patrols and modern fire suppression techniques. But only limited funds have been provided for continuing the maintenance of trails which could be used for foot and horse travel by the wilderness user.

The high quality of administration of the millions of acres of land under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs—the same agencies who would manage wilderness lands under provisions of this measure—speaks for their competence. It is understandable that administrators might favor road development in those vast undeveloped areas of wilderness where their attempts to provide fullest public use have been frustrated by the lack of funds for maintenance of trails which are in keeping with the wilderness character of these areas. Under such conditions there might appear to be little justification for continuing the protection of the areas in primitive and natural status. On the other hand, the pressure for heavy use of roaded and developed portions of such areas as are included in our national parks system can lead to the extension of roads into those areas which have been previously set aside for preservation as wilderness. The fact that hundreds of thousands of people are rapidly becoming more dependent upon roadless wilderness areas for their outdoor recreation justifies the investment in trails which must be made if this use is to be encouraged.

The relative abundance of wilderness in some regions of the country is also a factor. A few of the Western States each contain several million acres of lands that would be classified as wilderness under this legislation. To some of the people who are closest to these, there may appear to be more than is needed, or even justified, for recreational use. It is hard to properly assess the wilderness values of such areas until you live without them. But one fact stands out in clear perspective: We must save what we have, regardless of location, for use of Americans who are now demonstrating their need and desire for wilderness experience.

In some of the existing wild, wilderness, and primitive areas of the national forests populations of deer and elk have outgrown the carrying capacities of their natural ranges. As a part of a national wilderness preservation system, these would be subject to the same game management procedures as are now applied by the State fish and game

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agencies. But to accomplish adequate harvest within some of the units of the national wilderness preservation system, it will be necessary to provide good networks of access trails. In addition, it may become necessary to provide reasonable packing services to take hunters and their equipment back into the remote areas under a system of management which provides for adequate dispersal of their camps. The same provisions for management of other recreational uses would be required for those units of the system within the national forests, parks and monuments, wildlife refuges, and Indian lands, where public hunting is not permitted.

At the last annual meeting of the National Wildlife Federation there were discussions of the need for language in this measure to prevent damage to basic soil, plant, and water resources that might be caused by overpopulations of big game herds. It is recommended that such language be considered for inclusion in this legislation. This would provide for necessary control of overpopulated game herds as required for the protection of the natural character of a unit of the wilderness system.

The attainment of fullest possible use of wilderness for the enjoyment by the outdoor public has not yet even been approached. Much can be done to bring this about through enactment of this legislation which recognizes wilderness preservation as a national policy.

If wilderness preservation can be established as a national policy, public use of wilderness will justify this. The management of areas for use as wilderness promises to be as much a challenge to the public land administrators of the Federal agencies involved as use of other public lands for production of timber, grazing, or other recreational values. This will be a recreational yield of particularly high quality which will require careful controls so that the unspoiled and primitive character of the thing being enjoyed—the wilderness—will not be destroyed. The task of bringing people into back country areas in such a way as to leave only trails as evidence of their visits, will require a high degree of professional skill, as well as a much larger investment in wilderness management programs. The latter calls for more generous appropriations for use by the agencies in doing their jobs.

The National Wildlife Federation endorses the provision of this bill which leaves the administration and management of the designated units of this system in the hands of the present administering agencies, the United States Forest Service, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, the National Park Service, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As previously pointed out, the competence of each of these agencies has been demonstrated and it is desirable that the Wilderness Preservation Council, as established by this bill, would not seek to replace or overlap any of their administrative functions. Neither would it interfere with the management or jurisdiction of any unit of the wilderness preservation system which is designated within the national parks, national monuments, national forests, national wildlife refuges, Indian reservations, or any other Federal lands.

The National Wilderness Preservation Council will draw upon the experience of those public land administrators who are best qualified to guide the development of educational and factfinding programs

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consistent with the purposes of the legislation. Representation on the council by citizen members will provide assurance of full protection of those public interests to be represented by it.

By establishing wilderness preservation as a national policy and encouraging the preservation of the wilderness character of certain areas within the public lands held in trust by the Federal Government, this bill satisfies the requirements specified in the resolution passed last March by the National Wildlife Federation. Its provisions to allow congressional consideration of additions, modifications, or eliminations of units of the system with proper public notice of proposed changes, would safeguard the public interest by providing adequate opportunity for expression of reaction to the suggested alterations. Where such changes are considered to be inadvisable, they could be denied through passage of a resolution by either House of Congress. Where they are shown to be desirable because of shifting patterns of public use, national emergency, or other unforeseen conditions of the future, there is complete authority for necessary changes based upon recommendations of the administering agencies.

This legislation is a major step toward the protection of wilderness for multipurpose recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, and historic purposes. I wish to endorse it with the hope that those who are not in full agreement with its objectives and provisions will offer suggestions for its improvement and ultimate refinement so that an effective program for wilderness protection can be written into law in the near future.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear here today.

Mr. STONG. On page 5 you have suggested some language in the bill. Have you ever drawn it up specifically as a suggestion?

Mr. BRANDBORG. I believe that language could be provided to satisfy this need. However, we have not developed that at this point. It is not available.

Mr. STONG. I wonder if you could later draft and supply for the committee's use some suggested language.

Mr. BRANDBORG. We would be pleased to provide that language.

Mr. Russell S. Orr, executive director, League of Maryland Sportsmen, has a comment to make in regard to this legislation if he could do so.

Mr. ORR. I merely wanted to say that during the 21st annual meeting of the National Wildlife Federation, being the representative of the League of Maryland Sportsmen, I was privileged to vote approval of the resolution passed by the Federation, and at this time I would like to say that our organization is still in general approval of the legislation for the preservation of the wilderness areas.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Orr.

Thank you, Mr. Brandborg.

Mr. David R. Brower of the Sierra Club, San Francisco, Calif., is the next witness.

STATEMENT OF DAVID R. BROWER, THE SIERRA CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Mr. BROWER. Mr. Chairman, I am David Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club, living in San Francisco. I wish to extend the regrets of Mr. Richard Westwood, president of the American

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Nature Association, that he was unable to remain for the rest of the hearings today. He wished to associate himself with the proposal before the committee for which he has been working himself for some 10 years, as has his association.

My impression starts with the definition of "wilderness" which I read in the small edition of Webster's Dictionary before I left San Francisco. The edition we have at home was published in 1939 and I was amazed to see that there is nothing in the definition of "wilderness" which mentions at all what we have been talking about in this hearing and what legislation is before you for consideration. The wilderness of Webster is totally a wilderness of desolation and waste. Yet for all that Webster may be behind the times and for all the opposition that may have been expressed here at this hearing so far, I think everyone who has testified has expressed an appreciation of wilderness, in the sense in which we mean it, as country that is natural and wild and something worth saving for itself. Even those who have reservations about the legislation have all started out saying that they were in favor of wilderness, not the desolation or wasteland of Webster but real living wilderness.

I flew here from San Francisco and in the course of flying I had to fly over some of the land which is not getting dry in California as it always does in summer, and I was reminded of the concern of our California Department of Water Resources expressed here about what wilderness preservation might do to the California water plan. As I headed east over California and over the valley where so many agricultural activities carry on, and up into the Sierras, it happened that our route flew right over Yosemite National Park where I could look down on Hetch Hetchy Reservoir, perhaps one of the greatest water resources mistakes ever made in this country where part of a national park was flooded to provide water for the city of San Francisco, water which the city thought it must have from that source and decided to take from that source over the opposition of conservationists some 40 years ago.

You will never get another Hetch Hetchy Valley back. Yosemite National Park could use it very much at this time in our lives when it is so overcrowded in Yosemity Valley itself and when there is a premium for places for outdoor living for the citizens of this country coming to visit; but they will never get a chance to camp there because the decision was made 40 years ago that this must be flooded.

The sites that could have been used instead for this water storage still lie unused and will probably never be used, but this gem of Yosemite National Park is gone. I cannot fly over that or go near that country without regretting what happened from a premature decision that we cannot turn back.

I was impressed with the statement of Mr. Berry this morning and I know that California is going to need a great deal more water in the years to come. It has been my own theory that California is going to run out of fresh air before it runs out of water, and I see that evidence rising nearer and nearer my home in more and more days of the year where we live above San Francisco Bay at an elevation of 1,000 feet and there are days when we do not look over that 1,000-foot drop because the smog is right in our dooryard.

One of the sites that Mr. Berry mentioned as an area of conflict where the California water plan is running into conflict with wilder-

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ness preservation is Desolation Valley, a little wild area, not big enough to be called a wilderness under Forest Service nomenclature, but present plans for water development call for some impoundment structures and diversions within this wild area that are not needed to conserve water because the water will run down hill anyway and can be conserved in the lower elevations. These are needed only for the production of kilowatts of hydroelectric energy. I think the statistic is that if they put these in they will get 2 percent more hydroelectric generation than if they do not and choose some alternate method of producing hydroelectric power. That is 2 percent. Maybe it is 3 percent. Maybe it is 5 or 10. Round it off wherever you want, you can very well drop that 2 percent, I would say, and find that energy from some alternate source, and alternate sources are coming fast all around and troubling us a bit as they come but they will be here. However, there will not be another Desolation Valley when they impound the water in this northern part of it and inundate it and inundate the living space.

In essence, in this statement, they are saying they do not know exactly what the details are, they do not know where they want their impoundments, but they know that in some cases they must be in wilderness. I would merely suggest that we not try to hold up this bill while they work out the details and find what must or must not be in wilderness. I think those alternatives can be worked out in the course of time and, when the need really arises, if the citizens of this country feel that their national forest lands are needed more for supplying California with water than for supplying the Nation with what other attributes these lands have, when that case is made and the Nation is convinced, then that can be done; but I would think it a tragedy to hold up such historic legislation as this promises to be on the chance that some of it must inevitably be in wilderness.

We had quite a bit of discussion in the course of this hearing about 1 percent and 8 percent. Everyone seems to be talking a little about the fact that 1 percent of the Forest Service users of wilderness are given 8 percent of the land to explore and enjoy. Now, we should be qualitative in our thinking about this, of course, and I think Senator Neuberger brought that out, but let us be quantitative for a minute and just try a little arithmetic on these percentages to see where we can come out.

Call the figures round if you want. They do not have to be too precise. They will all point in the same direction, give or take a 10-percent error one way or the other. One percent of the forest users, say, use the wilderness; 99 percent do not. But we must bear in mind as one point that the 92 percent of the area that is not set aside as wilderness is not all used by the 99 percent left after the 1 is taken away.

In other words, all the other nonwilderness users use approximately one-half percent, possibly less, of the other national forest lands. They are concerned with the picnic table, the place where they put their tent, the stream they line up alongside to try to get the trout. Just the few little roadside areas are what they actually use, not a vast part.

To be awkward about it, that figure of 99 percent of people who use the nonwilderness includes a lot of repeats. The people who go skiing for winter sports, for example, if they are good skiers get out

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10 times a year so that they get counted several times. A person who goes around in the national forest on a camping trip in California goes to more than one forest and is counted more than once. Let us say that he is counted an average of three times to be arbitrary, and that he makes short trips.

Let us look at the 1 percent who use the wilderness. As Mr. Zahniser pointed out, some of them are going into the wilderness for once in a lifetime. It is that once in a lifetime experience. At any rate, when they do go into it their trips are longer. They have to be. Let us say arbitrarily that their trips are 10 times as long as the ordinary users who make up the 99 percent. You apply those figures to the statistics and you come out with quite a different result on use and how many people are getting how much out of the forest.

Instead of being a 99 to 1 ratio, if you do enough arithmetic and rationalizing of it you can get perhaps a 3 to 1 ratio. That sounds rather remarkable and maybe the figures are a little wrong, but there is something to be done with the arithmetic there to get a true quantitative appreciation of what happens.

Mr. STONG. I notice that the Army reports on visitor days on some of its projects would produce a figure that would resolve these calculations of yours, would they not?

Mr. BROWER. It might. If you are talking about visitors days and visits you may be talking about two different things.

As has been brought out, the 8 percent of the forest lands set aside as wilderness is only about 2 percent of the total national forest area in the country or maybe a little more, and all the wilderness in the United States is perhaps only 2½ percent of the total area. That, unbelievably enough, is about the area of this country which is under pavement, if you include within the word pavement the areas that are roofed over, paved for parking, country roads, and the little bit of road shoulder that you have to encroach upon, and houses. That is not too bad a ratio, to have about as much wild country as you have under pavement.

The important point, I think, is to remember that whatever that figure may be, refine it one way or the other, that is all the wilderness we are likely to save, all the wilderness that all our citizens will ever have for the life of our civilization.

That is quantitative with a little qualitative mixed with it, but these figures can be very deceptive. Take Yosemite Valley, for example, since I think that is a fairly well known example to a lot of people. A million people a year come to Yosemite National Park and I would guess three-quarters of those, perhaps more, go to the valley. There are 7 square miles in that valley. Those three-quarters of a million do not get onto very much of that 7 square miles. There are a good many acres there that are practically never trod by human foot. They are off the road. They are beyond the trails. They are some acres that are not level but vertical that very few people trod. We have a few rock climbers in our organization who go up some of the steepest cliffs, but they are in the minority.

However, what do these vertical cliffs mean, for all the fact they are never used, to the nearly a million people who come to the valley? They mean everything. You take away Hat Dome, Yosemite Falls, El Capitan, and a few of these other features, and Yosemite has had

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it. There is no more appeal. The million people will not come. They might just as well go somewhere else. So that the number of people you count and where you count them really has very little to do with what we are talking about. I think I have beaten that subject to death.

I will pass on quickly to some other points.

In my testimony here I speak on behalf of the Sierra Club and its more than 11,000 members living in all parts of the country, and was to speak in behalf of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs—some 30 of them in California, Oregon, Washington, and Utah, but Mrs. Dyer will be here to present a statement and detailed remarks for them. I also bring to you the recommendations and summary of proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference as they pertain to the proposed legislation. All these are concerned with the enjoyment and preservation of our major scenic and wildlife resources.

I have been traveling quite a little lately, and there is not much of our country left that I have not looked upon from 2 or 3 miles up. When you have traveled on the ground on some of the western highways you get the impression that there is endless open space. A generation ago you might have felt the same impression from air travel. But that is not true any more. With ax, plow, bulldozer, and derrick we have changed the face of our land. Almost all of it, but not quite.

I believe, and I feel that you agree, that we must not change it all. That we must save for our children, hoping that they will save for theirs, as generous a sample as we can of how America used to look everywhere, and how it felt to pioneer, to be out on the land on your own good feet.

Places where we can see these things and feel these things will not save themselves. We are too ingenious with our gadgets for that to happen by accident. We have to save them, and save for our children the chance to choose what they want to do with them, even as an earlier generation has given us this choice by preserving some of the best of America's heritage of beautiful land and the wildlife that belongs on it. These places have been handed down to us in our great national parks and monuments, in our forest wilderness areas, in our wildlife refuges, on our public domain, and are there for us to enjoy as guests on some of the Indian lands. These are places which we can enjoy forever by living not on their capital, but on their income. There are already some capital resources on these lands—minerals, virgin forest, and so on. But I am convinced that with wise planning we shall never be so poor as to need this capital. Our national wilderness system can be the place where Paul Bunyan's ghost can be assured of something to do—but never do it. Here we can let nature's own processes go on undisturbed—processes which have produced the grandeur we know in these places in our time.

Men of great vision in this Congress have proposed that we formally recognize this national wilderness system—recognize and protect it, agree that whatever commodity values these lands may contain, we can do without those commodities better than we can do without some beautiful wilderness, somewhere within reach, always. This wilderness system, for example, would preserve the back country of the national parks. It would protect the magnificent wilderness of the

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Sierra Nevada in California, much of which is now set aside in the three national parks, Yosemite, Sequoia, and Kings Canyon, which John Muir did so much to establish. It would also include the great Gila wilderness in New Mexico, a memorial to Aldo Leopold, one of the first to see how the wilderness idea could become part of the multiple-use management of national forests. I think it would be well actually to name one of the wilderness reserves in our national system of wildlife refuges after Aldo Leopold, who contributed so greatly, also, to our knowledge of wildlife management, and to our knowledge that many species of wildlife need wilderness to survive in.

The wilderness system would also include the Bob Marshall wilderness in Montana, named for another man who contributed so much toward the novel idea of having civilization include wilderness. On the Indian lands still others might well be named for notable leaders of the earliest inhabitants of this land, who, having learned to leave no sign where they walked, have allowed the wilderness to live in our time, for us and men of the future to explore, enjoy, and protect.

Congress would thus give its recognition and protection to an American idea that we have been perfecting since the Nation first set aside a national park—Yellowstone—85 years ago. And this would be the kind of protection Congress has given our national park system since the National Park Act of 1916—protection in which Congress never faltered.

No one will be able to take off for the remote heart of some wilderness every year. Some people never will. I myself can no longer do it very often. I seem to end up in the wilderness of the Potomac too often to live in an air-conditioned cave instead. But I think we are all happier to know that the solace, solitude, and beauty of wilderness are there for whoever needs it. The next generation will need it more than we do.

An extraordinary record of today's widespread interest in wilderness preservation comes from the Pacific coast, where 6 wilderness conferences have been held since 1949, attracting in all more than 1,200 conservationists and resource managers from all over this country and from other countries as well. Some individuals are counted more than once in that attendance total, but the widespread interest is nonetheless remarkable. Five of the conferences are in the series of biennial wilderness conferences sponsored by the Sierra Club. The sixth was the Conference on Northwest Wilderness sponsored by the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.

I have here a summary of the most recent of these, which in itself contains notes on the earlier conferences upon which its discussion and actions were based. It will bring to your record for the information of Congress the equivalent of several field hearings on the subject of wilderness preservation which is embodied in the legislation before you.

I would call your attention to the great diversity of individual professional background represented in the discussions which are summarized, a diversity so broad that even a series of field hearings might be hard put to bring together its equal.

I realize, of course, that such conferences are not likely platforms for full expression of the ideas of people who oppose the wilderness-preservation idea. I would stress, however, that if this is a notable

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omission, it can lead to no permanent harm. In the debate about wilderness, the proponent of preservation is in a unique position and deserves special consideration. He can win only a temporary victory at best. The wilderness he saves today can be unsaved tomorrow. If he does not save it today, it will be unsaved tomorrow anyway. If he loses it today, it is gone for all our time.

The exact opposite is true on every count for wilderness opponents. We, the proponents of this legislation, naturally feel that we are correct and just in each of our contentions. I am convinced that we are. But if we should somehow happen to be wrong in every respect—this to me is beyond conceiving—and if the Congress, in heeding us, enacts this legislation, then nothing will have been done that cannot be undone should a contrary case ever be made.

For instance, water is important to our way of life. Some people have argued that this proposed legislation would imperil water development. We do not think it will. But to take an absurd example, suppose it is proved that it is in the long-range public interest to strip certain watersheds of all vegetation, including watersheds now admirably protected by nature, we think, in wilderness. Suppose it is proved that stripped watersheds will yield more and better water, and that this is more important than anything else these watersheds could ever provide mankind. If this were to be proved, nothing in this legislation would prevent the appropriate Government agency from deciding that a given watershed be shorn of its flora and fauna and its wilderness protection; and, if it were proved, the Congress would voice no objection, and so it would be shorn.

Other examples would follow the same pattern. You have heard, or will hear, from people who think the present legislation will imperil production of timber, forage, minerals, and possibly even of mass recreation facilities. They think so. So long as they only think it, the wilderness bill could conceivably stand in their way. It will not stand in their way, however, if they can prove it—if they can prove that the exploitation of the vestige of commercially valuable resources that is set aside in our wilderness is vital to the long-range public interest. They will have to prove it not only to the administrative branch of the Government, but to the legislative branch as well, every member of which must stand before the people regularly and justify to them what he has done for them and for the Nation.

We are not urging the wilderness bill as a temporary measure. We hope it sticks. We hope that we can succeed in enlisting the next generation in making it stick for their time, and that they will do the same for their successors. We hope wilderness preservation can remain an important and vital part of our civilization. That is our burden. The burden on our opponents should always be the burden of proof. We ask the Congress to make this distribution of burdens. We think it is right, and the wilderness bill does it.

The foregoing is a summary of some of the essential considerations which we hope will help you in reaching your decision. With your permission, I should like to go further into some of the philosophy and detail that has brought us to the conclusions I have summarized, and to do this in a separately titled part of my testimony.

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You like wilderness, let us suppose, and you want to see some of it saved. Not just a thin strip of roadside with a sign saying, "Do not pick the flowers." Not just a wild garden behind the hotel or a pleasant woods within shouting distance of the highway. But real wilderness, big wilderness—country big enough to have a beyond to it and an inside. With space enough to separate you from the buzz, bang, screech, ring, yammer, and roar of the 24-hour commercial you wish hard your life would not be. Wilderness that is a beautiful piece of world. Where as you start up a trail and your 9-year-old Bob asks, "Is there civilization behind that ridge?" You can say no and share his "That's good" feeling.

Yes, a place where you can rescue yourself from what Ortega calls the other—all the extraneities that pile you too deep. So deep, to quote my wife Anne's bon mot, that "the life you lead is not your own."

So you want a place where you can be serene, that will let you contemplate and connect two consecutive thoughts, or that if need be can stir you up as you were made to be stirred up, until you blend with the wind and water and earth you almost forgot you came from.

You like wilderness, then, and need it. And suddenly you encounter a practical man who never learned that he needs it too, or does not remember. It does not take you long to encounter him, because there are a lot of him, many of his number in places of influence, all of him adding up to a political force that can jeopardize wilderness if it chooses to, and choose it seems to.

You can malign him, and insure that the conflict will continue over the need for wilderness. But let us assume you had rather aline him, get straight to his conscience, and end the conflict, and save the wilderness. Then what?

At the Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference, on March 15, in San Francisco, I tried to develop one approach and I have drawn upon it fully in what follows, adapted from my remarks there. Let us call it a starting point, and let us hope that it will suggest to you a different and better approach to a goal that happily still remains and should persist.

To start with, let us address ourselves to a very important question. How much right does one generation have to another generation's freedom? Can we of this generation, in conscience, pay for our freedom by mortgaging the freedom of our children? Is it our ethic that we are privileged to write the rules to which all the subsequent generations of our civilization must be committed, and by which they must abide, irrespective of their own wishes?

Thomas Jefferson, long ago, said that one generation could not bind another; each had the right to set its own course. Go out across this land and try to find someone to argue that he was wrong. You will not find a taker.

But deeds are not matching words. This generation is speedily using up, beyond recall, a very important right that belongs to future generations—the right to have wilderness in their civilization, even as we have it in ours; the right to find solitude somewhere; the right to see, and enjoy, and be inspired and renewed, somewhere, by those places where the hand of God has not been obscured by the industry of man.

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Our decisions today will determine the fate of that right, so far as people of our time can pass opportunity along to our sons. Apathy here can mean that we pass them a dead torch. Or we can keep it aflame, knowing that this is a very special torch that man cannot light again.

Belatedly we are becoming generally concerned about our scenic resources and about resolving conflicts that must be resolved if we are to retain islands of open space in the sea of tomorrow's civilization. The early history of civilization dealt with the problem of finding enough enclosed spaces—caves in the beginning, then crude shelters, then walled cities, followed by the early beginnings of suburbia when there was no longer room enough within the walls for all the people of the cities. Only recently have we begun to change our concern. The problem seems no longer to be one of enclosing space, but of leaving enough of it open to meet our needs for greenery and for every man's "slice of sky" Wallace Stegner speaks of. We know we need some of this in our own garden for the edges of our daily existence—something to look out upon at breakfast, or before dinner. We need more space near by for our weekends, where on a March day a boy may fly a kite, or a family may picnic and stroll. For our holidays we need accessible open space within range of our faster transportation, and better roads, bearing in mind that we shall soon have more 3-day weekends than we have now. For our lengthening vacations we will need the big spaces of national parks and wilderness.

These outdoor spaces—daylight-saving plots, weekend and holiday areas, and vacation regions—will not set themselves aside. We have to plan for them as the population avalanche flows over the land, and plan generously if civilization is not only to improve living standards, but also to sustain man's standards for life.

The Sierra Club has been concerned with man's use of wildlife, wilderness, and national parks ever since John Muir founded the club in 1892 with the general purpose of exploring, enjoying, and protecting our scenic resources. In none of its 65 years has the club been free of the controversy that results when one seeks to protect what another would exploit. That has meant 65 years' experience in trying to resolve a crescendo of conflicts—experience that we can draw upon as we consider today's major controversies and the still more critical contests that tomorrow will inevitably bring.

These conflicts will underline the need for conservation education; more than that, they will require the education of conservationists. There is quite a difference.

On the one hand, conservation alludes to management of the commodity resources, to using them wisely that they may last longer. We all approve of conservation, even as we approve of motherhood—even while we go on expending our nonrenewable resources at a constantly accelerating rate—more in this century than in all previous history. We intend to do better. In the end, however, we know that no matter how well we manage our commodity resources and our raw materials, time will catch up with us. Conservation means spreading a given resource over a given period of time. Time finally runs out and the resource is gone, or, at best, is a rarity.

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On the other hand, the conservationist, and I stress the "ist," has come to be known as the man who is concerned with preserving for all our time certain important scenic resources—our resources of wilderness, parks, wildlife, and the recreation and inspiration many may always derive from them. Always, that is, if each generation, including ours, takes care of the few places we have left where those resources still survive.

To use a figure, there are two sides to conservation just as there are two sides to a coin. On one side, tangible quantities; on the other, intangible qualities. Each side is presently oriented to look in opposite directions. Yet each must live with the other. We may need a coin of transparent material, so that each side can look in both directions.

The conservationist, then, is the man more concerned about what certain natural resources do for his soul than for his bank balance. Every man is a conservationist part of the time in his thinking, if not in his action.

There are a great number of people who are conservationists in their action also—more than 11,000 in the Sierra Club, and about 2 million who are loosely organized in the Natural Resources Council of America. The numbers are growing more rapidly than is our population. Every time a scenic hill is bulldozed for a new tract of houses, or a new freeway blots out more acres of green quietude, or a new dam inundates a trout stream, or there is a vacant space where a great tree was, or another whooping crane turns up missing—every time one of these things happens, the conservationist force grows stronger as more people realize the need to protect a rarity from extinction. Theirs is not a force of blind opposition to progress but of opposition to blind progress. Theirs is a force determined to see that progress does not take away important things from mankind, forever, in order to benefit a few men now.

The conservationist force, I submit, is not a pressure group. It merely demonstrates the pressure of man's conscience, of his innate knowledge that there are certain things he may not ethically do to the only world he will ever have, and to the strictly rationed resource of natural beauty which still exists in that world. The conservationist force does not need to be pressed into action. It needs only be made to realize what is happening, and its voice of conscience speaks.

That sounds simple. It is not. I need not go into any detail to convince you of the difficulty of making people realize something—of their making it real to themselves, not imaginary, but actual. You know how hard it is to be heard in the clamor around us. And we all know how hard it is to get the voice of conscience to speak audibly enough to have effect. For example, how many times a week do you feel something needs to be done for the public good—and how many of those times can you find the few minutes to do something about it yourself?

So the conservationist force, for all its conscience, still needs to realize more, and to speak more. Conservation controversies, like prefabricated telephone booths, are ubiquitous. All of them are conflicts for space. The resolution of these conflicts should depend upon the answer to the question—who needs the space most? Unfortunately, many of the decisions are being made now, and irrevocably, not on the

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basis of who needs the space most, but on who got there first with the most dramatic plan of development and the biggest earth-moving equipment.

It would be helpful, in resolving the coming conflicts for space, "to have on hand a battalion of men with the wisdom of Solomon." Not having even one Solomon, let us nevertheless see what we can do to consider a few of the conflict types in some detail; list the tools we have for resolving conflicts; try to arrive at the criteria for decision; and suggest some courses of immediate action. This is a big order. If in the course of this I make noises like an oracle, please forgive me. To be brief, I will stick to direct sentences. In your own mind please add "It seems to me" to each sentence.

Man against numbers: Man has demonstrated, as clearly as he has demonstrated anything, that he is prolific enough to explode across the land—not with the rapidity of an epidemic, of course, but more thoroughly and with far more lasting devastation of the natural resources of the only world he has yet contrived to live upon. We can label this statement "neo-Mathusiasn," but the labeling solves no resource problem. The members of what we could label "the Science-Will-Save-Us-Society," will have quite a burden to prove that science really can save us. Science can do wonderful things, but our scientists can only begin to gather data on the new problems civilization presents every year, and in turn can only begin to publish and interpret their data.

A serious problem confronting scientists, and one upon which no conservation organization I know of has adopted a policy, is the population problem—an especially touchy cat to put a bell on.

Natural scientists know full well what happens when there is an explosion of population in deer; the deer themselves lose vitality and starve by the thousands because they have overloaded their range. Mankind has a range too, and it has a maximum carrying capacity consistent with a good life—a life with enough resources on hand for all to spare us the final quarrel. We may argue about how many people the range can withstand, but we can hardly argue that there is no limit. We have strong intimations, as we watch the sea of smog rise around us, that the limit is approaching faster than we thought, and from a different quarter. It may well be shortage of clean air, not of water, that brings us to a sudden halt in California.

Whatever the limiting factor, and, though our engineers cover the earth with a mezzanine floor, we know that we shall come to a day when we can no longer double our population, or even add to it, without lasting regret. Perhaps we shall continue to worship growth until midnight of that last day.

But there is a brighter possibility and it is worth working hard for. When the light turns red, you stop before you hit the car ahead. If you do not, you are in trouble. The margin between us and trouble is our scenic open space and our wilderness. We vaguely sense the shape of this need; later and wiser men will know it surely, in the crowded world we are letting their heritage become. For them, we could choose to skimp a little on gadgets, even our most elaborate gadgets, even as they shall one day be forced to skimp, and with so much less wild world to repair to than we have.

The brighter possibility, then, is to look for substitutes before we have completely used up a given resource. Perhaps, we, as present

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stewards for the natural resources of all generations, could revive the practice of tithing—saving 10 percent for the future. Not 10 percent of what this generation received from the last, but a tithe of what was here, on our best estimate, when white man began to spread over this continent. If that sounds overgenerous, remember how few the generations who have used up the 90 percent, and how many generations will need what is left, to leaven their otherwise ersatz world.

WATER DEVELOPMENT

Where water development and wilderness preservation are in conflict, we can remember that gravity will take water through parks and wilderness and out to places where man wants to use it or store it. Optimum development downstream can preclude irrevocable damage to wilderness values upstream. Quite often it will cost less; but even if it were to cost more in dollars, it would save what dollars cannot put together again.

The conflict with hydroelectric development is more direct, for man wants to get energy from the water that gravity brings down. Alternate sources of energy are coming fast, however, and we can afford to wait for their perfection rather than sacrifice scenically important streams and valleys. We need to remember that our choice to preserve is a temporary determination at best. Our choice of sacrifice, however, requires all future men to live by our choice. We will have written the rules for them, and indelibly.

WOOD PRODUCTS

The timber resources review recently completed by the Forest Service has demonstrated that our principal opportunity to meet the future's need for timber lies elsewhere than in the virgin forests of our best wilderness and park lands. The National Lumbermen's Association has gone even further. Its recent releases have stressed the need for expanding the timber market and have stated that we are growing one-third more timber than we are harvesting; they, therefore, opposed the timber-reserve part of the soil bank. Plywood people want much less plywood imported. Moreover, in the immediate future we can see a minor revolution in the wood-products industry in the promise of the chipper, particle board, and alternate sources of cellulose that will have to substitute for virgin-forest timber sooner or later.

In the absence of a policy which provides specific criteria for determining how much wilderness we shall need to preserve, and in the presence of abundant promise of substitutes for wilderness timber, and considering also the many values for mankind the wilderness forest affords—multiple use of the highest, most diverse order—we should not be hard put to decide the course to vote for in the timber-versus-wilderness conflict.

HIGHWAYS

These had better go around our scenic gems, not through them, unless we want the face of our land crisscrossed by high-speed routes to beautiful places that might have been. We have the potential of drowning ourselves with automobiles, of so overloading our hardened

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articles that first the pleasure of driving will disappear—and then the motion.

Our children shall need parklike places where they can have a change of pace and mood—there they can spend a good chunk of time and become part of the scene for a while. It will be enough for them to screech to a stop because of traffic light or traffic jam, then roll down the window for a quick sniff of the great outdoors before the man behind blows his horn. Many people fear that our engineers are more skillful at moving vehicles than at moving people, and that a lot of space is being too freely used up in the process.

We are enamoured of horsepower, of highways, and freeways, of covering more grounds more quickly and with greater safety. In our ardor, however, we may well consider that it is very hard to undo a freeway and impossible to redo a wilderness.

OTHER CONFLICTS

There are other conflicting demands for our present scenic open spaces, conflicts brought on by our needs for flood control, industry, mining, food and forage and fiber, and by urbanization, and by recreation too. There is no need to go into detail about them now. They all come from the real needs for things we want and believe in. But with reasonable restraint we can eat cake and have some too—have conveniences and wilderness, so long as we remember that there are some areas where convenience costs too much.

What tools have we already fashioned, or what can we invent, to resolve these conflicts?

FACTS

First, we need facts about resources. Many organizations are assembling them, and more help is needed. For scenic resources, the organizations prepared to do the best job nationally are the National Park Service, which has a program based upon a 1936 law and mission 66; the Forest Service, which has now come up with its Operation Outdoors; and the Fish and Wildlife Service, now developing its own Operation Waterfowl. California is off to a good, if late, start with imminent recreation plans now before the legislature. Many other agencies are involved, and coordination is essential. The proposed national Outdoor Recreation Resources Review will help get this started.

INTERPRETATION

But facts are not enough. One of our unheralded national surpluses is the surplus of undigested data which, if laid end to end, would reach too far. A fact has meaning only when it gets from producer to market, only when it is published and interpreted well. We are badly in need of equitable interpretation of the facts we are gathering about our natural resources.

Most important, as pointed out in Scenic Resources for the Future, we must to the best of our ability project all future needs on the same screen with the same projection distance and same focal length of lens for each scene, and also, to the best of our ability, with the same illumination. Let the light be a cool one.

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So far we have had quite a disparity in distances, lenses, and light. In California, for example, we know that water development is going to make heavy demands upon what land we have for other purposes. To project that scene, we have elaborate equipment that has been derived from an 8-year effort at a cost of better than $1 million per year. But water is not all we will be needing in the year 2000; it is only one of many things.

What kind of equipment do we have, whether in California or in the country as a whole, to project our other needs. By comparison, we can project our needs for scenic resources with little more than a 19th century magic lantern, lit by a lone flame. Unless we can demonstrate the need for equity, we stand a good chance, so far as this particular conflict goes in California, of having the best-watered, most populous crowded, biggest grossing, State in the Union—and the least beautiful one. Our white-water streams will be so fully harnessed for use that you cannot see running water; each pleasant little valley in the hills and mountains will be replaced by a fluctuating reservoir, its watershed cropped and gravely impaired; and suburbia will spread almost everywhere else. Bear in mind that our State director of water resources, in opposing the current wilderness bill, listed his reasons for doing so that the bill would hamper California water plan hopes for dams or water structures in Lava Beds and Joshua Tree National Monuments and Yosemite National Park, as well as the plan's hopes to use the Marble Mountains Wilderness as a dumping place for spoil. We do not need water that badly. And no bill would stop these things if the people should ever really need them.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

The public needs information, too. All our facts and interpretation will mean little if the public is not taken into confidence. After all, the public must consent to whatever proposal we come up with. "The engineering of consent" is the concise definition of public relations. Meetings such as the wilderness conferences are a starting point. What we do after we leave such meetings will determine how far the cause moves.

LEGISLATION

An informed public will want a clear statement of policy, which is a statement in law, and will want continuing legislative interest in what happens under the policy. Congress, for example, is the Nation's board of directors. It should reserve the power to review irreversible staff decisions which lead to the extinction of a given resource.

ADMINISTRATION

The executive branch, armed with administrative regulations based upon law, will supply the preponderance of protection, for only this branch of Government has staff enough to do the job full time. Loosely worded regulations, which were adequate for a loosely populated land largely free of conflict, will have to become specific—and must in turn be based upon more specific law if we are to avoid a dangerous overconcentration of discretion. For instance, there will need to be a clearer understanding of the full meaning of multiple use, and of the

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limitations of multiple use. This has never meant a great number of cooks working over the same pot of broth although many people have thought this was the meaning.

EDUCATION

The legislative and executive branches, with help from lay organizations, will then need to continue the effort of public education—the engineering of support. The need for this is stressed whenever two people discuss the subject of conservation, and sometimes even when the discussion is only a monolog. We have a great opportunity, or, stated in another term, we have a long way to go.

These are the tools. They are all necessary. Those named last will be of little use if we do not have equitably interpreted facts to start with.

Let us go back briefly to that matter of correctly interpreting facts, for it is for this interpretation that we shall have to derive our criteria for decision.

We must make one decision before we shall know how to sort out our facts. Shall we on the one hand resurrect the philosophy of "apres moi le deluge," or on the other hand shall we seek the exact opposite for those who follow us—for them a world as beautiful as ours? I do not think this will be a hard decision to make but we shall need to keep reminding ourselves that we made it.

Since wilderness is our primary concern here, let us list the points we need to consider in weighing wilderness perservation against a potential conflicting use. The weighing will set a pattern for the scenic resources which are less fragile than wilderness. And wilderness conflicts are hardest to solve and most critical.

1. The wilderness we have now is all that we, and all men, will ever have.

2. Much of our wild land which is presently used for its wilderness will be lost to wilderness use. It has not been dedicated, and remains only by accident or oversight, or because of the slight value of its raw materials. When it goes, its human load must be added to that placed upon dedicated wilderness, whenever it is left.

3. We do not know what the carrying capacity in terms of people is or may be, either for accidental or dedicated wilderness—carrying capacity that should be expressed in two ways: (*a*) What human use will a place withstand and still recover naturally, and (*b*) how many people will it withstand at a given time without their eliminating its esthetic value at the time?

WITH RESPECT TO RECOVERABILITY

We must not be fooled by vastness of a total area. The key terrain, or the heartland, or the living space, or the camping base—whatever you may call it—is that rare, scarce oasis that has real scenic appeal, that has water and shade, wood and forage, that is gentle enough in slope to camp on, and that possesses a wild setting without which one might as well camp in Central Park. There is precious little key terrain, even in the vastest reserves. And what key terrain there is is likely also to be a good reserve site.

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WITH RESPECT TO ESTHETIC CAPACITY

Wilderness cannot be false front wilderness and fulfill what man needs in it—no green-belt fringe obscuring a periodic sea of stumps. There must be assurance that a man's wild slice of sky will not have to many elbows in it, or administrative conveniences either. There must be room enough for time—where the sun can calibrate the day, not the wristwatch, for days or weeks of unordered time, time enough to forget the feel of the pavement and to get the feel of the earth, and of what is natural and right.

4. Whatever the carrying capacity turns out to be, we can predict that it will be limited—so limited that wilderness can probably never again be abundant enough for every man to walk in it. But after all, only the small child must handle a thing to know it; adults need only look. Those in between need a little of both. So some people will be able to walk in wilderness and most of them will be the better for it. Some may wish to but never make it. Some may not think they care to at all, nor expect their sons to care. But wilderness must be there, or the world's a cage.

5. It follows that our expanding population will need more wilderness than exists, and far more than has yet been set aside for preservation.

6. Therefore, we can conclude that any step to discard our vestige of dedicated American wilderness, or to prejudice its protection, is premature at this time. And knowing this, we are obligated to insure its protection by law as well as by fiat and decree.

To those who for materialistic convenience want to extinguish just part of that dedicated wilderness we can cite Solomon's precedent. We all remember his most famous decision, when one mother wanted the child divided, and the other wanted the child spared, even if she herself were not to have it. Let the judgment favor those who want the wilderness to remain whole. A decision adverse to that whole can never be rescinded.

It will take time to seek out facts, ideas, and decisions in the long-range public interest—3 years at the very least. In the interim an immediate holding action is needed, and I have a brief suggestion. Let Federal and State executives appoint task forces who can set about promptly to put up three kinds of signs in places where it is the consensus of conservationists that they belong:

"Sample, Don't Sell" we can place, figuratively, by our crown jewels—our parks, dedicated wilderness, or their equivalent in scenic caliber.

"Closed During Inventory" ought to be posted on certain areas in controversy in which the scenic, recreational, and scientific values are probably high, lest we find that the forthcoming inventory of our scenic resources consist of checking off our choicest treasures as they are carried out the door.

"Business as Usual" signs can be posted everywhere else.

In any event, some kind of moratorium is essential. A 3-year wait on some of our development projects is not long compared to the eternity our descendants shall otherwise have to live by any mistakes we make out of premature commitment. To illustrate, consider the tragically premature decision at Hetch Hetchy, in Yosemite National Park, a controversy that is all water behind the dam—the dam in Hetch

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Hetchy Valley from which San Francisco gets the same water it could have diverted outside the park. There was one unclouded crystal ball four decades ago, and William E. Colby, now honorary president of the Sierra Club, was looking into it when he wrote the club's membership on the last day of 1909:

> I predict that long before Hetch Hetchy could possibly be needed for a water supply for San Francisco, the travel thither will have become so great and its needs as a campground, particularly in relation to the surrounding park, so urgent, as to preclude the possibility of its use as a reservoir. What I am opposed to is the determination right now that the Hetch Hetchy shall be flooded 50 years from now. I feel that the decision ought properly to be reserved for those who live 50 years hence. We surely can trust that their decision will be a wiser one than any we can make for them.

The decision, we know, would have been entirely different in 1959. But how many wrong decisions are we rushing to make now that will erase other Hetch Hetchys, unconscionably for all time? Our children deserve better.

Or to put it in annotated allegory, this, our civilized world, is the house that Jack built. We like most of it.

And this, our living wilderness, is the garden that Jack did not build on, the open space and the wild-land beauty that graces his house. It is his only garden, and we know that there is no more where it came from.

Jack is very capable; he can doggedly expand his house, build a three-car garage, and pave the remaining space except for an outcrop or two of rock in the northwest 40. And we can see that he is on the verge.

If only Jack would pause a moment, to look up and to see. He is not going to like the end result himself, and his children surely will prefer to inherit a balance estate, for they will have no place else to go.

Finally, I should like to include, with your permission, the recommendations and summary of proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference that I mentioned in the summary of my own statement here today. In one sense it is long; but in another sense it is extremely brief, because it distills with a remarkable economy of words the essence of what so many people, of so many walks of life, have contributed in their thinking and work to enable us to reach the historic milestone we find ourselves at today. The record of this hearing will become, I am convinced, an important source book on the relationship of wilderness to law. What follows is the best reflection I can find of the broad grassroots support for what you are seeking to accomplish.

A decade ago Norman B. "Ike" Livermore, Jr., then a director of the Sierra Club, urged a joint meeting of the administrators Park and Forest Service officials and users, hikers, riders, campers, packers of Sierra wilderness areas. In the spring of 1949, the Sierra Club sponsored the High Sierra Wilderness Conference. Two days of meetings at the Claremont brought together nearly 100 officers and individuals from the Federal and State services, the Packers' Association, and outing clubs.

Probably the most important result of that first conference was the discovery—not entirely unexpected—that the concerns of each of the groups were shared by a number of the others. Just realizing that someone else was "helping them worry" seemed to encourage people,

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and the approaches to some of the problems suddenly became less difficult. The groundwork was thus laid for cooperation between various workers who had not until then recognized from what quarters help might be expected. One of the best of the decisions reached by the first wilderness conference was that others should be held.

The second wilderness conference, in 1951, took cognizance of the findings that whatever threatens a wilderness in the Sierra is essentially the same as what threatens unaltered lands in any other part of the world. More people came to this meeting than to the first and from farther afield. The nature of the threats to natural lands was more clearly recognized and defined, and it was urged that conservationists work for a national wilderness-preservation system, with legislation to strengthen the protection of our preserves from destructive exploitation, either in inappropriate activity or in too intensive use.

The 1953 wilderness conference drew 145 participants from all over the West and from such distant places as New York, Washington, Alaska, and Bavaria; it was remarkable for the great fundamental agreement among the majority of the participants. It was characterized by a search for ways to express the values of wilderness in noncommercial terms; it was clear that the esthetic and spiritual worth of wild country is recognized.

An important accomplishment of this third conference was the recognition that some of the values of wilderness are to be found even in city parks, although those values are more numerous and more significant as we get farther from urban centers and closer to the heart of true wilderness. Clear statement of this concept illuminated the possibility of beginning education for proper wilderness use even on city playgrounds and progressing as the user's experience progresses from the familiar to the new--from the city to the unaltered wilderness. The place to start wilderness education is wherever receptive subjects may be found.

The 1955 conference, again the biggest yet, pressed for clear administrative policy on wilderness and for expression of concepts in a form suitable as a basis for legislation. It was obvious that the individuals and groups present were ready to say "O. K., we understand one another now and we have a pretty good idea of what we want. Let us go after it." As this conference met, the struggle to protect the wilderness and park values of Dinosaur National Monument was nearing its climax, and served to postpone the following through of many of the recommendations. However, the first draft of legislation creating a national wilderness preservation system was introduced in the 84th Congress, 2d session, by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Representative John P. Saylor, and others, and was ready for unveiling at the first Conferenec on Northwest Wilderness held in Portland in 1956. Major forward steps were taken in 1957, as will be seen herein.

The Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference brought 400 conservationists and resource administrators from 19 States, Alaska, and the District of Columbia who are affiliated with some 120 conservation agencies and organiaztions.

The potentialities of the wilderness system and recreation resource review were the subject around which the conference was conducted. It was the fifth such conference organized by the Sierra Club. This year is was cosponsored by the American Planning and Civic As-

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sociation, the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, the Izaak Walton League of America, the National Parks Association, the Wilderness Society and the California Academy of Sciences. Directors of the principal Federal land administering agencies presented 5 of the 16 papers and took part in the discussions.

The conference voted all recommendations at its closing session, as in previous conferences. All votes were voice votes and all but a minor one of the eight resolutions were voted unanimously. Federal agencies were considered as abstaining inasmuch as they had not yet determined the relation of the recommendations to the President's program.

Text of the recommendations follows:

1. Outdoor recreation resources review

A satisfactory and well-rounded standard of life for our growing population calls for enhanced appreciation of outdoor scenic and recreational values.

Exactly what acreage is required for fulfilment of the various needs is unknown, but it is known that numerous superb areas, small and large, have been lost, or have been whittled away during the past decade, and more are slated for destruction. It is also known that areas not specifically set aside for protection with strict boundaries and with strict standards of quality have little chance for survival in our civilization.

The valid pressures for raw materials including water; agricultural products; military requirements; transportation; growing urbanization and industrialization; and commercial, mechanized recreation, and mass entertainment are of such great intensity that in our preoccupation with them, we could lose sight of scientific and inspirational values. This great and prosperous Nation can afford to give attention to the values which are more than material and are indispensable to the welfare of our people.

Developmental and resource surveys have been undertaken for land and water uses, including forest products, minerals, water, highway, military, and urban development. However, these surveys have to date given scant, if any, consideration to wilderness and other scenic and outdoor recreational needs.

It is essential to know before it is too late that wilderness, wildlife, scenic, and other outdoor recreational resources still are available, where they are, and what is the type and quality of each, and their relation to the preservation of wilderness. It is also essential to estimate how many and what types of each we shall need in fifty and a hundred years, and how we may best save those selected for preservation with high standards of size and quality in perpetuity. If the opportunity remaining to save these outdoor recreational resources is lost now, it will be lost forever.

To this end, we recommend in principle the outdoor recreation resources review bill, S. 846, H. R. 3592, and others.

We further recommend legislative provision for temporary protected status, pending completion of the inventory contemplated in the outdoor recreation resources review, of certain lands of probable high scenic, recreational, and scientific potential as determined by the Commission; on lands so protected there should be no intrusion or

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development that would preclude their subsequent use in the highest public good in accordance with criteria developed in the course of the inventory.

We urge that the legislation establishing the survey not be misinterpreted so as to interfere with the adoption of other legislation to provide for the immediate protection of wilderness and of resources in need of such immediate action.

2. Basic wilderness protection

In accordance with proposals made, studied, and developed in 1951 and 1953, during the Second and Third Biennial Wilderness Conferences, the Fourth Biennial Wilderness Conference meeting in Berkeley, Calif., 2 years ago on March 19, 1955, adopted a "major recommendation" urging basic Federal legislation for wilderness preservation. This resolution was as follows:

> We recommend basic legislation, or a join resolution of Congress, to establish a system of wilderness areas and to provide for their protection specifically by law regardless of what agency they may be under at present. However, we recommend that the agencies at present administering these areas continue to administer them.

The Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference, meeting in San Francisco, Calif., on March 16, 1957, is encouraged to note that such legislation has now been introduced in the Congress of the United States.

Commonly known as the wilderness bill, S. 1176 in the Senate, and a series of similar measures in the House of Representatives have been sponsored by a number of legislators in the Senate by Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota and a group of cosponsors of both political parties from coast to coast; Senators Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine; Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Pennsylvania; Frank J. Lausche, of Ohio; Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois; Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin; Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota; James D. Murray, of Montana; Warren G. Magnuson and Henry M. Jackson, of Washington; and Wayne Morse and Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon; in the House of Representatives John F. Baldwin, Jr., and George P. Miller, of California; Lee Metcalf, of Montana; Henry S. Ruess, of Wisconsin; Barratt O'Hara, of Illinois; and John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania.

We recommend these legislators for their leadership in sponsoring this measure and, supporting the bill in principle, we urge that it be further studied through adequate hearings, clarified, perfected, and enacted.

We believe that large-size wilderness should be protected in perpetuity under true wilderness conditions, and that its preservation is essential to the cultural, historic, esthetic, recreational, and scientific needs of the country, and to the physical well-being of all its people. To provide therefor, we conclude that—

1. A continental wilderness system representing all major types of wilderness must be established firmly, to include units of such quality, size, and variety as to provide adequate scope and space.

2. Most of the units that qualify for this system have either already been designated by the Forest Service, or exist without specific designation on national forests or on lands administered by the National Park Service and by other Government agencies, and these agencies should continue to protect the areas of wilderness on the lands under their jurisdiction.

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3. Inasmuch as the mounting pressures for raw materials and development are predictably capable of encroaching upon and modifying all the remaining natural land of the country, it is now necessary (*a*) to make the clearest possible statement of national wilderness policy, (*b*) to reinforce it with full public understanding of wilderness values, and (*c*) to provide maximum legislative and administrative protection.

4. Administrative agencies are to be commended for advancing the concept of wilderness protection. Without specific legislative authority and review, however, some agencies cannot now withstand mounting pressures for commodity development on lands that should remain wild, and other agencies are becoming progressively less able to do so. A clear legislative basis for wilderness protection is needed.

The Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference accordingly endorses the national wilderness preservation system bill, realizing that this generation's decision to preserve wilderness will be subject to each succeeding generation's review, but that it will not have this choice unless an adequate preservation program is now developed.

3. Arctic wilderness

Virtually all of northeast Alaska lying east of the Canning and upper Chandalar Rivers and Old Woman Creek and north of latitude 65° 15′ N. is still a primeval Arctic wilderness not elsewhere duplicated in our Nation, and studies indicate that the highest and most productive and sustained economic, scientific, and cultural use of this area, for Alaskans and for the entire Nation, will be as a perpetual wilderness.

We recommend that the Bureau of Land Management formally designate and administer this area as an Arctic wilderness; that the assistance of appropriate sister agencies be invoked where advisable, and that suitable regulations be established to recognize and perpetuate its primitive conditions and to encourage all types of economic and cultural use that are compatible with the paramount objective of maintaining unimpaired the ecological conditions within the area;

We further recommend with regard to other areas in the Brooks Range that a cooperative investigation be made by Alaskans, by the Bureau of Land Management and appropriate sister agencies, and by wilderness organizations looking toward the establishment of additional wilderness areas in the Brooks Range.

4. Three Sisters wilderness, Oregon

In order to permit further consideration of the wilderness terrain of the Three Sisters region before irreversible action has been taken to destroy it, we recommend that the 53,000-acre portion not included in the Three Sisters wilderness area be allowed to continue in its present primitive condition, without roads and without logging, at least until the completion of such studies as contemplated in the proposed Outdoor Recreation Resources Review, including an evaluation of the relation of the Three Sisters to the national requirement for wilderness preservation.

5. Northern Cascades of Washington

We recommend that the Forest Service invite the participation of other public agencies and qualified representatives of the public in a

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continuation and broadening of the land-management study of the wild and superlatively scenic areas of the Northern Cascades of Washington between Stevens Pass and the Canadian boundary, to the end that the highest public use of this area may be assured in the long run.

6. Nonconforming uses in wilderness

We are disturbed by the existence of certain nonconforming practices within certain wilderness areas which now undermine and which, if not checked, will destroy the wilderness values of these areas. Among these practices are prospecting and mining, the building of access roads to mines and other inholdings, and the landing of private planes on inholdings and in wilderness areas.

We recommend, therefore, that wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas be withdrawn from mineral entry, the landing of airplanes within these areas be terminated, and vested rights and inholdings be purchased so that nonconforming uses may be excluded from these areas.

7. Wilderness of the Olympic Strip, Washington

We recommend that the ocean strip, which is part of Olympic National Park and which contains the last primitive beach in the United States, should be preserved as wilderness, and that in order to provide for this preservation the National Park Service should acquire sufficient land adjacent thereto to accommodate any coastal highway constructed in this region.

8. 1959 conference

We recommend that the continuity of the wilderness conferences over the past years be continued for the future under a chairman to be named by the Sierra Club as the sponsoring organization.

The Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference, convened as Alexander Hildebrand, president of the Sierra Club and presiding officer of the conference, called the conference to order and welcomed the participants. After which Father John Duryea of San Jose, Calif., gave an invocation.

George L. Collins, division chief of recreation planning, region 4, National Park Service; and chairman, 1957 Wilderness Conference, outlined the plans and procedures for the conference.

On the first day, Our Scenic Open-Space Resources—a review, was discussed.

The session chairman was David R. Brower, executive director, Sierra Club.

Lowell Sumner, biologist, National Park Service, spoke on the effects of increasing pressures of civilization on man and on wilderness as a result of population increase. He referred to the international symposium of 70 scientists, Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, 1955, which produced "staggering evidence that the results of man's activities are now comparable in magnitude to those of major climatic, ecological, and geologic forces. These findings underline the urgency of protecting our relatively wild areas while there is still time."

Mr. Sumner traced in detail what happens to a colony of beavers with increasing population and how the processes set in motion parallel the rise and fall of great civilizations. Shortages of basic

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natural resources begin to be felt in the beaver colony as numbers reach a certain point. They have to go farther and farther to obtain their essential supplies of aspens, alders, and willows. This extra work reduces the energy of the community, and the consumption of protective covering along their canals exposes them to their enemies. As the vitality of the community drops, work is neglected and eventually canals are abandoned, dams are not repaired in time, water levels drop, lodges are exposed. There is more toil with less results, malnutrition, declining fertility, stress disease, more deaths from sickness and enemies.

Man faces similar dangers as population increases and living becomes more complex, and as he forgets that land and its proper treatment is basic to his civilization. Restrictions on personal freedom resulting from overcomplex living conditions, overcrowding of public facilities, higher costs reflecting scarcity are biological symptoms of population saturation. For man as for beavers, the time inevitably approaches when food supplies, living space, and natural resources will be insufficient to maintain the current rate of world population expansion. Man will either have to learn to peacefully regulate his own numbers or undergo a devastating and possibly irreversible decline.

Mounting stress is a more recently recognized aspect of population overexpansion. Game biologists are finding that when animal communities multiply until they reduce their habitat to a biological slum, a mounting irritability toward their companions and neighbors results. Physical health declines and stress damage appears in internal organs. Recent medical research indicates that for human beings as well as for animals stress is a more deep-seated, prevalent, and damaging condition than previously realized and is a factor in a large percentage of illness.

It becomes clearer that as the pressures of civilization continue to increase, the therapeutic benefits of wilderness and natural areas, the philosophy, understanding, and serenity derived from contact with them, will be more and more needed by everyone.

If this need is recognized widely enough, and soon enough—and provided nations learn to regulate their populations in peaceful and humane ways—we can hope to keep wilderness for tranquility and healing always.

Olaus J. Murie, president and director, the Wilderness Society, said he would not deny a certain esthetic awareness by the beaver, but felt man has a more complex problem than the beaver—he not only wants to keep alive, but also craves certain esthetic experiences which enrich his life. He wants quality in living, not merely existence.

Sigurd F. Olsen, president, National Parks Association, believed the human mind, which has made possible our living standards of today, will be able to correct the population explosion before it is too late. He was appalled at the rapid industrial and suburban development in formerly rural areas.

Fred Packard, executive secretary, National Parks Association, believed that too many American businessmen do not comprehend the problems of conservation, but think rather in terms of expanded units of business. He was encouraged, however, at the progress being made in bringing conservation information to the industrial world.

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Father Duryea stated that we have a trusteeship over our land and that as custodians there is imposed on us a need for discipline in all things. Many people use resources only for material gain thus not carrying out the full trusteeship which has been given to us.

Pat Thompson, former regional forester, California region, said he is a supporter of wilderness. Some industries, he added, believe in conservation, which means wise use—something more than locking up certain areas. Too much population will sooner or later destroy wilderness, he predicted.

John W. Spencer, former regional forester, Rocky Mountain region, believed that the same forces which threaten wildlife populations also threaten man. He hated to think the future of the human intelligence would solve its problems. He spoke highly of the educational work of the Sierra Club, Izaak Walton League, and other conservation groups.

WILDERNESS AND CULTURE

A. Starker Leopold, associate professor of zoology, University of California, Berkeley, member of Wilderness Society Council, and president of Wildlife Society, speaking on wilderness and the humanities, pointed out that until about a hundred years ago "culture and the humanities flourished as the wilderness was conquered and left behind." Then a remarkable thing happened to men's attitude toward undisturbed nature which was equivalent to a macromutation in organic evolution. Zoos, botanical gardens, and hunting preserves existed previously; but philosophically there is a great difference between them and a respect for nature as it originally existed. From an old-age tradition of conquest and subjugation of nature and wilderness, suddenly came a sense of obligation to preserve untrammeled some remnants of the natural scene.

This new idea was symbolized by the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, and it soon swept from continent to continent. However, this idea has had its own development. Starting with a preservation of geologic wonders, it spread to the preservation of extraordinary plant life—the Big Tree. Consideration of native animals came later, and at first just to so-called good species like deer were included. Wolves, coyotes, and mountain lions were considered bad actors to be rigidly controlled in accordance with the commonsense policy of the day. The idea of leaving substantial blocks of the national parks undeveloped and in true wilderness as a matter of policy also came long after the parks were first established.

There is one striking exception to the trend toward naturalness in park preservation—"the complete exclusion of green from all such areas, even those that burned naturally every year or two before becoming parks. Fire is declared evil and destructive just as coyotes and mountain lions were designated as evil and destructive in parks 25 years ago. Ground fires some day will be reinstated in the regime of natural factors permitted to maintain the parks in something resembling virgin state."

National wildlife refuges were created at the same time as the earlier parks. The great system of national-forest wilderness areas, along with State and municipal parks, came later.

"Most renewable natural resources, it is agreed, are to be used, wisely and with due provision for maintained yield. But some areas are to

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be excluded from this plan and kept for the wonder and edification of the citizen." These two concepts are now recognized on an international level. "The natural scene now commands respect. Its preservation is accepted as moral and proper." Often, however, the pressures of economic need and exploding human populations make the cause of preserving natural area seem almost hopeless. Yet, the effort is gaining in strength, not losing.

"The only possible force that could be motivating the effort to preserve natural areas is the moral conviction that it is right, that somehow we owe it to ourselves and to the good earth that supports us to curb our avarice to the extent of leaving some spots untouched and unexploited."

The future philosopher scanning human history will see this century as "a time of outstanding advance in man's feeling of responsibility to the earth. Whether man can succeed in preserving an attractive and livable world is the problem that lies ahead of us. But the general acceptance of this as an objective is certainly step one in accomplishment."

Richard M. Leonard, Sierra Club officer, said that he was on the side of the optimists concerning the future of conservation and the welfare of mankind.

The fact that man does have the unique mental capacity to be concerned with the future, gives him the opportunity to do something about it. The very fact that the explosion of population in recent decades has intensified dramatically the damage to our natural resources, makes it possible to recognize the injury as being the result of mistakes by man, and not the unfortunate whim of changes in climate or "acts of God." This knowledge of the cause of the damage enables man to plan corrective action.

The accomplishments of the past several decades in the preservation of our natural resources, Mr. Leonard went on to say, indicate that we are gaining more than we are losing. He pointed as examples to the increased strength or relatively recent concepts of formal programs for conservation of forests, water, soil, and wildlife, and the control of water and air pollution; and to "the unique American National Park System and form a dedication of wilderness areas" which is spreading with "increased strength to every continent." The fact that mankind will so strongly defend intangible values of his natural resources places him far above the "social animals" such as the ant, the bee, and the beaver, who do plan ahead, but primarily for their own material benefit.

Charlotte E. Mauk, Sierra Club director, said that people learn to appreciate nature by contact with it; and that among other things, we need to educate our children to appreciate scenic values close at home, including those in our city parks.

Harlean James, executive secretary of the American Planning and Civic Association, as session vice chairman, opened the discussions of What's left of our scenic open spaces? by briefly reviewing the background of the creation of our national park system, our system of national forest wilderness areas, and the preservation of wilderness and wildlife by the Fish and Wildlife Service, by the Bureau of Land Management, and by tribal control on Indian lands.

Miss James spoke especially of the work of J. Horace McFarland and Frederick Law Olmsted, which resulted in the establishment of a Federal agency to administer the national parks. When Stephen

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Mather and Horace Albright were brought to Washington, the work of the combined forces resulted in the passage of the National Park Act of 1916 which created the national park system.

Harold S. Wagner, Metropolitan Park Board, Akron, Ohio, discussed problems of the preservation of municipal, county, and State "open spaces on all levels," he said, "is just as much a steady job as is the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness." When you build a public park through acquiring the land and developing it, too often when the public arrives the scene changes and in place of building for the people, "the task seems to become one of preserving the park against the people." However, there are many fine examples of open-space preservation in large and small cities in America and abroad.

Establishing county parks in suburban areas is made difficult by a feeling of those who come out to the areas that they do not need such public facilities. Their preservation is made difficult by suburban and State services seeking "free land, meaning land acquired by another public agency." The problem of highways is especially serious.

The referendum in New York State which defeated the attempts to build Panther Mountain Dam and which protected the Adirondack forest preserve for the future was one of the most important preservation victories on any level of government.

"It is in the towns and the cities and in the suburban fringes," Mr. Wagner concluded, "that the support for open space and wilderness preservation is to be found." He felt furthermore that "the knowledge and the appreciation of a majority of the people will be developed more largely out of pleasant experiences and contact with fine examples of scenic open space and wilderness. The boys and girls, the young men and women, who find the value of scenic open spaces of a local and even mediocre character will grow up into the job of preserving the superlative areas. First of all, we have got to believe that "nothing succeeds like successors."

Joseph W. Penfold, national conservation director, Izaak Walton League of America, said that in order to answer the question "What's left of our scenic open spaces?" we must develop and agree to definitions and criteria for "scenic open spaces," must gain general public acceptance of them, must inventory and evaluate scenic open spaces, and recognize their relation to all our other resources. Then, perhaps, we can develop plans and programs by which they may become an enduring part of the entire resource-use pattern.

"If 'scenic open spaces' means space relatively untouched by man, our Nation certainly had an abundance from the start"—about 600 acres per capita. The acreage dropped to 60 in the ensuing 77 years, Alaska included. Today, there are only 13.8 acres per capita. This figure will decline still further to 10 for our children and 8 for our grandchildren—8 acres each to satisfy all their wants, necessities, and luxuries, and within which they must "satisfy their longings for space, for beauty, for natural grandeur, for adventure, for all opportunity." "There is no synthetic substitute for space."

The problem is made more complex by the large amounts of space taken by airports, modern highways, suburbs, parking areas. Five hundred thousand acres alone is taken up by America's automobiles and trucks just bumper to bumper. Pressure on limited resources increases also through economic betterment—higher wages, shorter

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hours, longer vacations, better roads, and faster transportation all contribute.

In one State the number of fishermen has doubled since the war and they fish twice as often. Hence fishing pressure has quadrupled. Similar pressure patterns can be noted on all types of use of scenic open space. Technology is also diminishing open spaces. More efficient farming uses up the field corners to avoid waste; but it was these corners and fence lines which produce upland birds and game. Trends in resource management before long will give wildlands more of the characteristics of cultivated lands, "whether the objective be grass for livestock, forage for deer, optimum yield of timber, watershed management for optimum water production, or trout hatchery programs."

To meet the obvious demands of the people, science has been efficiently applied to resource management. "We use more paper, so we plant and harvest more pulpwood. There are more fishermen so we plant more fish. More people, more bathrooms and baths, more water-using gadgets, so we divert more streams. In none of these efforts do we attempt to meet the total needs of the people. Hence, too frequently in achieving one desirable objective we have been equally successful in thwarting other desirable objectives.

We can recognize, then, that no resource use is independent of all others. "Protection of parks, wilderness, wildlife refuges, and other dedicated areas is no more independent of what happens on all other lands than they are of a vastly increased population with more time and inclination to make use of them. Maybe there is truth in the thought that preservation of wilderness will depend far more on what we do outside of the wilderness than what we do with wilderness." Wilderness preservation is an integral part of the overall land-management pattern.

"We must develop a conscience toward all scenic potentials if we are to hope that any of them may endure."

"David Brower and the Sierra Club," Mr. Penfold continued, "have brilliantly conceived and proposed a 'scenic resources review.'" The Anderson-Aspinall bill, now before Congress, would set up a commission to make a broad study, inventory, and evaluation of all outdoor recreation resources encompassed in the club's proposal. It would be important, in this connection, for conservationists to develop a set of definitions and criteria which would result in refining standards for evaluation of scenic resources with greater accuracy and precision. Mr. Penfold referred to his suggestion at the Third Wilderness Conference of using the word "isoprim" to designate the degree of primitiveness or wildness. He suggested the coining of another term—"isoscene."

In conclusion he spoke of the "tremendous opportunity to demonstrate and secure understanding of the truth that our scenic resources are very few in relation to our ability to diminish or destroy them, and very extensive if we have the will to discipline ourselves in accordance with our total needs."

Lee M. Talbot, graduate student in wildlife conservation, University of California, Berkeley, and former student of endangered species for the International Union for Conservation, said there are remarkably few truly wild areas left in the world. They have slipped away

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from most of the world so slowly that they have gone largely unnoticed. In the United States the process has been so rapid that it brought about an awareness of the need to save wilderness. In Europe, Asia, and Africa the land often has had a continuous history of intensive land use and development for 6,000 years. The world's arid lands are strewn with remains of past civilizations, reminders of times before man cut down, overgrazed, and eroded away the last life from these lands. In the Tropics, nature quickly covers abandoned fields and cities with dense foliage.

"The modern philosophy of wilderness as a public trust," Mr. Talbot continued, "is very largely American. With virtually no exceptions, present-day provisions for wilderness in other lands stem from the example of the national parks of the United States." Among the finest wilderness areas in the world are the national parks of the Belgian Congo, first established in 1925, in part owing to the work of Carl Akeley and following a visit of King Albert to our national parks. Their 6½ million acres conserve intact the flora, fauna, and topography representative of central Africa. However, the finest remaining concentration of plains wildlife in the world in the Serengiti Plains in Tanganyika is now in danger of destruction through the opening of the national park this year to exploitation. International action started by American and British conservationists and the International Union for Conservation has halted this action, but the outcome is uncertain.

William C. Yoemans, Alameda County, Calif., thought that too many people are unable to discover wilderness except by chance, as he did.

John Barnard, Mill Valley, Calif., asked whether there are any preserves in Europe equivalent to our national or State parks. Mr. Talbot responded that there is no true wilderness as such, but there are some old hunting areas which once belonged to royal families.

Marshall N. Dana, chairman, recreation subcommittee, Columbia Basin Interagency Commission, after appraising the day's discussion, spoke of the need to secure the support of informed, sympathetic, and active public opinion.

When the 100 million who visited our national parks and national forests last year "pick up their beer bottles, their paper plates, their uneaten food, and their Sunday supplements, I will be prepared to believe they are genuinely supporters of the wilderness program. We are compelled to meet the test of our fitness for our wilderness. We are called upon to think of wilderness in relationship to common lives and common happiness of a great many people."

Mr. Dana posed the question of whether highways and airports which appropriate areas which are needed for wilderness do not take travelers into space which leads to exaltation of mind.

In conclusion, he pointed out that wilderness is more than a "chunk of terrain"; it is a "state of mind, of heart, and soul. One may have a beautiful bit of wilderness in his own spirit. Thus, he can enjoy a zone of calm which protects him from the strains and stresses of life."

Martin Litton, Sierra Club and travel editor, Sunset Magazine, said that you can only have wilderness in your mind if it exists somewhere on the ground; he likened this relationship to a dollar bill,

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which has value not in its paper and ink, but in what exists to back it up.

Mr. Olson thought people are learning fast to cherish wild places and not to despoil them. He felt much more educational work was needed and spoke of what Keep America Beautiful and other groups are doing in this direction.

"We are children of the earth," he added, and therefore must see tangible evidences of wilderness to understand what wilderness is.

Edgar Wayburn, chairman, conservation committee, Sierra Club, pointed out that changes are being made to wilderness day by day at hearings by legislatures, and by administrative bodies regardless of philosophies. Broad philosophies are not enough; it is the little things that count in the fate of wilderness.

James P. Gilligan, associate professor of forestry, Oklahoma A. and M., suggested that if we want wilderness we must face the following practical questions:

1. With the Forest Service tending more toward mechanization, are we willing to keep our mechanization and let sizable acreages of wilderness burn?
2. Are we willing to let large populations use wilderness?
3. Are we willing to pay higher prices for minerals and accept lower-grade wood products?
4. Are we willing to resist mass demands for better and shorter transportation routes?
5. Are we willing to have less water available in wilderness areas than might be possible?

Miss Mauk said that although the actual cost per day for a wilderness trip has tripled in the last several years, we are willing to pay this increased amount for a true wilderness experience; but that we are unwilling to pay more for an impaired resource that we no longer want.

Following the banquet, a group from the California Academy of Sciences discussed the Waning Wilderness of the Seashore.

Robert T. Orr discussed the effect of pollution from dumps and sewage, and the fill-in of land for houses, roads, and airports on ecological relations and animal life on mud flats and tide-grass areas, and urged that more areas be set aside for preservation in their natural condition, and that better antipollution laws be passed.

Allyn S. Smith, speaking on Seashells and Serendipity, presented some similar problems and described the overcropping of underwater fauna on the ocean bottom near the seashore. Earl S. Herald told how the increase of underwater spearing in certain areas had done away with certain species and is threatening others.

Robert C. Miller told of seashore reserves on the Pacific coast, the program of the California Department of Beaches and Parks, and the need for legislation to curb the depredations of skin divers. Certain underwater areas must be set aside where the water, sea bottom, and shore are left undisturbed. He also spoke of national seashore reserves, including the wilderness beach with no roads in Olympic National Park, and of his alarm that if shoreline roads are built in Olympic park they will destroy that wonderful shoreline area.

Second day: The national wilderness system.

Session chairman: Howard Zahniser, executive secretary, the Wilderness Society.

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Dr. Jacob Long, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, gave an invocation.

Edward Woozley, Director, Bureau of Land Management, described the expanding work of the Bureau of Land Management in administering 178 million acres of unreserved public domain lands in continental United States and more than 290 million acres in Alaska. He spoke of the impact of the $250 million range-rehabilitation program in overcoming objections to the removal of potential recreation sites from grazing lands and in reducing pressures for extension of livestock grazing into wilderness and other recreation areas. He added that it was his feeling that "the more we control erosion, grow grass and ranges, raise more timber and husband and make optimum use of the minerals in proven districts, the more land there will be that can be added to the already extensive areas devoted to outdoor recreation and wilderness use." An inventory of present and future needs, including recreation, would be helpful.

Unlike some other agencies, Mr. Woozley pointed out, the Bureau of Land Management has no large areas specifically reserved for wilderness purposes. However, some of the lands withdrawn from the public domain in the past are now a part of wilderness. When these lands were withdrawn they went under the management of the agency requesting the reservation.

Don C. Foster, Portland area director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, commented that most of those in the Indian Service "appreciate the public benefits that would result from the establishment of a national wilderness system. In fact, wherever Indian lands can and should be properly set aside as wilderness areas without violating the rights and prerogatives of the owners, I am sure you will find us among the ranks of the many agencies and organizations cooperating to achieve the purposes that have been emphasized at this conference."

He pointed out that this Agency, unlike the Forest Service, National Park Service, and Bureau of Land Management, is not the custodian and administrator of public lands. The Agency acts as trustee for lands which belong either to Indian tribal groups or individual Indians, and must give full consideration to the desires and interests of the Indian owners.

The principal problem facing the Indian Bureau today is "too many people and not enough land." This has led the Bureau to place greater emphasis on broader opportunities for Indians. Its three-point program includes a better health program, improved educational facilities, and economic development, including the development of reservation resources.

Mr. Foster spoke of the fine wilderness territory of the Four Corners area where Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona meet. Because of its great oil and gas potential it is now being "developed," returning large sums of money to the Navajo Tribe. However, he pointed out that not many Indian lands have such great economic values.

In conclusions he said (1) no Indian lands should be set aside for wilderness purposes unless the Indians approve such action; and (2) if lands are set aside for wilderness areas, the Indians should be fully and fairly compensated for loss of any other values that may be involved.

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Daniel H. Janzen, Director, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, said that "wilderness is absolutely essential to a number of our interesting and important species of North American wildlife." Natural areas on many national wildlife refuges are kept free of habitat manipulation. They are not only important to those animal species depending on such an environment; they also contribute to the preservation of unique forms of plant ecology. They too are valuable for comparing fauna and flora characteristics with those lands subject to multiple use and management for the production of game.

In conclusions, Mr. Janzen stated, "Wilderness areas are wildlife reservoirs which often aid in the natural stocking of more accessible areas that are heavily used by sportsmen, and they furnish very high quality hunting and fishing for those who are willing to earn it. It would be a disservice to the people to provide easy access to these wildlife resources, since the capacity of many of the present wilderness areas, particularly those in high mountain country is limited in their ability to produce wildlife. Because of the rather limited and fixed capacity of these remote areas to sustain wildlife populations, they cannot support the greatly increased hunting and fishing pressure that would follow in the absence of strict control over access by the airplane and other mechanized transportation. In other words, easy access to a wild area is often akin to killing the goose that laid the golden egg. The hunting and fishing areas that remain accessible only by trail and canoe will become of great value to the public as population expands. The value represented in these areas can be quickly destroyed through making them too easily available.

Luella Sawyer, Sierra Club and editor, Western Outdoor Quarterly, asked Mr. Woozley what was planned to be done to rehabilitate lands in the Southwest taken by the military during the war but now abandoned. Mr. Woozley answered that some have not been returned to the public doman, and others which have not been decontaminated and that it is up to the military to do this.

Mr. Packard asked Mr. Janzen what the impact is of what the military is doing on land use and wildlife. Mr. Janzen answered that his Bureau was under constant pressure, but it has succeeded to date in warding off encroachments of the military.

Dr. Murie complimented the Bureau of Land Management on its program to fight forest fires in interior Alaska—a matter which for many years has been ignored by Alaskans with the result that much of interior Alaska has been burned up.

Turning to an issue of the Crow Indian Reservation, Dr. Murie said that a number of years ago the Bureau of Reclamation decided to build a dam in Bighorn Canyon, on Indian lands, naming it "Yellowtail Dam." The Crow chief, Robert Yellowtail, said to him several years ago, "They thought they would win our approval by putting my name on the dam." However, recently the Bureau of Reclamation has put before the Indians the bait of several million dollars to be paid to them for the privilege of building the dam. Unfortunately, the younger Indians have fallen for this bait, and want those millions of dollars at the expense of losing one of the beautiful canyons of our country. The older Indians, and Robert Yellowtail, still stick to the principles involved. This is another instance of the unpreparedness

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of the Indian to cope with the wiles of the white man, especially where exercised by a well-financed bureau of our Government.

Dr. Leopold asked whether it would be feasible, in planning for wilderness preservation in Alaska, to develop an interagency handling of resources for parks, wilderness, and recreation. Mr. Woozley replied that there is need for coordination of the five Federal land-management agencies in Alaska to prepare an overall land-management plan including full recognition of the need for the establishment of large wilderness areas to preserve various species of fauna and flora and the scenic values of Alaska.

Clarence Rhode of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in Alaska agreed that we should work toward a coordinated program to plan for wilderness preservation in Alaska.

Seth Gordon, the director of the department of fish and game, in California, asked Mr. Woozley whether all coastal lands are now withdrawn from further disposal. Mr. Woozley replied that his bureau had suspended action on all applications for disposal of any land bordering the Pacific Ocean until the completion of a seashore study.

Richard E. McArdle, chief of the United States Forest Service, said that the Department of Agriculture has recognized the desirability of protecting and preserving wilderness for a long time, and will continue to do so. The Forest Service believes that wilderness is a valuable use of national-forest resources.

Mr. McArdle traced the development of the National Forest Wilderness System from the first formal recognition of wilderness as a significant national-forest use in the early 1920's to the present when there are 12 wilderness areas totaling 3,969,000 acres; 23 wild areas totaling 815,000 acres; 3 roadless areas totaling 814,000 acres; and 43 primitive areas totaling 8,252,000 acres, a grand total of 81 units with 13,850,000 acres. He also mentioned three new wilderness areas which have been proposed: Tracy Arm-Fords Terror area in Alaska, Jarbridge area in Nevada, and Glacier Peak in Washington.

He continued, "Use for wilderness purposes of large areas of national forest is an important use, a desirable use * * * but it is only one of many important uses of a national forest * * *. There is not enough national forest to satisfy all the needs of our growing population * * *. That is why we stress multiple use and sustained yield of resources and services" for the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run. "Wilderness is a special problem because use for this purpose does not lend itself to sharing an area with many other uses."

"Wilderness areas must be managed and protected in order to remain useful as wilderness. That is a difficult and often rather costly job. Although legislation might be helpful in resolving some of these difficulties, many of them are administrative problems which can't be solved by legislation."

"Forest establishment as a wilderness area does not guarantee preservation of resource value. Fire, insects, disease, and windthrow are constant threats not only to forests in the wilderness area, but there is also the ever-present danger that big fires or disease or insect epidemics may spread to adjoining lands outside the wilderness." "Quick access is the key to fire control"; but you don't have it if you have wilderness.

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Mr. McArdle added that wilderness costs something and these costs are increasing. Part of them is "measured in terms of what you can't have if you do have wilderness—less timber, less forage, less water, less opportunity for people to enjoy the best scenery, and so on."

"Practically every wilderness area contains timber, minerals, water, and vast opportunities for mass recreation which in time may be needed by our growing population. If the need for these resources becomes critical there will be public demand to modify the wilderness so that these resources may be used. The time may come when there will be a showdown between fully appraised wilderness values versus other values."

"The best way to avoid that pressure on wilderness," Mr. McArdle suggested, "is to provide an adequate supply of other resources by good multiple use in nonwilderness areas." Similarly, to meet growing pressure for mass recreational use, including greater accessibility to motor transport, the best job is needed to develop and protect all the mass-creation opportunities on all landownerships. The Forest Service's Operation Outdoors is a part of this program.

In regard to the wilderness bills introduced in Congress, Mr. McArdle said he is "In sympathy with the general objectives of these proposals and believes that it would be helpful if Congress were to enunciate a policy on wilderness so that administrators of public lands would have some direct guidance from Congress as to the protection and preservation of wilderness and the objectives of wilderness management. This statement," he added, "should not be construed as specific approval by me or by the Forest Service of the present specific legislative proposals * * * We are studying them carefully. The Department has not yet made its report, and I am not at liberty to discuss the bills except in very general terms."

Referring to Dr. McArdle's major concern with fire protection in wilderness and the limitations of smokejumpers, I asked if the Forest Service could develop a research program in the use of "tamed fire" as opposed to wild fire, and could also develop figures relating to fire roads versus helicopters with respect to present relative costs and trend in relative costs. I urged that the Service not limit its concept of the use of wilderness to those few who actually set foot on it, and pointed out that wilderness, like the rare California condor, was of value to many people who were content merely to know that they still existed. I also urged the Service to make an appraisal of the long-range value of all the multiple uses of the forests that were compatible with wilderness, and that the Service undertake to ascertain the human carrying capacity of wilderness.

Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, said, "An adequate National Park System should have plenty of room in it for wilderness." The idea of wilderness and its preservation, however, involves "far more than mere roadlessness, although an important element of a wilderness preservation program is the retention of large roadless areas. As we build a road into Wonder Lake in Mount McKinley National Park that does not mean that the park is no longer a wilderness. The road is a wilderness road, to bring people into the wilderness, as John Muir advocated. Some magnificant wilderness can be seen from our roads."

"Wilderness preservation is complex and positive." In the national park we try to preserve the integrity of the intricate interre-

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lated mechanism of nature—the wholeness or completeness of nature. "Under this concept, the building of a road or trail into it may be far less destructive of the natural character than are such activities as hunting, predatory-animal control and the grazing of domestic livestock."

Muir "was not one who urged that wilderness should be preserved for wilderness' sake. Far from it. He worked tirelessly to preserve wilderness and to bring people into it for the pleasure and good they would get out of it. This, to my way of thinking, is the very essence of the park conservation program."

The Park Service recently has prepared a statement on preservation of natural and wilderness values in national parks. It explains that "preserving the natural character and integrity of the parks means protecting them from logging, grazing, mining, water storage projects, hunting and trapping, and, if possible, acquiring the inholdings of private lands before they are put to uses utterly destructive of park values."

To learn how to use wilderness best, Mr. Wirth continued, is difficult and the many different views "over the kind of facilities to be provided for park visitors are growing pains in the slowly evolving art of wilderness use." Therefore because of the intangible values involved and diversity of reaction to them, our approach to the problem must be a cautious one."

In general, different parks with different characteristics require different plans of development. The Park Service therefore has no set formula or plan of development for all parks, just as it has no one master plan for trails and architecture or road systems.

Mr. Wirth went on to discuss briefly some of the opportunities of Mission 66, and of the perfecting of a more adequate interpretive program. "Educational or interpretive programs, properly carried out, are the crowning achievement in wilderness use for they help bring the understanding, appreciation, and pleasure in wilderness that Muir must have had in mind."

Mr. Wirth also spoke of the National Park Service's cooperative efforts which he hoped would lead to formulating and publishing "a national outdoor recreation resources plan" by 1961. It will include "a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the wilderness and wild land needs of the country, and a systematic plan for the preservation of the wilderness and wild lands required to meet those needs." He asked for cooperation in formulating and working out such a plan. The need for this recreation survey to national parks was due to their being faced "with a flood-control project," he concluded.

The flood pouring in on us is people. It must be controlled or it will leave a ruined National Park System in its wake. We cannot meet our responsibilities for park protection by meeting the flood at the park gates and trying to control it from there. We need dams and diversions upstream and this will call for action on the part of many agencies.

Howard Zahniser, as summarizer, pointed out that the day's discussion had brought out certain assumptions about wilderness. (1) All our wilderness is in lands serving some other purposes. (2) Our civilization is such that it is destined to occupy for its purposes all the lands we have unless it is checked. (3) Only those areas can be expected to be preserved as wilderness which are deliberately so set

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aside for preservation. (4) Our best practical opportunity for wilderness preservation is through the Federal Government, although in some States wilderness may be preserved by State governments. Lands in private ownership are not areas available for such planning in perpetuity. (5) Our wilderness preservation purposes include perpetuity. "We are trying to keep unchanged by man areas that have grown through the eternity of the past and, although we stand in awe at our presumption, we dare to plan that they may so persist through the eternity yet ahead."

"In the United States, wilderness for the future depends on our success in developing a policy and program that provide for the preservation of wilderness as such, by our Federal Government, with a presumption of perpetuity." We understand, however, that "there can be no sound program for the preservation of something that does not include provision for addition, modification, elimination. The best we can do is to perpetuate the opportunity for perpetuity."

In wilderness we are dealing with a human concept. "We describe an area as wilderness because of a character it has, not because of a particular use it serves. Retaining that character, it can still serve varying and various purposes. Wilderness is not only land with a certain character that can be preserved in varying circumstances. It has been so preserved, for the areas of wilderness we now have are all areas which serve some stated purpose other than the preservation of wilderness as such."

For example, the wilderness of each national park is back country, or foreground, to some unique scenic splendor or complex of wildlife or flora. "We owe the leaders of the National Park Service a great debt for the way in which they have fostered the wilderness idea, but we must recognize that the wilderness concept is compatible with, not identical to, the national park idea—an enrichment certainly of the national park purpose, but not the genesis." Similarly, while wilderness, wild, primitive, and roadless areas serve essential purposes in the national forests of which they are a part, they have retained their wilderness character to a great extent because the administrators of national forests have so managed them. A further example of the secondary reasons for which wilderness areas are preserved is the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge in which wilderness is kept in connection with the administration of the area for wildlife protection.

Despite the difficulties facing wilderness continuance, we still have a remarkable heritage of wilderness available for our use and preservation. There are about 164 units of our Federal wilderness preservation resources comprising some 55 million acres. In addition there are a dozen or so State areas of wilderness aggregating about 3 million acres.

Mr. Zahniser spoke briefly of the discussions at previous biennial wilderness conferences that had to do with the development of Federal legislation to protect a national wilderness system. He quoted the resolution adopted by the fourth—1955—conference and then gave an account of development during the past 2 years which led to the introduction of bills for this purpose in both House and Senate.

Mr. Zahniser went on to describe the main types of units under various agencies in our wilderness system, and then analyzed the main features of the national wilderness system preservation bill which has

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been introduced in the United States Senate by Hubert H. Humphrey and cosponsored by Richard Neuberger and 11 other Senators of both political parties from coast to coast—S. 1176—and by John P. Saylor, Lee Metcalf, and 5 other Congressmen in the House.

Mr. Leonard, recalling observations from the floor that the conference had not dwelt on conservation of commodity resources, said that:

A complex civilization of 2½ billion people, increasing rapidly every day, makes a certain amount of specialization necessary in order to give thorough consideration to each of the myriad parts of the whole. While there have been a number of broad conferences, such as that conducted by Resources for the Future in 1953, most conferences on conservation of natural resources are devoted to an intensive study of a particular part of the whole. Thus we have had the hearings of the President's Water Resources Policy Committee, the annual National Watershed Congress, the American Mining Congress, the North American Wildlife Conference, and a number of conferences on water- and air-pollution control, petroleum conservation, and regional timber conference. Most of those meetings on specialized phases of conservation of natural resources have concentrated on commodity and economic values, and have only incidentally touched wilderness and other intangible values.

That is the reason why the biennial wilderness conferences have concentrated on an intensive study of the problems of preservation and use of wilderness, with contributions this year by more than 400 experts from all parts of North America. The broad conservation of the commodity and economic values of all our natural resources is essential to enable mankind to afford to preserve a substantial portion of the intangible values. But unless at least one of the many resource conferences gives special attention to those intangible values, they may be lost in the apparent urgency of trying to live by bread alone.

I wish to call attention and add to the committee file what was mentioned yesterday, the copy of the book put out under the auspices of the National Resources Council of America entitled "America's National Resources." I am pleased to present it here as the chairman of the committee. The editor, Charles H. Callison, of the National Wildlife Federation, was here and has done an admirable job. I think the committee will find this useful from time to time.

Mr. STONG. I am sure the members of the committee will find it interesting and will read it. Thank you very much.

Mr. BROWER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STONG. The next witness is Mr. Michael Nadel, appearing for the New York State Conservation Council.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL NADEL, NEW YORK STATE CONSERVATION COUNCIL

Mr. NADEL. I am Michael Nadel. I have been requested by the New York State Conservation Council through the council's State representative, Mr. Herman Forster, of New York City, to present a statement in behalf of that organization endorsing the legislation for a national wilderness preservation system.

The New York State Conservation Council is a statewide organization of sportsmen's groups which are affiliated with it on the basis of representation by counties. These affiliations represent in all, I believe, a membership of nearly a million sportsmen.

I am particularly pleased that it has fallen to me, through the circumstance that neither the president of the council, Mr. Robert Thomp-

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son, of Waverly, nor Mr. Forster, the State representative, can be here, because of other commitments, to make this presentation.

For several years I served as a vice president of the New York State Conservation Council and as editor of its quarterly bulletin, before coming to Washington to join the staff of the Wilderness Society as assistant executive secretary. In other respects, also, I have been closely associated with the sportsmen of New York State as a member for four annual terms of the State conservation commissioner's advisory committee on fish and game, as a vice president of the regional Sportsmen's Council of the Marine District of New York State, as a trustee of the Friends of the Forest Preserve, and in other associations in various capacities as an officer, conservation chairman, or editor.

Much of the force of the movement for the preservation of wilderness came from this State. In 1885, 6 years before the Federal law creating the national forests, the State legislature authorized the creation of a State forest preserve, to put a check upon ruinous exploitation of the State's forest lands. Commercial-minded interests found loopholes through which to chisel at the forests, until public indignation at the constitutional convention of 1894 forced an amendment to the State constitution, approved by the voters, granting protection to the forest preserve. The memorable words of the protective clause read:

> The lands of the State, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold, or exchanged, or be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereupon be sold or removed.

Later the words "or destroyed" were added, to prevent flooding of the preserve.

Special interests sought increasingly to corrupt this constitutional protection through crippling amendments, which the people time and again rejected. These efforts caused the great constitutional lawyer, Louis Marshall, the centenary of whose birth was honored in 1956, to address the chairman of the State constitutional convention of 1915, with these remarks:

> If I were asked—

said Louis Marshall—

> to state what the most important action of the convention of 1894 was, I should say, without the slightest hesitation, that it was the adoption of section 7 of article VI [now sec. 1 of art. XIV] of the constitution, which preserved in their wild state the Adirondack and Catskill Forests.

As recently as November 1955, after a series of protracted battles between the conservationists and those who sought without letup to breach the constitutional barrier, the people at the polls voted 1,500,000 to 600,000—almost 3 to 1—against an amendment to build Panther Dam, which would have invaded the forest preserve.

Those who wish to change the "forever wild" provision have an opportunity under the constitution to make their play. But the people also have their choice. They know what they have in their forest preserve wilderness, and they accept the responsibility of keeping it. Thus the people can really have their choice, and support their land administrators against pressures which can prove intolerable.

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The protected wilderness in the Adirondack Forest preserve consists of over 2,200,000 acres within the Adirondack Park, which itself contains over a half million acres. Since this is a State forest preserve, it does not come within the scope of the national wilderness preservation system bill, which pertains only to federally managed lands.

The New York forest preserve is mentioned here as an example in wilderness preservation, through constitutional protection. But the forest preserve has also another importance to the historian of wilderness. It was in the Adirondacks that Bob Marshall, son of Louis Marshall, whom I quoted earlier, developed this rich appreciation of "the freedom of the wilderness," and accumulated that qualitative experience which made him in time one of the eminent exponents of wilderness preservation. With his brother, George, he climbed the 46 peaks in the Adirondacks 4,000 feet or more in elevation. Twenty-one of these 46 peaks are still without trails.

Involved as it has been in the forefront of numerous battles to safeguard the constitutional protection of its State forest preserve against the pressures of powerful commercial interests, or the panic of changing administrators, the New York State Conservation Council has a sense of what is at stake in the national wilderness preservation system bill. As a conservation organization it is conscious of a heritage which it shares with all American citizens in the federally owned lands which would be embraced by this system. Consequently, the council embraces this legislation, and urges your committee to give it favorable consideration.

If I may, Mr. Chairman, I should like to submit for the record as a part of my statement, pages 51 to 60 of the winter-spring 1956–57 number of The Living Wilderness, containing an article I wrote entitled "They Say." This is an account, with exhibits, of the response from individuals, organizations, and newspapers from all parts of the country to this legislation. The following editorials, et cetera, are reproduced within the pages of this article:

Page 51, editorial, The Wilderness Bill, Christian Science Monitor, July 3, 1956.

Page 52, editorial, The Wilderness and the Future, San Francisco Chronicle, April 14, 1957.

Page 53, editorial, Value of Wilderness Areas, Sunday Journal, Portland, Oreg., April 15, 1956.

Page 53, editorial, Man Needs Nature, the New York Times, April 29, 1956.

Page 54, column, Conservation; by John B. Oakes, New York Times, May 13, 1956, February 3, 1957, and March 3, 1957.

Page 55, column, Conservation: Program To Save the Wilds, by John B. Oakes, New York Times, May 5, 1957.

Page 56, column, Woods and Waters, by Jack Van Coevering, Detroit Free Press, April 1, 1956.

Page 57, editorial, The New Wilderness Preservation Bill, Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, June 18, 1956.

Page 58, editorial, The Desert Magazine, March 1957.

Page 59, Bill To Form Wilderness Preserve Appears Again, by James McClatchy, The Sacramento Bee, February 18, 1957.

Page 59, Water Developers Fight Wilderness Area Proposal, by James McClatchy, The Sacrament Bee, February 19, 1957.

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Page 60, The Conservation of Man and Nature, by Paul Shepard, Jr., conservation chairman, National Council of State Garden Clubs, The National Gardener, January-February 1957.

Mr. STONE. This material will be included in the record if not already included in previous insertions.

(The material referred to follows:)

"THEY SAY"

By Michael Nadel[1]

Newspapers, in various cities, magazines, and various organizations have been articulate with regard to the wilderness bill, which The Christian Science Monitor, for example, described in its July 3, 1956, editorial as "a forward-looking measure, worthy of support." Most remarkable, however, in the response to this proposed new act of Congress has been the enthusiastic and urgent correspondence from individuals from every part of the country.

Organizations that have supported the bill by resolution have included the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, the National Council of State Garden Clubs, the National Parks Association, the National Wildlife Federation, the Nature Conservancy, the Sierra Club, The Wilderness Society, and individual chapters or units of the Garden Club of America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Audubon Society, and others.

The Izaak Walton League of America, at its 35th national convention in Washington, D.C., this year, declared that "the protection and perpetuation of wilderness is a major resource conservation principle upon which The Izaak Walton League of America, Inc., was founded," and passed a resolution urging Congress to "enact legislation which shall adopt as a national policy, in the interest of all people of this and succeeding generations, the protection and perpetuation of the remaining areas of wilderness as a part of the total land management programs of executive departments administering the Federal public lands."

Resolutions by the American Forestry Association, the California State Chamber of Commerce, the National Advisory Board Council of the Bureau of Land Management, and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, have expressed opposition to or criticism of the bill.

A few letters also opposing the bill have been received, but letters in overwhelming numbers have come in support of the measure. These letters have come from people in all walks of life—lay people and professional people—people who, in their separate lives and interests, share the same deep concern to preserve the pioneer wilderness heritage in our national parks and monuments, our national forests, our Indian reservations, and our wildlife refuges.

These people—some of them—wrote as heads of families, deeply troubled that their children and heirs might never have the expectation of wilderness experience, unless we act to provide safeguards that are possible now, if we will to provide them. Some of the correspondents were doctors, lawyers, scientists, educators, spiritual leaders, outdoors people, writers, judges—people with a deeplying appreciation of wilderness as a fundamental part of our total life community.

The groundswell began when, on May 24, 1955, Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of The Wilderness Society and editor of The Living Wilderness, presented an address at the National Citizens Planning Conference on Parks and Open Spaces for the American People, in Washington, D. C., on The Need for Wilderness Areas.

Terming this a "significant address," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota inserted it in the Congressional Record for June 1, 1955, and circulated a reprint. The response was marked. A compilation was made of these letters, and excerpts from some of them were inserted by Senator Humphrey, with prefatory remarks, in the Congressional Record for February 29, 1956.

[1] Mr. Nadel, assistant executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, has himself prepared for Senator Humphrey and Representative Saylor the summaries of, and excerpts from the correspondence received with regard to the wilderness bill to which he here refers, and has himself been a key person in the development of the wide interest there has been in this proposal.

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At the same time Senator Humphrey said, in concluding his remarks, that he hoped "to introduce a bill which will establish a wilderness preservation system, thus embodying in legislative form this imaginative proposal which has already attracted such widespread support."

Thus it is a fact that Senator Humphrey's introduction of the wilderness bill on June 7, 1956, was actually in response to the manifest desire on a cross-section of the people from every part of the country with whom the mere idea caught instant fire.

By the time of the bill's introduction the proposal had also been commended in letters that Senator Humphrey cited from Karl W. Onthank, president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs; David R. Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club; Sigurd F. Olson and O. Edward Graves, president and western representative, respectively, of the National Parks Association; Olaus J. Murie, president of The Wilderness Society; and L. H. Dunten, president of the Izaak Walton League of America. These letters along with quotations from press comments were entered in the Congressional Record for June 7, 1956, by Senator Humphrey along with his own remarks on that occasion and remarks also by Senators Richard L. Neuberger and Wayne Morse—and with the full text of the bill. These wilderness bill matters in the June 7 Record have also been reprinted, entitled Wilderness Preservation.

In the House of Representatives, John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, introduced a companion bill. On July 12, 1956, Mr. Saylor's extended remarks interpretive of the bill and the need for it appeared in the Congressional Record. A reprint was broadly distributed, including the full text of the bill, under the title, Saving America's Wilderness.

Again, letters in support of the measure and supporting resolutions by outdoor groups, garden clubs, audubon societies, chapters of the Federation of Women's Clubs, Daughters of the American Revolution, and others—poured in. With the approval of Representative Saylor, who had received the bulk of this followup response, excerpts from the collected letters were put in the Congressional Record for February 11, 1957, by Senator Humphrey with the text of his remarks and the full text of the new bill, S. 1176.

Senator Humphrey's remarks and insertions in the February 11, 1957, Record, along with remarks and quotations by Senator Neuberger have been reprinted under the title The Wilderness Bill.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, July 3, 1956]

THE WILDERNESS BILL

When Europeans first came to what is now the United States they found the wilderness an enemy they must subdue to survive. Houses huddled together and at the very edge of roads still stand in old towns, giving mute testimony to the pioneer's yearning for the company of his fellow men.

Today the picture is reversed. Instead of having to seek for neighbors it is hard to find wilderness. Yet there is enormous value to society in preserving refuges into which men can occasionally escape from the overwhelming man-made aspects of civilization.

The National (and State) parks represent an endeavor to fill this need—a need which has several facets. One is for as many as possible to behold magnificent natural spectacles and to sample, at least, nature as little spoiled as possible. This means roads and facilities for the millions with limited time to spend.

Another is for those who have the time and the appreciation to immerse themselves now and then in a world where the rocks and streams, the woods and beasts reign undisturbed and supreme.

There are quite a number of designated wilderness areas. The danger lies in the fact that their status is not firmly defined in law. Nor is there provision for orderly planning for future needs.

Overwhelmingly backed by the conservation societies, Senator Hubert Humphrey has introduced a bill to set up a national wilderness preservation system. It would create no new bureaus. It would, of itself, take no new land for public use. It would simply insure that existing wilderness areas in national parks forests, and wildlife refuges remain as they are. It would respect existing private-user rights and permit future use consistent with these rights. And it would coordinate policies and insure planning under a National Wilderness Preservation Council representing Congress, the departments, and the lay citizen.

A forward-looking measure, worthy of support.

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[From the San Francisco Chronicle, April 14, 1957]

THE WILDERNESS AND THE FUTURE

Recognizing that population pressures and economic growth are swiftly crowding the American land, a bipartisan group in Congress is now sponsoring legislation to creat a national wilderness preservation system.

The bills in the Senate and House would add no new territories to the Federal domain as it exists now, nor would they erect any new bureaucratic agencies to administer the public lands. Their purpose is simply to define and protect more strongly the vanishing American wilderness.

At present many parts of national forests, national parks, and other Federal reserves remain in a primeval state. They are officially designated by such terms as wilderness areas, wild areas, or primitive areas. In California such regions as Desolation Valley, Emigrant Basin, and the Marble Mountains are typical examples.

INVASION AT BAY

Here the invasion of civilization, in terms of roads or commercial development, is held at bay. Magnificently scenic, isolated and unsullied, these wild regions are in effect vast museums displaying what the American land was like before man came upon it.

The wilderness areas are now protected principally by the various Federal agencies that administer them. But in too many cases that protection is afforded by administrative regulations only, and the pressures for intensive development grow more irresistible each day. As the conservationists put it, if more effective protection is not enacted the time will soon come when new generations of Americans will be unable to find a single place in the Nation where they can pause to contemplate their birthright of unspoiled forest and mountain.

BANNING EXPLOITATION

The proposed legislation would affect the 14 million acres now designated as wilderness within the 181 million acres of our National Forests. It would affect sections of 48 of our National Parks. In these and certain other designated Federal areas—after there has been ample opportunity to determine what lands must inevitably be used for development and what can legitimately be kept wild and intact for the future—the Congress would flatly forbid all mining, logging, roadbuilding, dam-building, or commercial exploitation. Once the wilderness system is thus created, Congress alone will have the final power to change it.

The bills before Congress offer truly sound wilderness protection. If overriding national needs arise for dams or timber or minerals in the wilderness system, Congress can always unlock any areas it chooses. But until such time, the force of statute will provide real protection for a badly threatened portion of America.

[Oregon Sunday Journal, April 15, 1956]

VALUE OF WILDERNESS AREAS

Outdoor recreationists in the United States include a breed of men and women who love on occasion to escape the sight and sound of civilization—and all its comforts.

In relation to the total, their number is not large, but it is growing— and so is their influence.

They are concerned that steps be taken to preserve for all time certain wilderness areas which are now units of national parks and monuments, national forests, wildlife refuges, and Indian reservations.

Their efforts have found their way into a bill presented to Congress last week by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, which has bipartisan backing, to establish a national wilderness preservation system.

The legislation would not create a new land administrative agency, nor call for any changes in jurisdictions. It would simply charge the agency administering an area designated as a unit of the system with preserving its wilderness character. It would give congressional sanction to keeping unchanged existing wilderness areas, thus guaranteeing them against encroachments of a commercial nature.

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Senator Humphrey's bill is the culmination of a campaign born a year ago last May in a paper delivered at a Washington, D. C., conference by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of The Wilderness Society, a headline speaker, incidentally, at the Portland conference last weekend of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.

Zahniser's presentation of his wilderness philosophy was like a stone tossed into a pool. It has been gaining converts ever since. And the proposed legislation which it inspired won the unqualified indorsement of the federation meeting here, representing 31 organizations with more than 25,000 members in Western States.

"Out of the wilderness has come the substance of our culture," says Zahniser, "and with a living wilderness we shall have also a vibrant vital culture—an enduring civilization of healthy, happy people who renew themselves in contact with the earth."

Like Zahniser and his cohorts, we believe there is value in having places where man can get away from all the reminders of his workaday life. At present, areas of this character are not guaranteed their borders will not be violated by the markings of civilization. Passage of the proposed legislation will give them this guaranty.

[From the New York Times, April 29, 1956]

MAN NEEDS NATURE

As our urban, mechanized society spreads itself with increasing speed and destructiveness across the land, the human need for preserving contact with natural areas, with living, wild and growing things, becomes more explicit and more pervasive. As natural areas rapidly diminish, the battle to keep the best of the remaining ones intact grows more intense. One of the most vigorous of these battles within recent years was the long struggle over Dinosaur National Monument on the Utah-Colorado border, a wild and unspoiled region that contains some of the most awesome canyon scenery of the West. A proposal to erect there a huge hydroelectric power project—Echo Park Dam—was defeated and the area was saved, to be kept the way it was.

Within our national park system, the lands designated as national parks—such as Yellowstone, Great Smokies, Yosemite, and the rest—are practically and psychologically less subject to attack by would-be invading interests than are those designated as national monuments. A bill therefore has been introduced to make of Dinosaur what it should be, a full-fledged national park.

Whether or not there is going to be a second battle of Dinosaur, the question helps point up the desirability of establishing on a statutory basis a national wilderness preservation system. Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, in cooperation with the Council of Conservationists and some other leading conservation groups, has been working on a bill that would give duly designated wilderness areas the permanent legal protection that would safeguard them for the enjoyment of future generations of Americans, who will need unspoiled natural areas even more keenly than their forefathers do today.

[From the New York Times, Sunday, May 13, 1956]

CONSERVATION: WILDERNESS AREAS

(By John B. Oakes)

Civilized Americans are becoming increasingly conscious of a paradox that affects us all: our mechanistic society is rapidly destroying every vestige of primitive and unspoiled nature, while we daily realize with ever greater force the need for maintaining contact with the natural community. While we are pushing the frontiers of nature further and further back, we are at the same time being starved for contact with nature, a basic need of the human animal. This isn't just a question of city folk seeking outdoor recreation, or enjoying spectacular scenery, or breathing unpoisoned air. It goes much deeper; it springs from the inextricable relationship of man with nature, a relationship that even the most insensitive and complex civilization can never dissipate. Man needs nature; he may within limits control it, but to destroy it is to begin

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the destruction of man himself. We cannot live on a sterile planet, nor would we want to.

TO PRESERVE THE WILDS

A conservationist philosophy such as this could not fail to be sympathetic with the movement, spearheaded particularly by the Wilderness Society, to establish permanent legal protection for such remaining unspoiled wilderness areas as this country still possesses. Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota—who has the superb Quetico-Superior wilderness area in his own State—is sponsoring a bill that would set up a national wilderness preservation system, largely out of lands already contained in our national parks, forests, Indian reservations, wildlife preserves, etc., that are already under jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The relatively few "wilderness areas" that are already so designated by administrative order would be expanded and merged into a vast system of rigidly protected natural preserves. The idea is certainly worth exploring—if what is left of our country in a natural state is worth saving, as many of us believe it is.

[From the New York Times, February 3, 1957]

CONSERVATION

(By John B. Oakes)

The basic purpose of the bill, which was discussed in this column for May 13, 1956, is to establish existing Federal wilderness preserves on a firm legislative foundation. Of the 2¼ billion acres in the United States some 58 million—a mere 2.5 percent of the total—are protected wilderness areas, almost all of which are on federally owned or controlled land. The bulk of these unspoiled and as yet uninvaded tracts of mountain or forest country have been designated as wilderness merely by administrative action, and they can be wiped out by administrative action as well. The proposed bill would make it a matter of national policy to preserve forever intact these last remnants of primeval America against the increasing pressure of exploiters and developers.

[From the New York Times, March 3, 1957]

CONSERVATION: WILDERNESS BILL

(By John B. Oakes)

Among other important measures affecting conservation, the most significant is probably the wilderness preservation bill, discussed in this column last month. The bill has undergone some revision to clarify its unexceptionable aims, which are—in the words of the Legislative Reference Service—"to bring into a single system, for the purpose of insuring their continued preservation as wilderness, the various federally owned areas designated as wilderness by the departmental heads or by executive order." Bureaucratic resistance to any kind of outside interference with administrative freedom may explain in part a noticeable reluctance within the Government to accept the proposal. Furthermore, some commercial interests fear that under the bill they might lose privileges they already have. However, the bill is designed simply to establish existing wilderness on a firm legislative foundation and to provide for its permanent protection as a matter of basic congressional policy.

[From the New York Times, May 5, 1957]

CONSERVATION: PROGRAM TO SAVE THE WILDS

(By John B. Oakes)

The explosive growth of the American economy is putting increasingly intolerable pressures on our natural resources, both tangible and intangible. By "tangible," we mean woods and water, soil and wildlife. By "intangible,"

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we mean scenery and solitude, open country and quiet places, expanses of mountain, plain, forest, and seashore, where some of the spiritual quality of primeval America may yet be retained for this and future generations.

Both kinds of resources have been disappearing at a rapid rate in recent years. As this has happened, more and more Americans have come to realize the danger, particularly in respect to the tangible resources. Less generally appreciated, perhaps because the economic implications are less direct, has been the effect of the bulldozer's deadly advance on the intangibles. Only now it is beginning to be realized that nothing but concerted action taken affirmatively and soon can stop the ultimate disappearance of all but a pathetic, minute remnant of America's last reserves of wilderness and scenic beauty. Pious platitudes are not going to be enough to save our country from ourselves—or, more accurately, just a little bit of our country for our children.

LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS

Two specific parallel legislative efforts have been launched to do something concrete about this aspect of our natural-resources situation. These two major proposals formed the main theme of the recent biennial wilderness conference in San Francisco, organized by the Sierra Club and cosponsored by several of the Nation's other leading conservation organizations. Representatives of some of the most important Federal conservation agencies participated.

The two proposals are the pending wilderness bill (S. 1176), which would give a firm legal basis for the preservation of the best of the unspoiled, federally controlled areas left in this country; and the pending outdoor recreation resources review (S. 846), which would provide for a nationwide study of the lands still available, the probable future needs and the most practical program for a comprehensive system of scenic and recreational preserves. It should be noted that the phrase "outdoor recreational resources" is explicitly defined in the bill to exclude facilities "usually associated with urban development such as playgrounds, stadiums, golf courses, city parks, and zoos"—all of which have their place, but not in this context.

In endorsing these bills, the conference declared that—

"It is essential to know before it is too late what wilderness, wildlife, scenic, and other outdoor recreational resources still are available, where they are, and what is the type and quality of each, and their relation to the preservation of wilderness. It is also essential to estimate how many and what types of each we shall need in 50 and a hundred years, and how we may best save those selected for preservation with high standards of size and quality in perpetuity. If the opportunity remaining to save these outdoor recreational resources is lost now, it will be lost forever. * * *

"The Fifth Biennial Wilderness Conference * * * endorses the national wilderness preservation system bill, realizing that this generation's decision to preserve wilderness will be subject to each succeeding generation's review, but that it will not have this choice unless an adequate preservation program is now developed."

The wilderness bill is sponsored by Senators Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, and Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon, and 10 colleagues in the Senate, and by Representatives John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania, and Lee Metcalf, of Montana, and a half-dozen Members of the House; the outdoor recreation resources review by Senators Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico, and Arthur V. Watkins, of Utah, and others, and in the House by Representatives Wayne N. Aspinall, of Colorado, Saylor, and others.

Both proposals have run up against serious opposition from within the Government itself, where bureaucratic fears of interference with existing prerogatives have been expressed. In the case of the wilderness bill at least, there is also opposition from outside the Government, where some private interests fear that the measure could conceivably take away special privileges they now exercise.

Hearings on the recreation resources bill will be held by an Interior Subcommittee of the House on May 13 and 14, and on the wilderness bill June 20 and 21. Senate hearings on the resources bill are set for May 15.

The need for action on positive conservation measures of this type is apparent. Every year priceless areas that should be preserved are lost to the Nation for one reason or another; and under the present situation the mere fact that an area

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is in Government hands affords no guaranty that it will be protected as it should be.

[From Detroit Free Press, April 1, 1956]

WOODS AND WATERS

(By Jack Van Coevering)

Beginning with grade school, people are taught that the wilderness is something to be conquered. The pioneers did it. That's how they built this country.

Now that the wilderness is almost gone, a change of sentiment is creeping across the Nation. If we lose the last remnants of wilderness, people are saying, we will lose certain values that our civilization needs.

As a result of this realization, groups interested in saving remnants of wilderness are ready to introduce a bill in Congress to create a national wilderness system.

This bill will not set up new bureaus or bureaucrats. It will simply establish a Commission (something like the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission) under whose guidance wilderness areas may be established and protected.

"This may represent a tremendous advance both for those who are interested in wilderness recreation and wilderness wildlife," said Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute.

The effort to save the last bits of wilderness before it is too late is typical of the way we do things.

In this State, we have a few acres of pine forest as "museum pieces" of the past.

We make a great to-do about saving trumpeter swans when they are about to perish. We begin worrying about prairie chickens when they are on the skids.

When it seems as though roadbuilders and developers will take over the last big tract of wilderness, we begin to act. We prize these "pieces of long ago." We do not want to lose them.

There is something downright practical about the desires of many people to save the wilderness, too. It is still the best environment for physical adventure.

In a wilderness a person cannot buy transportation or services. He must provide his own.

This, if nothing else, gives not only opportunity to develop self-reliance but also to brush off any false sense of self-sufficiency. These seemingly opposite facets of character are essential if we are to develop well-rounded qualities of leadership.

Probably the most profound values of wilderness are educational. In the wilderness are opportunities for gaining true understanding of our past, ourselves, and our world.

"Only against a perspective of wilderness can we enjoy the convenience and liberties of our urbanized, mechanized, industrialized civilization, and yet not sacrifice an awareness of our human existence as spiritual creatures nurtured and sustained by and from the great community of life that comprises the wilderness," is the way Howard Zahniser, secretary for The Wilderness Society, said it.

Objectives of wilderness devotees, as set forth in the bill to come before Congress, are twofold:

1. To preserve an adequate system of wilderness areas.
2. To allow nothing to alter the wilderness character of the preserves.

This will set aside wilderness areas in our national parks, national forests, Indian reservations, wildlife refuges, and other areas that are already being protected in a way to safeguard wilderness.

[From Eugene Register-Guard, June 18, 1956]

THE NEW WILDERNESS PRESERVATION BILL

We note with approval that the long-awaited wilderness bill has been introduced into the Senate. The bill, calling for a national wilderness preservation

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system, was introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, with the backing of Senators Morse and Neuberger, of Oregon; Smith, of Maine; Lehman, of New York; Douglas, of Illinois; Kuchel, of California; Mundt, of South Dakota; Laird, of West Virginia; and Duff, of Pennsylvania.

The bill does not set up a new land-administering agency. The National Park Service will continue to administer the parks and monuments, the Forest Service will continue to administer its wilderness and wild areas, the Bureau of Indian Affairs will keep its functions, etc. A new agency, however, would be created under terms of the bill. It would be called the National Wilderness Preservation Council. Its duties would include the filing of maps and official papers regarding the system, the study of proposals for changes in the system, the serving as a clearinghouse for information, the surveying of wilderness needs and conditions, the gathering of information, including maps, and consultation with old-line agencies on wilderness matters.

The bill does not call for wholesale reform of the present nonunified wilderness systems. But it would work to keep the wilderness areas we have. It would give the force of statute to the executive regulations that have established some of them. The areas to be included would be approximately those now designated as wildernesses. The only "reform" element in the bill is a provision that would prohibit mining. Presumably this would bar oil and gas extraction from wildlife refuges—a pretty hot issue in conservation circles.

Another point should be made. Because Senators Morse and Neuberger are cosponsors of this bill, some of our friends and neighbors are likely to be, automatically, against it. This would be silly. The bill has nothing to do with partisan politics, and its sponsorship is bipartisan. Witness the sponsoring names of Smith, Duff, Kuchel, and Mundt.

We don't see this bill as the be-all and end-all of conservation. There will always be the need for review and adjustment, and those things are provided for in the bill. The wildernesse system, no matter what Congress does to it, will always be under fire from those who see in the forest nothing but board-feet and kilowatts. And conservationists of the string-saving type will always scream "bloody murder" every time somebody wants to adjust a wilderness boundary. But we do see the bill as a step toward making raids on the wilderness more difficult. And it will give us a chance to get information and to tailor the wilderness system to the needs of a growing population. Those two reasons are enough to justify the passage, this year, of this long-awaited measure.

[From the Desert Magazine, March 1957]

Thanks to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota; Congressman John P. Saylor, of Pennsylvania; and a number of cosponsors, including Senator Kuchel, of California, there is now before Congress a measure designed to preserve some of the desert and mountain terrain of our Nation in its original state as natural wilderness—just as we inherited it from the Creator.

It is not intended that these areas should be closed to Americans, but rather that portions of them be closed to commercial exploitation—closed to any enterprise which would disturb the natural balance of nature. As Ernest Swift, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, has pointed out, they would not be recreational areas, but rather sanctuaries where members of the human family could find the peace and beauty of the landscape and its plant and wildlife world undisturbed by man's enterprise.

If you wonder why the human species needs sanctuaries I can only suggest that you read the records of slaughter on the highways, of juvenile delinquency, of mental patients in the hospitals, of intoxication and crime and vandalism, in the daily newspapers. Yes; we need places where adults may go and where youth may be taken to get acquainted and commune with the good earth and its creatures as God made them—away from the sophistries of a crowded and materialistic civilization. To such a place went Jesus Christ in preparation for His ministry.

Somehow, the idea seems to have gained prevalence that the earth and all that is on it were created for the sole benefit of man—to deface, to destroy, and to kill if it seems to serve the purposes of a particular individual or group. Anything that does not serve the immediate physical needs of mankind is regarded as worthless.

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All of which would not be so tragic if man was always an enlightened creature. But we humans have come such a few rounds up the ladder of evolution—our vision is so obscure, our emotions are so undisciplined. Because the coyote kills a few chickens the State makes war on the coyote, and the rodent population increases to the point where it does tenfold more damage to the human food supply than did the coyote. We have so much to learn.

The bright side of the picture is that the scientists today are finding answers which will enable us to discard many of the ancient myths and superstitions and prejudices which today keep our world in a state of turmoil. Humans are confused in a world in which so much that the scientists are telling us in direct contradiction to the stories which come from a book we Christians have always regarded as sacred. Somehow, our religion and our science must be reconciled. I believe it can be done. In the meantime, we need natural sanctuaries to which earnest, thoughtful persons may retreat, for it is only in such an environment that we may seek our answers in truth and beauty and humility.

[From the Sacramento Bee, February 18, 1957]

BILL TO FORM WILDERNESS PRESERVE APPEARS AGAIN

(By James McClatchy, McClatchy newspapers staff writer)

WASHINGTON.—The second round in the campaign of conservationists to protect the Nation's wilderness areas from commercial exploitation opened this week in Congress with the reintroduction of a proposal for a national wilderness preservation system.

The bill is a major effort on the part of a great variety of organizations to give congressional sanction and recognition to the idea that remote and primitive parts of mountains and deserts should be preserved intact for all generations. And it is certain to be controversial.

The bill would place into a wilderness preservation system a number of already designated wilderness or primitive areas in national parks, forests, game refuges, and monuments.

ONLY BY EXECUTIVE ORDER

These areas exist today only by Executive order and can be thrown open to commercial exploitation by simple administrative decree.

The bill would cancel this administrative power and give congressional recognition to a clear-cut national policy for preserving certain selected wild areas.

"This bill is based on the assumption," Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, said, "that we still can preserve in America an adequate system of wilderness areas without sacrificing any other program. It also is based on a parallel assumption that there will not long be any such areas unless we deliberately preserve them as wilderness."

Humphrey added that wilderness preservation need not conflict with other land uses.

"No area now devoted to any economic purpose," he said, "or to any other development program is withdrawn from use by this legislation.

"The central concept of this measure is that our present areas of wilderness can be preserved within the existing land-management pattern if the preservation purpose is made a matter of fundamental policy."

The Library of Congress reported, in regard to the national forests:

"There is no explicit congressional recognition of recreation and wilderness reservations as a major purpose of Forest Service administration."

Certain to oppose are mining, lumber, and cattle-grazing groups but a particularly substantial new opponent has appeared in the form of water engineers who want to reserve a right to build water and hydroelectric projects in the wilderness areas.

Although the conservationists seem to have rallied considerable public support to their side, the water issue already has caused Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, of California, to decline to join in authoring the bill this year.

Last year he joined with Humphrey and others in supporting the idea.

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[From the Sacramento Bee, February 19, 1957]

WATER DEVELOPERS FIGHT WILDERNESS AREA PROPOSAL

(Following is the second of two articles on the proposal to create a wilderness preservation system by congressional act.)

(By James McClatchy, McClatchy newspapers staff writer)

WASHINGTON.—The conservationists are facing a new foe this year in their battle to have Congress adopt a national policy of preserving wilderness areas from commercial exploitation.

This time groups interested in water resource development in the mountains of the West have joined lumber, mining and grazing interests in opposing the proposed national wilderness preservation system.

The development has led Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, of California, to decline to coauthor the bill, something he did with enthusiasm last year.

The difference in his view is a result of objections made by Harvey Banks, California director of the State department of resources, who said the wilderness plan could be a danger to the California water plan.

The wilderness preservation plan is a proposal to pick out the finest of the already designated wilderness areas in national parks, forests, game refuges and monuments and give them congressional protection from commercial development.

At present the areas can be opened to exploitation by a simple administrative decree.

ARGUMENT CITED

Conservationists argue that once commercial development has been permitted in a primitive area it forever has lost its special quality.

They say such a serious change of character of a natural resource should be allowed only after congressional consideration.

And they point out that if development is required sometime in the future to care for the growing population, Congress can permit it.

KUCHEL VIEWPOINT

Kuchel's new viewpoint, however, is that "the problem of water development in California is so crucial that before any wilderness bill is passed we must have assurance that all the necessary water resources are available for development.

"I wholeheartedly approve of the objectives of the bill," he declared, and added he hopes some change can be made to remove the water development issue.

YOSEMITE DAM

Little known to the public is Banks illustration that the State includes in its blueprints for the future at least one dam in Yosemite National Park, on the south fork of the Merced River.

Banks also cited as an objection to the wilderness proposal the possible need for tunnels to export water under the Marble Mountain wilderness area, in the northwest part of California, plus reservoirs for hydroelectric plants.

He mentioned canals though the Lava Beds National Monument as well as some in the Joshua Tree National Monument.

The former State engineer said he is in accord with the general purposes of the wilderness idea and suggested it might be acceptable if it were amended to permit construction of water projects.

Whether the conservationists would accept such a change is not clear but it is true the supporters expected to make noticeable changes in the original bill introduced last year.

They expected to receive criticism and hoped to be able to cancel them by incorporating changes in this year's measure.

The batle lines are not drawn on political loyalties but rather on sectional interests and pressures from special interests, which includes the conservationists.

OFFICIAL RESISTANCE

In addition, there is a resistance on the part of some Government officials who fear their jobs or authority might be affected by the measure.

The bill's authors insist they imply no criticism of the way in which the Forest Service or national park personnel have run their departments.

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[From the National Gardener, January-February 1957]

THE CONSERVATION OF MAN AND NATURE

(Paul Shepard, Jr., conservation chairman)

A HERITAGE OF WILD AMERICA

"Wherever there still remains unspoiled areas of our original wilderness we look on the land with special pride, and we are glad that not all of America has been domesticated. Some of it is still as God made it, although many of us may have to go a long way to find the unspoiled back country.

"We want to know that there will always be these areas of wilderness remaining unspoiled, not only for ourselves but for our children, and their children, and on and on into the future."

So spoke the Honorable John P. Saylor to the House of Representatives last summer in presenting a bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system. The original landscape of America is historically important. Most of it has been transformed; must we exploit it all? That which is left has vital purpose as wilderness, continued the Congressman.

"The stress and strain of our crowded, fast-moving, highly mechanized and raucously noisy civilization create another great need for wilderness—a deep need for areas of solitude and quiet, for areas of wilderness where life has not yet given way to machinery."

Where is the remnant of the original America? It is scattered over 163 areas of public land and totals 55 million acres. There are 2 billion acres in the United States. There are other reasons for preserving wilderness besides those so eloquently given by Mr. Saylor. They are, for instance, the homes of our finest and rarest animals. The elk, grizzley, lion, grayling, key deer, bighorn sheep, condor, and swan are some wilderness creatures, and without it they would join the shameful list of creatures speeded into extinction by man.

With the animals are numerous trees, not in danger of loss as species but as forests in the immense maturity of pristine condition. In the near future these wilderness lands will contain the only remnants of virgin forest.

Most of us share these aesthetic and ethical feelings for the disappearing original America. But there are other values in the wilderness. Besides providing recreation for many of us they are a great storehouse of plant and animal species. The "useless," the "weeds," and the "pests" are excluded from our fields and gardens. But today's weed may be tomorrow's medical, industrial, or even agricultural discovery. The antibiotic wonder drugs come from lowly fungi that were useless a few years ago.

In the complex organization of nature no plant or animal is really useless, otherwise it would quickly vanish. It fills a niche. It does something important to the whole community. Because it is so well balanced in its members, we speak of nature's dynamic equilibrium. If we knew just how this organization worked it would greatly aid the practices of agriculture, forestry, and other land management. In the wilderness do we find these natural communities undamaged by civilization.

It is a great natural classroom and is coming to be used more and more for that purpose. In the future many fields of science and perhaps some of the arts will look to the wilderness for their accomplishment.

The new bill, which will be reintroduced in the new Congress, does not create any new agency or shift the administration of any areas. It sets up no controls over areas. It provides for the formation of a Council, composed of agency heads, Congressmen, and citizens to coordinate the wilderness system, to provide information and planning. The lands will remain national park, forest, or wildlife refuge. But they will remain—with your support—wilderness areas.

Mr. NADEL. At this point, Mr. Chairman, I had expected to make a statement in behalf of the American White Water Affiliation at the request of Mr. D. K. Bradley, chairman of their conservation committee, but I believe I heard you mention this morning that you have had a communication from this association and so I believe that communication will stand as their statement.

Mr. STONG. Yes, we have a communication of approximately that same length in the record.

Mr. NADEL. I have here a carbon of a letter written by Mr. A. Ranger Tyler, president of the Adirondack Mountain Club which is composed of almost 2,000 individuals from almost every county in New York State, addressed to the Honorable Gracie Pfost, chairwoman of the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and I should like to submit that for the record of this committee.

Mr. STONG. A copy has been sent this committee. It will be included in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

THE ADIRONDACK MOUNTAIN CLUB,
Gabriels, N. Y., June 14, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: The board of governors of the Adirondack Mountain Club at its quarterly meeting in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., on April 27, 1957, voted to favor the passage of the wilderness preservation bill. We regard this as a measure of great importance and hope your committee will report it out favorably.

The interest of the Adirondack Mountain Club in effective wilderness protection goes back to 1922, when it was founded. In New York State we have vigorously supported the protection of the New York State preserve in the Adirondacks and Catskills under our State constitution which provides: "The lands of the State, now owned or hereafter acquired, constituting the forest preserve as now fixed by law, shall be forever kept as wild forest lands. They shall not be leased, sold or exchanged, or be taken by any corporation, public or private, nor shall the timber thereon be sold, removed or destroyed."

Not only have we been active in wilderness preservation in our State, but an increasing number of our members are vacationing in Western States where they have had splendid first-hand experiences in our Federal wildernesses in national parks and national forests. These are among the factors that make us feel the need of such stronger wilderness protection on our various types of Federal lands with congressional backing as now envisioned in the wilderness system preservation bill. As citizens of the most populous State in the Nation, we feel we have a special responsibility to help protect wilderness opportunities throughout the Nation for coming generations.

The Adirondack Mountain Club is composed of nearly 2,000 individuals from almost every county in New York State and from all neighboring States. Our objectives include: in the field of recreation, "to sponsor and encourage outdoor recreation in the Adirondack Mountains in a manner consistent with the wild forest character of the region," and, in the field of conservation, "to advocate and broaden popular support of that part of article XIV, section 1, of the New York State Constitution which provides that the lands of the State constituting the forest preserve shall be forever kept as wild forest lands," and "to create and encourage public interest in the principles of the conservation of natural resources, especially in the Adirondacks."

We should appreciate your making this letter a part of the record of the hearings on the wilderness bill.

Respectfully yours,

A. RANGER TYLER,
President, Adirondack Mountain Club.

Mr. NADEL. I have one additional carbon of a letter, Mr. Chairman, by Mr. Samuel Wilkinson, chairman of the New York-New Jersey Trail Conference which is also addressed to Hon. Gracie Pfost. This organization has an aggregate membership of some 4,500 persons. I should like to submit this for the record of this committee in the event that it is not already included.

Mr. STONG. It will be included in the record.

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(The document referred to follows:)

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N. Y., *June 17, 1957.*

Representative GRACE PFOST,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands,
House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. PFOST: It gives me pleasure to inform you that at its bimonthly meeting in New York City on April 3, 1957, the New York-New Jersey Trail Conference voted to recommend in favor of the wilderness system preservation bill in principle.

The New York-New Jersey Trail Conference, founded in 1920, maintains some 400 miles of foot trails in New York and New Jersey. Affiliated with it are 80 hiking and outdoor clubs with an approximate aggregate membership of 4,500 persons. Because of our interest in maintaining hiking areas in their natural conditions, and realizing from experience the ease with which these conditions may be destroyed if not given proper protection, we feel that the wilderness in our national parks, national forests, wildlife reservations, and other Federal lands should be given firmer protection by means of the wilderness bill now before your committee for consideration.

We should appreciate your calling this letter to the attention of the members of your committee, and making it a part of the record of the hearings on the wilderness system preservation bill.

Sincerely yours,

NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY TRAIL CONFERENCE,
SAMUEL WILKINSON, *Chairman.*

Mr. NADEL. May I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your patience and indulgence.

Mr. STONG. Mrs. Dyer has not appeared yet. We will ask Mr. Radford Hall, executive secretary of the American National Cattlemen's Association to be the next witness.

STATEMENT OF RADFORD HALL, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, AMERICAN NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Mr. HALL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is an unexpected pleasure to be able to appear before this committee today. I must apologize, however, that my statement reads for the House committee and that is no reflection on the Senate committee. I have just been unaware of this hearing. I flew from Denver last night to appear before the House committee and learned of this and thought I would come over to see if you would permit me to appear here.

Mr. STONG. Our hearings were set finally rather late in order to permit persons who came into the House hearings to appear on the Senate side without the necessity of two trips. In some instances I do not believe notices got around as quickly as they might have done.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the opportunity in being able to appear before you and the fact that I am more or less unprepared does not mean that we do not have very positive beliefs in regard to this legislation.

The American National Cattlemen's Association was organized in 1898. It is a voluntary association of commercial cattlemen and cattlemen's associations. Twenty-eight State cattlemen's associations are affiliated in the American national.

In January the American National Cattlemen's Association held its 60th annual convention in Phoenix, Ariz. During that convention the following resolution was approved without a dissenting vote:

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RESOLUTION No. 20

WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

Whereas S. 4013 and H. R. 11703 if enacted would establish a national wilderness preservation system covering and setting aside many, many thousands of acres of Federal lands to the exclusion of all private or economic use in productivity; and

Whereas this would represent a serious step backward from the multiple-use principle in management of Federal lands: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we oppose this type of legislation and recommend S. 4013 and H. R. 11703 be not enacted into law.

These bills mentioned in this resolution refer to the 84th Congress.

This resolution was approved in general session of the convention following a detailed study of the matter by the staff and officers of the association, a thorough and complete discussion in the Public Lands Committee meeting and further consideration by the resolution committee of the association.

We sincerely believe that the enactment of this negative legislation for a number of reasons would not be in the best interests of the Nation. We believe it would be a serious blow to the economic development of the States in which the lands that would be involved are situated.

It is our firm belief also that it would not even serve the purposes for which it is supposedly intended. Rather, it would serve only the selfish interest of a very minute segment of our citizenry.

It would also hamper the sound, proper, and efficient administration of these lands by the public agencies now charged with the responsibility.

This proposed legislation, if enacted into law, could seriously affect the defense of our Nation.

True conservation should not mean neglect and waste such as this legislation would encourage.

The great bulk of the lands under consideration in this legislation are located in the 11 Western States which are to a considerable extent still in the process of attaining full economic development. Much time and effort has been spent on the perfection of the multiple-use principle of obtaining maximum economic benefits for all concerned from the natural resources of the area. The principle industries involved—grazing, mining, lumbering, irrigation, and recreation—have each been attempting to integrate their needs with those of the others. They have attempted to understand the problems of other industries and to adapt their operations so that all may have their fair share of the values these lands are capable of producing.

Now comes this effort on the part of a selfish few to scuttle these efforts and forever lock up all the other resources in order that the visionary values placed by some people on "unspoiled nature" shall be available to them and them only.

This proposal is ostensibly for the public benefit. Gentlemen, I ask you, who is the public? We believe it to be the 171 million people in the United States. We believe it includes the New Yorkers who eat western beef, the Chicagoans who have houses built of western pine, the Pennsylvanians who drive cars made with western metals, regardless of whether they ever take a hiking or horseback trip into a western wilderness or not.

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We believe the protection of the stockpile of atomic bombs is more important to the great majority of the people on the east coast than is the fact that a certain hillside in Wyoming has never heard the ring of the woodsman's ax or the putt-putt of a jeep engine.

The advocates of this legislation have told us that they want to save these areas in a primeval state for posterity. Do you believe that future generations will be any more interested in forsaking all modern conveniences and protections to strike off into completely undeveloped wilderness than is this generation?

The tourist business is one of great importance to the Western States, and is growing each year. Why is it growing? Is it because there are more horses in the mountains to carry visitors up where they can pitch a tent and it would take a doctor several days to get to them in case of sickness or accident?

A short time ago an airplane crashed in what would make a good wilderness area in Wyoming. A man and wife were in the plane. After 4 or 5 days the man died. The woman remained with his body for 19 days before a rancher seeking livestock spotted the plane and she was rescued alive. If that had been a wilderness area, as proposed by this legislation, there would have been no livestock to be searched for and no rancher searching and a woman would have died in a beautiful unspoiled wilderness.

Very few tourists want to enjoy such unspoiled pleasures.

The tourist business is growing in the West because the mountains and plains are being cut up and despoiled by safe, modern, paved highways lined by hotels, motels, and resorts that furnish every modern convenience obtainable in the finest eastern hotels. Even the typical mountain cabin of just a few years ago is now becoming quite generally equipped with inside plumbing, electric lights, and bottled gas cook stoves.

There are still quite a few who want to rough it, but just how rough do they want it? If they want it as rough as this legislation would indicate, you gentlemen in Congress are surely wasting millions of dollars building recreational facilities in the national parks and national forests.

By the way, I would like to interject at that point this comment. I have heard a little testimony since I got here this morning and it seems to me that running through this whole deal is a confusion between the national parks and national forests and this wilderness area. I want it to be borne in mind that when I speak of a wilderness area I mean the wilderness area where, in theory at least, you cannot get there by airplane, jeep, any way, except on horseback or afoot. We do not mean to be criticizing the national parks.

Mr. STRONG. I think that is the definition in the bill of "wilderness."

Mr. HALL. There seemed to be some confusion in the testimony here.

We do not believe you are. We believe most of the hardy souls who want to camp out still prefer to be able to drive to the camp. They appreciate the sanitary facilities, the fireplaces, the picnic tables, and other conveniences provided by the Government agencies.

Please ponder for a moment on how many of you or your friends and acquaintances want to rough it to the extent of riding a horse or walking back into a country where there are no roads, no tele-

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phones, no ranch homes, absolutely no conveniences, where there are no residents to look to for help in case of sickness or accident. It is for those few who do want to forsake everything that the modern world offers that this legislation is proposed. We submit that they are only a minute fraction of even the tourists of the Nation.

We believe this legislation would also defeat its avowed purpose by placing a huge stumbling block in the path of those Government agencies charged with the protection and maintenance of these areas.

We are certain that all of you are aware of the fact that many forest brush and grass fires are started by lightning. You all know that the more remote those fires are, the more damage they are apt to do. The Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management have spent tremendous sums building fire roads so as to be able to more quickly reach such fires and they also make use of access roads and trails built by stockmen, lumbermen, miners, and others. Yet here we have a proposal to deliberately isolate millions of acres from that protection and to subject them to the grave danger of having not only the beauty but the economic values destroyed by fire while the agencies charged with their protection stand helplessly by for lack of access roads.

In one instance in Wyoming a fire road into the forest was deliberately blocked by huge boulders and bridges were sliced in half to prevent jeeps from entering a wilderness area. Obviously no thought was given to the possible need for that road to protect the valuable forest in that wilderness area.

To be efficient in the administration of these areas, the agency in charge must have freedom of action and simply must not be tied down and hamstrung by restrictive legislation such as proposed.

This legislation would not only hamper efforts to fight fires, but it would also greatly increase the fire hazards. The wise cutting of timber and proper use of the grass crop removes the greatest potential for a serious fire.

Tall, dry grass burns like tinder and spreads a fire as though it were intended for that very purpose.

A few years ago Camp Carson was established as a military base near Colorado Springs, Colo., and grazing of livestock was discontinued. After a year or two of nonuse, a fire occurred and witnesses said the long, dry grass exploded like dynamite. Several soldiers were killed in the effort to control that fire. Other examples can be cited of disastrous fires that have occurred in ungrazed areas in the Custer State Park in the South Dakota Black Hills and the nongrazing areas of the Salt Lake City, Utah, watershed. Proper utilization of grass reduces the fire hazard the same as cleaning combustible trash out of a basement as insisted upon by all good fire departments.

Wise lumbering also keeps forests healthy. Trees, like all living things, are more vigorous when young and growing. More long-lived than most things, trees reach a maturity and then go into decline. At that point they either must be cut or they become a progressively greater liability. Old trees are more subject to attack by insect pests and plant disease. Witness the havoc wreaked on the formerly beautiful White River National Forest in Colorado. Congress found it necessary to appropriate millions to control the

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beetles that turned that forest into a shambles. Thousands of acres of dead tree trunks stand as mute testimony to the fact that a healthy forest is a young, growing forest. Forestry experts tell us that the beetle attacks principally old, overripe trees and that this forest was overripe.

A few years ago we were told by the director of markets for the city of New York that few people in that city were interested in the wildlife or scenery of the western mountains because only a few were able to make the trip West to view them, but he said virtually everyone of them is vitally interested in the quantity, quality, and price of beef and lamb produced and sent to New York from them.

Also we submit to you with full confidence that you will agree that the average tourist thoroughly enjoys the sight of a herd of whiteface mother cows quietly grazing on a mountain meadow with their playful frisky calves. We sincerely believe that livestock grazing adds to the beauty and enjoyment of the tourist.

Along that line I would like to add another comment to the effect that although I cannot give the figures and I question some of the figures that have been quoted here, I do not believe anybody will question the fact that far more people go to dude ranches to watch the operation of an actual cattle ranch and pay big money to see it, far more people do that than go on a horseback ride into a true wilderness area.

Had this proposed legislation been enacted several years ago, much of the Four Corners region where Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico join would very likely have been included in a wilderness area, forever closed to exploitation by miners, for at that time it was just about as much of a wilderness as could be imagined.

Yet that is the area from which has come the material for the stockpile of atomic weapons which now stands between this country and possible complete annihilation of the entire population.

Who knows what lays before us? Who knows what research and exploration will develop in the future?

Gentlemen, we are living in a world that is moving too fast, changing too fast that we can afford for you to lay the dead hand of such negative legislation on such a large area of a growing nation.

Thank you very much.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Hall.

We will take a 5- or 10-minute recess.

(Short recess.)

STATEMENT OF MRS. PAULINE DYER, AUBURN, WASH., REPRESENTING THE FEDERATION OF WESTERN OUTDOOR CLUBS, THE MOUNTAINEERS, SEATTLE AUDUBON SOCIETY, AND THE CASCADES CONSERVATION COUNCIL

Mrs. DYER. I am Mrs. John A. Dyer. My address is 116 J Street NE., Auburn, Wash.

It was just decided the other day that it would be well worth while to have a representative of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs come to Washington, D. C., to appear before your committee in support of the wilderness bill.

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I am representing not only the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, which has some 30 organizations interested in the mountaineering and conservation and hiking, but also representing the Mountaineers with approximately 3,700 members in the Puget Sound region of the State of Washington; the Seattle Audubon Society; and the North Cascades Conservation Council, which is a new group recently organized to have wilderness established in the North Cascades of Washington State.

The federation feels privileged, just a year ago in April 1956, at the first conference on Northwest Wilderness in Portland, Oreg., to have had a presentation of the proposed wilderness bill at its first public presentation, along with this map.

At that time that was presented to us at the banquet in great detail. Then at a working session the following day former Chief Forester Lyle Watts was very enthusiastic about the idea but made some recommendations for changes which have since been incorporated in the revised bill.

The meeting had not planned to have resolutions but they did break their rule and sent a telegram to Senator Humphrey endorsing the wilderness bill.

If I may, I would like to read this into the record. This was sent from the Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Oreg., April 8, 1956:

Hon. HUBERT HUMPHREY,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

The Conference on Northwest Wilderness in session in Portland, Oreg., has heard the proposed national wilderness preservation bill outlined and discussed and has responded with enthusiasm to the opportunity it presents for a historic step in American conservation.

Your initiative in bringing about the formulation of this bill has been warmly commended, and we all wish to express our appreciation of your leadership in bringing it to the attention of Congress. We eagerly await the introduction of the bill and opportunity to support you in working for its enactment.

As president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, which has sponsored this conference, I am also writing a letter in support of the proposed measure to the Senators of the Western States where the federation's 31 organizations with a total membership of more than 25,000 have been working for years toward the opportunity that you have now helped so greatly to create.

This was signed by Karl Onthank, president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.

At this point I would like to present my statement.

Senator James E. Murray, chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Washington 25, D. C. This is dated June 18, 1957. The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs requests that this statement including the resolution below passed at its last annual meeting in Spokane, Wash., September 1, 2, and 3, 1956, be made a part of the record of the hearing on S. 1176 and related bills to establish a national wilderness preservation system scheduled for June 19 and 20, 1957.

The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs comprises some 20 mountaineering, hiking, outdoor, and conservation organizations west of the Rocky Mountains, aggregating over 25,000 members.

This annual meeting was attended by delegates from the member clubs and by numerous individual members who participated in its business including the unanimous approval of the following resolution:

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RESOLUTION NO. 4

WILDERNESS PRESERVATION BILL

It is resolved, That to give congressional recognition and protection to the Nation's wilderness areas the federation urges the creation of a national wilderness preservation system as proposed in the legislation introduced in the 84th Congress by Senator Hubert Humphrey and others in the Senate and by Representative John P. Saylor and others in the House. I regret that it is not possible for an officer of our organization to be present at the hearing. However, we have asked Mr. Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, and Mr. David Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club, one of the constituent members of the organization, to speak for us.

I should add that at the time this was written it was not expected that I would be able to be here to present a statement in person.

I realize that you have probably received a great deal of testimony on why we need a wilderness bill. We feel quite strongly, especially those of us in the West where we have some pockets of wilderness and some a little bit bigger than pockets, that it is a very essential step to be taken, that it is needed to insure that the wilderness is not squeezed until there is no more left.

We wonder if anyone has considered that there is a form of wilderness primarily in the Western States, mostly in the Northwestern States, which is not included in the bill. This is a term called "limited areas." I might go a little bit further as to what a limited area is. I would like to mention a specific region in Washington State in the North Cascades called Glacier Peak.

Some years ago this had been planned as a wilderness area by the Forest Service and then various things kept it from being formulated. At that time it was set aside as a Glacier Peak Limited Area and for 20 years it has kept that status. It has just been reopened for study by the Forest Service as a possible wilderness area. It is one of the most significant pieces of country we have in the United States.

There have been some statements to the effect, by people who have seen many national parks, that it competes with, if it does not exceed, some of the beauty in those.

If I may, I would like to read some excerpts from an article that has been prepared for publication in the Living Wilderness that more fully explains a limited area so that you have that in your record. This is quoting from an article entitled "Limited Areas of the National Forest," by Karl W. Onthank:

In region 6, and nowhere else to the best of our information, there are "limited areas." This region comprises the States of Oregon and Washington. It is the last frontier of America. The wildest and least explored section of continental United States is the northern Cascades. This region contains not only the finest remaining timber but also much of the country's choicest scenic wilderness. It is accordingly not surprising that in the thirties when farsighted Forest Service leaders were setting aside areas of outstanding wilderness quality as primitive areas to be preserved permanently for the use and enjoyment of coming generations, they should find in the forest and mountains of this region many worthy of being so designated. But time and resources for making the surveys on the ground prerequisite for the presumably permanent designation of a primitive area under USFS regulations and establishing its boundaries suitably, were insufficient to cover the whole of this great region adequately. It was recognized that there were many areas not fully studied, delimited, and classified which well merited consideration, which indeed were as fine as any yet set aside. The Glacier Peak region in northern Washington, for instance, was well known to be spectacularly scenic. But for various such reasons, boundaries projected for a Glacier Peak primitive area were shelved and a smaller "limited area" was designated, the intention being that when the findings of a more adequate survey

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were available, and presumably also when information on possible conflicting interests become clearer, an appropriate long-term decision on primitive area boundaries could be made.

I think that is the only quote I could give you.

I would like to quote a letter from the assistant regional forester, Frank Folsom, explaining what the Forest Service considers a limited area. This is a letter dated January 7:

In reply * * * we sent substantially the same information you requested to Chet Powell, of the Mountainners, last month * * * "Limited areas are those which for many years have been recognized by the Forest Service as possessing outstanding value for alpine types of recreation but could not, at the time they were roughly shown on a map, be definitely classified as specific recreational areas because of *lack of information, time knowledge of probable developments*, et cetera. [Emphasis added.] I have purposely underlined the above because we have tentatively classified such areas and loosely drawn their boundaries these boundaries are fixed. Such is not the case and we feel that we have used good judgment in recognizing the potential recreation values by this tentative classification until such time as we are able to properly study and permanently classify them. In the meantime, however, there are to be no additional roads or other provision for motorized transportation, no commercial timber cutting, and no occupancy under special-use permit within the areas without the personal approval of the regional forester.

"There have been 2 changes in the limited areas as originally outlined more than 10 years ago. The Summit Lake limited area at the head of the Middle Fork of the Willamette River was eliminated about 5 years ago because there were too many roads already in the area and the balance of the area was not considered worthy as a wild area.

"The Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs concurred in our action and as a substitute we established the Diamond Peak limited area which has since been proposed as a wild area, along with Mount Washington. You are undoubtedly familiar with the public hearings on these proposed wild areas.

"The Forest Service is gradually getting more of our forest areas covered with aerial photographs, and from these we can prepare more accurate base maps and show on them timber and soil types, present and potential recreation use and development, and other pertinent information. Gradually, as this information is obtained, we are preparing land management plans which show the preference use for all our areas. Emphasis is being placed on this phase of planning for our limited areas so that a sound land-management pattern may be developed. We do not intend to change any of our limited area boundaries until the land management plans are prepared for these areas, and the public will be informed well in advance of any final decision on what land management pattern is to be proposed."

I have read this to you to point out that they have treated limited areas in the same manner that they have been treating wilderness and primitive areas and that consideration might be given to including limited areas along with primitive areas in the bill or even further if it should be deemed desirable on greater study.

In region 6, which comprises the States of Washington and Oregon, there are 14 limited areas which are all of wilderness caliber which may be someday wilderness if the Forest Service does go ahead and treat them the same as they do their present primitive areas and reclassify them.

I really do not have anything further to say except that we do want you to realize how much we in the West are behind this wilderness bill. We would very much like to see it enacted. We feel that it is the answer to saving the wildernesses in our national forests, or perpetuating them so that they do not get down under the axes.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mrs. Dyer. I have been asked to tell you that Senator Jackson attempted to get here for the hearing, but he had to preside this afternoon at a meeting of the subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and was tied up.

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Mrs. DYER. Maybe I will have an opportunity to speak to him seperately on it.

Mr. STONG. Thank you very much for your statement.

Mr. Zahniser?

Mr. ZAHNISER. May I take this occasion to express on behalf of all of us who have been concerned with this legislation the appreciation of the cooperation we have had from Senator Murray and the members of the committee and from the staff. We are very glad to have had this opportunity to discuss these things with you and with the committee, and we want you to know that we appreciate it, and we are available for anything that we can do further to help you.

Thank you very much.

Mr. STONG. Thank you, Mr. Zahniser.

I think the record should show that when these hearings were set it was not anticipated that a situation would arise on the floor of the Senate that would make it impossible for the Senators to attend. I know all of the Senators would like to be here, and some of them would have canceled any engagements they could to spend time at these hearings.

Mr. ZAHNISER. The considerate way with which you have dealt with that emergency is a cause for special thanks on our part. It would not have been unreasonable in the circumstances for the committee to have canceled its plans which, of course, would have been a great inconvenience for us. The way you handled it is something that I am sure we will never forget.

Mr. STONG. Thank you. The Senators were not allowed to participate in hearings this afternoon while the Senate was in session, and this was the only arrangement under which the hearings could proceed.

If there are no other witnesses, we will recess, subject to adjournment or the call of the Chair.

There are a number of statements to be filed, both by witnesses who have appeared and in the files of the committee.

The record of the hearing will be held open for a week for those additional statements.

Mrs. DYER. I would like to have the privilege of submitting a detailed statement for the Mountaineers.

Mr. STONG. You may do so.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 25, 1957.*

SENATE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the permission granted at the time of my verbal statement before your committee on June 21, 1957, concerning S. 1176, a bill to create a national wilderness preservation system, for submission of a supplemental written statement, I submit the following to be included in the record of the hearing:

In my verbal statement before the committee, reference was made to "limited area" status of some United States Forest Service lands in the Pacific Northwest. The areas in this category are Alpine Lakes, Cougar Lake, Glacier Peak, Monte Cristo, Packwood, St. Helens in the State of Washington, and Anthony Lake, Diamond Lake, Eagle Creek, Illinois Canyon, Sky Lakes, Snake River, and Umpqua in Oregon. These areas had been shown on a region VI listing as "proposed wild and wilderness areas."

The wilderness bill's provisions will do a number of important and necessary things in behalf of the Nation's present and future wild places and for its citizens who look for or merely like to know that such sanctuaries exist. It is in these

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samples of his original land where he can become both physically and mentally refreshed. Among the results this bill would bring we find that:

1. Through it Congress can endorse the wilderness principle in the United States of America of retaining original pieces of our portion of the earth's surface in a condition permitting only management by Nature and God.

2. Congress would be recognizing the needs for maintaining uncivilized, unmechanized lands for today's people and the right for the peoples of the next century, so that following centuries' tomorrows may have the privilege of continuing, if they so desire, these quiet, unsettled spaces for the tomorrows after theirs.

3. The bill would strengthen the National Park Service's administration in conserving the wilderness sections of the national parks beyond the parking lots, beyond the roadsides or the road ends before these facilities to accommodate all of us visitors obliterate the very bits of natural scene untampered with by man that we go to see. Through a national wilderness preservation system citizens would have a better chance to know beforehand about planned extensions of manmade accommodations before they are in fact diminishing more of the national-park areas. The bill will give the people more of an opportunity to voice their opinions on any contemplated landscape changes to their national parks.

4. Wilderness preservation would become an integral, more permanent part of the national forests. Wilderness would be a congressional-directed function of the United States Forest Service, holding a comparable place with watershed protection and timber production. We are proud that the Forest Service initiated the wilderness idea on its lands. We will take pride in a Congress which upholds wilderness, and which thus provides a greater voice for people to contribute to the decision on the establishment, enlargement, or decreasing of wildernesses through communication with their Congressmen. It will put the opportunity for such decisions with the peoples' representatives who can be concerned with intangible values to man of mental and spiritual well-being through access to Nature's quiet places as well as being concerned with his material well-being.

Without specific recognition of wilderness by legislation, the United States Forest Service finds it difficult to place a higher priority on the noncommodity, nonmass use producing value in its land studies. As a result, wilderness finds itself low man on the totem pole in the Forest Service multiple-use program.

Wilderness cannot and should not wear a dollar sign. It is a priceless aspect which all the dollars man can accumulate will not buy back. Some forest which is commercially operable has as much right to be kept primeval as the forest of noncommercial value. Congress, through this bill, can help take the price tag off some of these remaining wilderness forests. Now, the Forest Service wild and wilderness areas can be changed by the decision of one person. Under this bill, the final decision can more fully take cognizance of the public's opinions.

5. Creating a National Wilderness Preservation Council will provide a single source for obtaining information pertaining to all Federal wildernesses in the Nation.

Early in the Forest Service's wilderness consciousness, Col W. B. Greeley (formerly Chief Forester) wrote that, "* * * wildernesses may not be used by numbers of people in anywise commensurate with those who will throng the highways, but their individual service will be immeasurably greater * * *. It is not a matter of providing for one type of recreation to the exclusion of the other. We need both, and we can have both. It it a matter, rather, of preventing motorized recreation from sweeping wilderness recreation, dear to the souls of many folks, off the face of the map." That was in 1927. Throngs of cars have multiplied faster than was then foreseen. The need for nature-quiet primeval places has increased by leaps and bounds. If, in 1927, cars were thought of as "throngs" to be escaped from, the years 2027, 2127, etc., will undoubtedly find whatever mode of transportation available then chasing us on an even more frantic search for the very special wild retreats we can now find and some or many of which might still be found in the next centuries through the actions of a thoughtful Congress concerned with the total contentment and well-being of all its constitutents and their heirs.

Respectfully submitted.

PAULINE DYER,
Auburn, Wash.

Representing Federation of Western Outdoors Clubs, The Mountaineers; Seattle, Wash., Seattle Audubon Society.

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Mr. STONG. Dr. William Zimmerman, of the Association on American Indian Affairs, has asked permission to file a personal statement. That will be granted.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN, JR.

My name is William Zimmerman, Jr. I submit this statement as a private citizen, because the Association on American Indian Affairs, of which I am field director, has not taken a position on this pending legislation to establish a wilderness preservation system.

The roadless and wild areas on Indian reservations were established by an order of Secretary of the Interior Ickes in 1937. The order pointed out there are millions of people who do not see why their lives must be lived entirely in the world of machinery. They do not believe that it is necessary to make every nook and corner of the country part of the machine world and to wipe out all traces of the primitive. From the standpoint of the Indians, said Mr. Ickes, it is of special importance to save as many areas as possible from invasion by roads. Almost everywhere they go the Indians encounter the competition and disturbances of the white race. Most of them desire some place which is all their own. A little advance planning and a little balancing of the claims of genuine conflicting values will make it possible to save many Indian areas from mechanization. The preservation of such areas would also be in accord with the Indian service policy of emphasizing that Indians be given opportunity to work for their livelihood. One of the potential sources of income for Indians would be from tourists and campers.

The National Resources Board defined a roadless area as one which contains no provision for the passage of transportation and which includes at least 100,000 acres in forested country and at least 500,000 acres in nonforested areas. The number of such areas on Indian reservations is limited. The Secretary's action was based clearly on a sense of urgency. His order was issued without prior approval by the Indian tribes concerned. The Secretary spelled out, however, his consideration for Indian rights by saying that he was establishing the policy that Indian areas without roads or settlements should continue in such a condition, "unless the requirements of fire protection, commercial use for the Indians' benefit, or actual needs of the Indians clearly demand otherwise."

Under this policy the Secretary established 12 roadless areas and 4 wild areas. The wild areas range in size from 6,000 acres to 48,000 acres. One of the wild areas, Cape Flattery on the Makah Reservation, was abolished last year at the request of the tribe. The area had been seriously damaged by the construction of military installations during the war, with resulting heavy losses of timber through windfall. Although Cape Flattery, the northwesternmost point of the mainland of the United States is a spot which draws many tourists, its possibilities have scarcely been touched. With this one exception, the areas established by Secretary Ickes are the same as those listed in the various wilderness preservation system bills. There have been, over the years, some minor changes in boundaries, but these have not been large enough to destroy the character of the areas.

Some of the Indian tribes have indicated that they desire to have the Ickes order vacated as to their reservations. Such action could be taken, of course, by the Secretary of the Interior. The bill before you would not change the status of these areas unless the Indians gave their consent. As provided in section 2 (d) the language of the bills seems fully adequate to protect the interest of any tribe or band. It would permit changes to be made in the boundaries of these areas again subject to the Indians' consent, and the bill further specifies that "nothing in the act shall in any respect abrogate any treaty with any band or tribe of Indians, or in any way modify or otherwise affect existing hunting and fishing rights or privileges."

The report of the Department of the Interior objects that this language fails to protect the interest of any individual Indians whose lands may be included in any such areas. It is my opinion that individual rights are safeguarded by the wording in section 8 (b) which makes the administration of any unit of the wilderness system "subject to existing private rights (if any)." Under authority which the Secretary of the Interior now has, it would be possible for the United States to buy for the tribe any such individual holdings, if it should appear necessary to eliminate individual ownership within a wilderness

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area. Language in the pending bills in section 2 (f) would also authorize the acquisition of any individual allotment.

If, however, there is any doubt as to the effectiveness of the cited language, several minor amendments would answer the Department's objections. In section 1 (c) (4) reference to Indian reservations could be amended to read: "with the consent of the individual owner or owners, for allotted lands, and for tribal lands with the consent of the tribal council or other duly constituted tribal authority." A similar amendment could be added to section 2 (d). I point out, however, that most of the lands included in the existing roadless and wild areas are owned by the tribes. There may be some allotted lands in 2 or 3 of the areas. The designation of such areas would not prevent the individual owner from disposing of his property, as permitted under existing law with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, nor would it prevent any tribe from disposing of its land if the Congress gave consent. Unless authorized by the Congress, Indian tribal land may not be sold.

I would urge that Indian lands be retained in this legislation, for several reasons. First, some of the Indian areas are adjacent or close to similar areas in the national forests or parks. So long as the United States holds these lands as trustee, the same principles of conservation should apply as apply to other Federal lands. Second, most of the wild and roadless areas are not economically productive. Their highest use may be for scenery and recreation. If, as provided by Secretary Ickes' order, the Indian economy would be adversely affected by the restrictions on the use of such areas, the Secretary should recommend to the Congress that the Indians be compensated. Presumably, in such a contingency, the Indians would not give their consent unless they were assured of compensation.

It may be argued that Indian lands should not be included because they are private lands, although the title is actually in the United States. I believe that contention is not sound, and I should like to see the bill further amended to make possible the inclusion of any privately owned lands, again, of course, on the initiative or with the consent of the owner.

I thank the committee for the opportunity to submit this statement.

STATEMENTS AND LETTERS FILED

(At the direction of the chairman, the following statements and letters filed with the committee were included in the record:)

COLORADO WATER CONSERVATION BOARD,
Denver, Colo., June 18, 1957.

Hon. GORDON ALLOTT,
United States Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR ALLOTT: There is before the Senate a bill, S. 1176, which would create a National Wilderness Preservation Council. Bills before the House which treat of the same subject are H. R. 500 and H. R. 361.

We find that once an area has been, by order of the Secretary of the Interior, classed as a primitive area, then it is very difficult to raise the level of reservoirs in that area or build a reservoir in that area.

Section 2 (f) of S. 1176 will, in our opinion, make it more difficult to carry on work in these areas than it is at the present time under the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture. Also, it appears to me at least, that this is just another layer of administration placed on top of two organizations effectively working in this field.

Hoping that I have not spoken out of turn, I am,
Sincerely yours,

IVAN C. CRAWFORD, *Director.*

DENVER, COLO., *June 18, 1957.*

Hon. GORDON ALLOTT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

It is our understanding that the House Subcommittee on Public Lands is holding a hearing on H. R. 1960 and related bills June 20 and 21. Following

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is a resolution passed at the 90th annual convention whereas S. 4013 and H. R. 11703 and several other bills, if enacted, would establish a national wilderness preservation system covering and setting aside many many thousands of acres of Federal lands to the exclusion of all private or economic use in productivity and whereas this would represent a serious step backward from the multiple-use principle in management of Federal lands; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Colorado Cattlemen's Association opposes this type of legislation. Our association would appreciate your strenuous opposition to any bill that would establish a national wilderness preservation system.

DAVID G. RICE, Jr.,
Executive Secretary, Colorado Cattlemen's Association.

Hon. GORDON ALLOTT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

The Colorado State Watershed Conservation Association at their semiannual meeting at Gunnison, Colo., today unanimously passed the following resolution:

Whereas the State of Colorado to obtain full use of the native waters of Colorado allocated to its use, must construct relatively small high-altitude reservoirs, and

Whereas the sites of these reservoirs are on Forest Service and other public lands, and

Whereas this association has always opposed any legislation that might preclude the fullest development of these public lands to the greatest use of all the people: Now be it

Resolved, that this association is unalterably opposed to any legislation that would designate more of these public lands as primitive areas and thereby make them unavailable to the construction of small high-altitude reservoirs and to the fullest development for the most good to the greatest number of people.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the chairman of the small-projects committee of this association transmit this resolution to Hon. Gracie Pfost, chairman of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Public Lands.

JUNE 25, 1957.

Hon. GORDON ALLOTT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

The attention of our association was called to the bills which were heard before your committee within the last few days, that would designate certain public lands as primitive areas. We are unable at this time to get exact location of these proposed areas.

The information available to us indicates that this legislation would permit the construction of no roads or any structure whatever on lands in any designated primitive area.

We must object strenuously to this proposed law where it would prevent the construction of any proposed high-altitude reservoir, for the sites of all these are on public lands.

Our association stands for the fullest development of all our natural resources for the greatest good of all the people. We believe that the location of all these small high-altitude reservoirs can be worked into the general scheme without any hindrance in any way to the best recreational benefits.

Sincerely,

TED R. RYAN,
Chairman, Small Projects Committee,
Colorado State Watershed Conservation Association.

STATEMENT OF HARVEY BROOME, FORMER PRESIDENT, SMOKY MOUNTAINS HIKING CLUB, AND VICE PRESIDENT, THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY

My name is Harvey Broome. I welcome the opportunity to make a statement on behalf of this bill. Although I am an officer of the Wilderness Society, the

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views I express herein are my own. I am a lawyer from Tennessee, who finds in the wilderness a happy contrast to the demands of that calling.

I have been going into the wilds a matter of 40 years. In those years I have deeply enjoyed the virgin forests of my own State, the lakes of the Canadian border, the shorelines of both coasts, the big trees of Mariposa and of the Bogachiel, the deserts and river canyons of New Mexico and Utah, and the great snowfields and peaks of the Rocky Mountains. I have enjoyed also the teeming birdlife and cypresses of one of our southern swamps. In those years, almost without exception, the areas with which I have become familiar have suffered change—usually for the worse. The forests are becoming smaller, the lakes and streams less fresh, the shorelines less accessible.

In reflecting upon these changes I have thought of the American wilderness as it once stretched in a vast unity from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf. No people in historic times, except Americans and Canadians, have experienced the intoxication of 3,000 miles of unexplored wilderness. The land seemed without end, its forests and plains inexhaustible. It raised a majestic challenge to explorers and settlers. And in meeting that challenge there emerged, I think, some of the greatness of the American people—their vitality and toughness, their daring, and idealism. We, as a nation, are singularly the product of this great, continentwide, overwhelming, and inspiring land of ours.

Many of us envy the first contact with the wilds—of such men as the Bartrams, the Boones and Crocketts, the Lewis and Clarks, the Jedediah Smiths, the Fremonts, the Brigham Youngs, the voyageurs, the forty-niners, the buffalo hunters, and yes, even, the Paul Bunyans. There was an overmastering challenge in that boundless land. Those who experienced it wanted more of it. It cast an unspeakable spell. Even some of the buffalo hunters, who were as destructive and profligate a group as our country ever raised up, felt uneasy and contrite at the results of their pillage.

Time passed, changes became noticeable. There emerged persons who sensed that there could be an end to the primeval world they had known and loved. The growth of such misgivings has a notable history. As long as 250 years ago, William Penn urged the leaving for seed of 1 acre of every 5 acres of trees cleared. A hundred years have passed since Thoreau pleaded for national preservations in which the bear and panther might still exist and "not be civilized off the face of the earth." Nearly 100 years ago Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., made a dramatic plea for Yosemite. Nearly 90 years ago Judge Cornelius Hedges, sitting by a campfire in the Yellowstone, was so impressed by the sheer drama of its hot springs and geysers that he started a movement for their preservation. In Yosemite and Yellowstone we find for perhaps the first time in world history the conviction that specific areas of land were worth saving for their own sake. One by one, Sequoia, Bryce Canyon, Kings Canyon, and others followed. In 1916 the National Park Service was established under Stephen Mather. In 1921 Aldo Leopold made his plea for extensive areas of wilderness. He sought them not for the spectacular and awesome, but for the physical experience of remoteness, of being on one's own. He wanted the opportunity for observation of the undisturbed interplay of wildlife and vegetation and land. Even then, Leopold was fearful of the civilizing effects of projected roadbuilding. He wanted areas where man could continue to get the feel—of wilderness, of the buffalo and elk herds, of the grizzlies, and the silent hush of the timeless forests. He wanted to preserve environments where modern man could relive the experiences of those early explorers.

Penn, Thoreau, Olmsted, Hedges, Mather, Leopold, and others were, in piecemeal fashion, giving expression to something new in the thinking of mankind. Thought by thought, area by area, the concept was born—of the preservation of lands without deterioration, of their utilization without destruction.

That concept is widely held. Almost daily new tracts are being preserved—a remnant of first-growth white pines in Pennsylvania, an unspoiled beach in North Carolina, a notable woods in New Jersey, a spot of prairie, a cypress swamp, a river canyon. There is common recognition by the people. Tens of millions of American—scientists, fishermen, trail riders, climbers, canoeists, bikers, dudes, skiers, spelunkers, hunters, and sightseers (what a list it is!)—go each year to their parks, forests, wildlife areas and ranges, to their mountains, lakes, and shores. This hunger for the outdoors, for its calm, its beauties, its wildlife, and its story of creation is, I would like to think, one of the hallmarks of our civilization. Amid the bewilderment and frightfulness of the atomic age, our people in a variety of pursuits find in those preserves a basic

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interest and zest, as well as strength and sanity. There, they come in contact with forces almost as old as the earth itself—forces which gave it shape and endowed it with life and beauty and richness.

We learn from our political history that human rights and liberties do not come easily. We have only to read Patrick Henry's doubtless speech in the house of burgesses, to study again the events leading to the Boston Tea Party, to examine the Declaration of Independence and the first 10 amendments of the Constitution. Always there are selfish and cruel and heedless persons to deny and undermine.

Wilderness is no exception. There are people who have never fallen under the spell of a waterfall or have never stood in silent humility in the presence of the big trees—people who do not place value on the wild excitement of a rapid, or upon the wide reaches of a range dotted with buffalo. Without compunction it seems that they would exact from the forests every foot of lumber, from the high meadows every pound of beef and mutton, from the rivers every last kilowatt of power, from the mountains every ounce of ore, and from the pockets of tourists every last cent of money. Of course they deny any such intention. But too frequently they decline to draw the line on any project they are interested in. The hard decisions they leave for the next generation, when, if the pace continues, there will be little wilderness left.

These people are our countrymen and often our friends. They may be people of the big cities or of the countinghouses, or people who have been so beset with problems of their job or making a living they have never paused to think of the world around them. Rightly or wrongly—I think wrongly—they have never sensed or recognized the widely held claims of wilderness. They have turned their backs upon—or perhaps have never faced—the natural glories of their continent. They repudiate the richnesses and beauties which beckoned their ancestors and which in the course of the decades have made a claim upon the hearts and minds of millions for preservation.

I and my colleagues are simply asking the Congress, in this bill, to ratify what the majority of our people by their increasing use of our forests and preserves hold to be self-evident: the high importance of wilderness and wildlife in their lives. We are asking the Congress to give sanction to the preeminent place of unspoiled land in our way of thinking and living. We are asking Congress to enact a national policy which will strengthen the administrators to resist selfish and thoughtless pressures to exploit and dilute the wild values under their care. We ask congressional sanction for a policy in which we as a nation can take boundless pride.

I urge upon the Congress the enactment of this—a bill of rights for wilderness. The wilderness brought our forefathers an élan and daring which still infects our people. It gave them an appreciation of beauty and the timelessness of the earth. Let us of the present preserve these tangible links with the glories of our past. Through their preservation, in undisturbed and substantial chunks, we and our descendants can reexperience at will, and through all time, some of the best of the earth and of our storied past. And we shall thus endow our civilization with the priceless unity—and excitement—and health—which wilderness alone can give.

EUGENE, OREG., *June 18, 1957.*

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: I desire to urge the passage of legislation to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System that would preserve and properly control wilderness areas and that would prevent the removal of any area from the System except by Congress.

It is my belief that such a bill would help to insure for future generations the many benefits wilderness offers, as opportunity for adventure, environment for relaxation from our hurried way of living, historic, scientific, recreational, educational, spiritual, and inspirational values.

I would appreciate having my statement made a part of the record. Thank you.

Yours very truly,

FRANCES S. NEWSOM
Mrs. Frances S. Newsom

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UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
Minneapolis, Minn., June 23, 1957.

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I would like to voice few words in support of Senate bill 1176 for the establishment of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

In the rapidly shrinking world of the primeval regions an establishment of a permanent system for the preservation of such regions is imperative. This has been brought especially close home to me during a recent field trip I undertook through Oregon with a friend from one of our leading natural history museums. The inroads made by men into the Oregon forests during the past 15 or so years are altogether fantastic. Carelessness and wanton destruction are in evidence everywhere.

We should remember that the virgin forests and mountains harbor great many plants and animals which are threatened by extinction unless human interference is curbed and prevented. We should also remember that once they are extinct there is no chance whatever for recovery. The salient point of course, is not only in the prevention of direct persecution by men but also in the prevention of the destruction of the habitat. Great many animals which are not normally hunted, such as birds, insects or reptiles, will disappear if the particular habitat in which they live is substantially altered by men.

I think we have an obligation to preserve this legacy both for the benefit of the present day and the future scientists and nature lovers and all those who enjoy the outdoor life unfettered by the crowded hamburger stands and screaming billboards.

In setting up a permanent National Wilderness System we may succeed in the preservation of the few remaining virgin areas in the country. Under the present system they are constantly in the danger of reclassification and exploitation. To witness recently changed status of part of the Three Sisters primitive area in the Oregon's Cascades by the Forest Service where 53,000 acres of wilderness has been given to the tender mercies of the axe!

I understand that the hearings on the above matter are taking place now and if possible, I would like to have my letter included as a part of the Congressional Record.

Sincerely yours,

BORYS MALKIN.

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. COVER RE THE WILDERNESS BILL

When the proposed national wilderness preservation system (H. R. 500 and S. 1176) is enacted into law, we shall have the first act of Congress establishing as a national policy the preservation for succeeding generations of portions of our wilderness resources which have been bequeathed to us intact.

This step is of tremendous significance in the development of our democratic responsibilities.

It is a recognition that the individual pioneering era is past, and that our modern mechanical pioneering system requires public guidance if complete devastation is to be prevented.

In addition, this policy and its administration recognizes the vital human needs of all generations: the inspiration of recreation and relaxation in nature's wildness away from pressures of daily occupations and the noise of cities and highways.

Moreover, it conserves in perpetuity these scientific, educational, and historical assets of primitive America.

As a protection against encroachment of private interests upon wildlife refuge, provisions of the bill restrict to congressional action the authority to remove a refuge or range from the system.

While administration of the areas incorporated in the system remains with the Federal Government agencies historically concerned, particularly Forest Service, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Indian Affairs Bureau, a National Wilderness Preservation Council will serve as an information center and a repository of records. Its membership will include, in addition to representatives of the specified Federal Government agencies, "six citizen members known to be informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness," to be appointed by the President. The Secretary of the Smith-

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sonian Institution is designated as Secretary of the Council, a designation related to the complete freedom of the Institution from any specific area interest or administrative responsibility in the wilderness system. This wise provision leaves only human frailties as an unknown quantity.

Those of us whose daily lives are centered in the east, and who feel the deprivation of readily available wilderness refreshment, should respond enthusiastically to this proposal to secure these areas in perpetuity. And we should be grateful to congressional sponsors of this legislation, particularly Representative John P. Saylor and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

L AND G LAPIDARY SERVICE,
Minneapolis, Minn., June 22, 1957.

HON. HUBERT HUMPHREY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: I am not going to start this letter by stating I supported you in your last campaign. I am ashamed to say that I have always lacked any enthusiasm for any politics up to this time.

I have just returned from a trip up in the canoe country of northern Minnesota. While I was up there I heard rumors that certain individuals were contemplating cutting roads through this beautiful wilderness.

I went back into this area about 40 miles. I got there as a result of my own efforts, hard paddling and many portages. I don't know if you have had the privilege of going back into this wilderness, or not. If you have you are one of the fortunate individuals who has felt the cool breeze of the lake air in your face as you paddled along. You have breathed the pine scented air of the great north woods, you have heard the music of the woodland birds, and listened to the quiet whisper of the waves, and many other pleasures found only in this region.

I am not an overly religious man, but one Sunday while in this region I was resting on a bed of pine needles on one of the many islands that dot these lakes, and as I lay there resting, I prayed. I prayed real hard that my Creator would find some man with a fist big enough to stop anyone from destroying this great green cathedral. Back in the quiet vastness of these forests one finds it easy to pray, and easy to feel near to God, and as I lay there praying and listening to the wind in the treetops, I felt that I was talking to God and that He was listening to my prayers.

On my return trip to Minneapolis I heard on the radio that you were taking steps to preserve this wilderness, and I would like to know what I can do to help. I am not a rich man, but if money is required, I have some. If it is words that are needed I will shout them to anyone who will listen.

I am willing to do anything to help, and I will consider it a privilege if you will advise me what I can do to help.

Trusting I will have the honor of working for you, I remain,

Yours very truly,

L & G LAPIDARY SERVICE,
LEO J. H. MIELKE.

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR ROBERTS, ATTORNEY AT LAW, IN SUPPORT OF WILDERNESS BILL

DULUTH, MINN., *June 18, 1957.*

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned herewith submits the following statement in support of the wilderness bill, H. R. 500, S. 1176, to wit:

First, the necessity of preserving our wilderness values for our own use and the use of our descendants is becoming increasingly evident to any thinking person. They are not only actual physical necessities especially as respects our water and water resources, but are even more so spiritually and esthetically. The American wilderness has been and always will be an integral part of our national life. Every boy is an Indian, a Kit Carson, or a Daniel Boone, as well as a cop and robber, sometime in his life.

Second, the explosive growth of the population of this country has made it increasingly evident that within a relatively short period of time we are going to strain every natural resource of this great country of ours. Already, within the plan of one lifetime, I have seen our country pass the 100 million mark to the 170 million mark. The Malthusian law being what it is, the possibility of

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our having a population of 300 million persons with the resultant tensions and pressures incident to such a great population is not too difficult to envision.

Third, the national park system has been well conceived and remarkably successful in its development and use. Yellowstone, the Grand Canyon, and the Grand Tetons are in themselves extraordinary, but perhaps the most interesting aspect of them is the use to which they are put. One who has seen youngsters of all races, classes, and from all parts of the country, watching and running squealing from the bear browsing around the camps at Yellowstone at night realize the value of such a park to the country.

Fourth, we have reached a point in our national development in which we cannot ruthlessly use or exploit our natural resources. We must of necessity stop, watch, and consider their use for the benefit of the whole. A real factor to be considered in the development of our natural resources is the understandable desire of persons and communities lying immediately adjacent to a valuable natural resource to exploit it for their own immediate economic benefit. We have seen many instances of such situations. They can best be handled by the application of a uniform national system of utilization of wilderness resources.

Fifth, the national park system when first conceived and applied to the Yellowstone area was an enormous step forward. We have had the benefit of the original idea. Like all things, time and circumstances move on and at this time we are confronted with the necessity of further developing and strengthening the manner of preserving and utilizing our wilderness areas of all types and descriptions.

Sixth, immediate and further point has been given to the necessity of preserving our wilderness system by the recent attempt to subvert the Dinosaur National Monument to local and regional uses and to operate private resorts in the Superior National Forest here in Minnesota.

Seventh, H. R. 500 represents a reasoned and well-considered plan to preserve our wilderness areas for ourselves and posterity. It envisions the situation as a whole and contains one provision that is an absolute necessity, to wit: "No unit of the national park system shall be removed from the system except by act of Congress," thereby settling the question that was specifically raised in the Dinosaur National Monument controversy. Another desirable factor is the provision for the preservation and handling of Indian wilderness areas. The administrative provisions contained in the bill appear to give a reasonable degree of administrative flexibility and the provision providing for the creation of a National Wilderness Council affords a continuing body that can from time to time advise the Congress as to what changes, if any, should be made in the law and the administration of our wilderness resources in the public interest as a whole.

Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR ROBERTS, *Attorney at law.*

STATEMENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States strongly urges your subcommittee not to approve of S. 1176 and related bills to establish a national wilderness preservation system. This legislation would build up a system of approximately 53 million acres of Federal lands devoted in perpetuity to the preservation of their primeval character for the benefit of the few hardy hikers and campers who can get into them.

The Federal Government owns over 400 million acres of land in the continental United States, more than one-fifth of its area. Another 365 million acres of the United States Territories and possessions are federally owned. Most of these huge areas are nonagricultural rural land containing industrial resources, water supplies, recreational features, esthetic scenery, and other valuable multipurpose uses, each important to the American way of life. The chamber believes that such lands should be managed primarily for their highest economic use. Other uses should be encouraged only when compatible with the major use.

The chamber recognizes that a limited number of Federal lands still in their primitive state, if clearly more valuable for recreational use than for a combination of recreation and other uses, after due public hearings, should be retained or established as wild and wilderness areas subject to such development only as will safeguard resources in and adjacent to such areas. The chamber

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believes, however, that the laws and regulations governing the establishment and management of such areas should be sufficiently flexible to permit their reclassification, also after due public hearings, if changing conditions should make other uses more valuable than the recreational use for which they were set aside. This would not be possible under the conditions imposed by S. 1176 and related bills.

The National Wilderness Preservation System to be established by this legislation would be made up of 59 roadless, wilderness, wild, and primitive areas in the national forests; 49 national parks and monuments; 20 wildlife refuges and game ranges under the jurisdiction of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service; 12 roadless and 3 wild areas in the Indian reservations; and any other units that may be designated by act of Congress or by the officials in charge.

The provisions of the bill make it easy to add to the system but difficult to remove areas from it. The bill does not remove the areas included in the system from the jurisdiction of the agencies now administering them, but it would make administration by these agencies very difficult. For example, the bill provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall designate within each unit of the national park system to be included in the proposed National Wilderness Preservation System such area or areas as he shall determine to be required for roads, motor trails, buildings, accommodations for visitors, and administrative installations. After such designations—which shall be made not later than January 1, 1966, or within 2 years after the unit has been added to the System, whichever is later—no such roads or facilities may be constructed except within the areas so designated. The officials of the National Park Service will certainly have to be clairvoyant as to future park needs, which may be as different from today's needs as today's are from those of before the advent of the automobile.

Section 3 of the bill provides that the lands in the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted "to the public purposes of recreational, educational, scenic, scientific, conservation, and historical uses. All such uses shall be in harmony, both in kind and degree, with the wilderness environment and with its preservation." The bill then goes on to state (sec. 3 (b), pp. 19–20):

"Except as otherwise provided in this section, and subject to existing private rights (if any) no portion of any area constituting a unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System shall be devoted to commodity production, to lumbering, prospecting, mining, or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by animals in connection with the administration or recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), water diversions, water-management practices involving manipulation of the plant cover, water impoundment or reservoir storage, or to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this act."

This section would, therefore, stop all multipurpose uses of these lands.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States does not believe that it would be in the best interest of the American people to freeze in perpetuity some 53 million acres of Federal lands for the special use of a small minority of outdoor enthusiasts. At the present time most of these areas are being administered as wilderness areas under laws and regulations which prevent most commercial uses but which are sufficiently flexible to allow changes when necessary to fit changing conditions. The chamber believes that these lands, if their wilderness values are of national importance, should be kept under this type of administration. We strongly urge your subcommittee not to approve of S. 1176 or any of the related bills.

STATEMENT OF MRS. R. I. C. PROUT, PRESIDENT, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has been interested in conservation of our natural resources since a resolution on the subject was first presented at our convention in 1896. Since then we have had several resolutions which have helped us to work for legislation which we think has resulted in the maintenance and preservation of many of our natural resources.

We have continuously worked with the bureaus in the Department of Agriculture and have resolutions with regard to the national parks, wildlife, water supply, soil conservation, national forests, and public grazing lands. We have let these agencies know our wishes on every possible occasion so that they would be aware of our concern. We commend the United States Department of Agriculture for adhering to a policy which has been consistent and in the interest of the

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greatest number of the people through several decades. We have confidence in the way the Forest Service has managed and administered their trust to the people of the United States.

The General Federation, like every thoughtful group, wants the national wilderness areas maintained and preserved. We, like other interested groups, believe wilderness areas should be preserved with as little disturbance as possible. But we think such areas should not be so controlled as to prevent the people, who really own our national forests, from being able to enjoy them. We think it is possible that the people could be legislated out of their rights. Therefore, we believe careful consideration must be given in the setting up of wilderness areas to be sure they are for the benefit of all the people who would enjoy them.

The plan of setting up a National Wilderness Council seems too restrictive in the long run to the General Federation, because we think it would tie the hands of administrators and it would be legislation for special interests which the General Federation of Women's Clubs has opposed through the years. Special interest legislation hinders the multiple-use objectives and policies of the Forest Service which actually serves the greatest number of people.

We believe the Forest Service, with its overall interest in the conservation of all our resources, has and will continue to serve the best interests of the people much better than the suggested National Wilderness Preservation Council, because of their knowledge of the total picture. We believe such a Council would weaken our national conservation program and would, in fact, put a certain amount of restraint and limitation on our people who have a right to enjoy to the fullest our national resources. The General Federation believes that a National Wilderness Advisory Council would be of great value in safeguarding our national resources.

STATEMENT OF IVAL V. GOSLIN, ENGINEER-SECRETARY, UPPER COLORADO RIVER COMMISSION

My name is Ival V. Goslin. I am engineer-secretary of the Upper Colorado River Commission, located at Grand Junction, Colo.

The Upper Colorado River Commission is an interstate administrative agency, created under the terms of the upper Colorado River Basin compact, executed at Santa Fe, N. Mex., on October 11, 1948, and subsequently ratified by each of the legislatures of the States and the Congress of the United States. The commission represents the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, and has as its chairman a representative of the Federal Government, appointed by the President.

The major purposes of the upper Colorado River Basin compact are: (1) to provide for the equitable division of the use of waters of the Colorado River system among the upper basin States, namely, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming; (2) to establish obligations of each State with respect to the delivery of water to the lower basin; (3) to promote interstate harmony; (4) to remove causes of controversies; (5) to secure the expeditious agricultural and industrial development of the upper basin States, the storage of water, and the protection of life and property from floods. It logically follows that the commission is as vitally concerned with the conservation of natural resources as it is with their development and utilization.

At a special meeting on February 28, 1957, the Upper Colorado River Commission officially, by a unanimous vote, voiced its opposition to H. R. 500, 85th Congress, 1st session. Except for a few minor differences, and for all interests and purposes, S. 1176 and H. R. 500 are identical in purpose, and would be identical in effect if enacted into law. Therefore, to set the record clear we are opposed to S. 1176, H. R. 500 and any similar legislation which would have the same effects upon the water resources and other natural resources of the upper Colorado River Basin States, the 17 Western States and the United States. While the reasonable and controlled preservation of wilderness areas in many instances may be a desirable policy of the Federal Government for the health, welfare, and happiness of present and future generations, the passage of S. 1176 would not accomplish this purpose. The theory, as stated in section 1 (b), that in perpetuity "the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount" is unreasonable, unrealistic, monopolistic, and contrary to the real American philosophy of multiple or joint use of our natural resources for the benefit in the long run of the most people for the longest period of time.

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(1) S. 1176 does not accomplish the very thing it purports to do, make available wilderness areas for the permanent good of the whole people, because it would permanently freeze the resources of millions of acres of public lands to a single use for only a few people

The purpose of S. 1176, as expressed by its preamble, is to establish on public lands of the United States a national wilderness preservation system for the permanent good of the whole people * * * to establish a National Wilderness Preservation Council, and for other purposes. After carefully reading the bill and observing such phraseology as "protection of these areas in perpetuity;" "preservation of the wilderness shall be paramount;" "any agency administering any area within the national wilderness preservation system shall be responsible for preserving the wilderness character of the area;" and "administration * * * shall be in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture (or Interior) shall establish in conformity with the purposes of this act" it is apparent that the real purpose of S. 1176 is to lock up forever the resources of millions and millions of acres of land for the exclusive and monopolistic use of a very select group of individuals who constitute an infinitesimal fraction of our total population at the expense of all the rest of us.

The validity of the belief that this proposed legislation has been purposely and cleverly designed to provide single-purpose use and benefits to a select group is further substantiated by the exclusive nature of section 3 (b) which says:

"Except as otherwise provided in this section, and subject to existing private rights (if any), no portion of any area constituting a unit of the national wilderness preservation system shall be devoted to commodity production, to lumbering, prospecting, mining or the removal of mineral deposits (including oil and gas), grazing by domestic livestock (other than by animals in connection with the administration or recreational, educational, or scientific use of the wilderness), water management practices involving diversion, impoundment, storage, or the manipulation of plant cover (except as required on national wildlife refuges and ranges for the management of habitat in maintaining wildlife populations), or to any form of commercial enterprise except as contemplated by the purposes of this act. Within such areas, except as otherwise provided in this section and in section 2 of this act, there shall be no road, nor any use of motor vehicles, or motorboats, or landing of aircraft, nor any other mechanical transport or delivery of persons or supplies, nor any structure or installation in excess of the minimum required for the administration of the area for the purposes of this act."

In the foregoing language of section 3 (b) we find the exclusion of all kinds of multiple use from any area which may be, or may become, a wilderness area. A complete and absolute monopoly is given to those individuals desiring to use the area for recreational purposes. Furthermore, the use by the recreationist is further restricted to a select and anointed few who wish to devote their recreational time to placidly communing with nature because, under the terms of the bill, a wilderness area "is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man * * *," and where "the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount."

(2) This legislation is hostile to the constitutional rights of States and to local organizations and people, and especially to the 17 Western States where water development practices would be prevented as far as wilderness areas are concerned.

Everyone who has read the newspapers, magazines, periodicals and many books during the past 15 years must realize the vital importance of the water resources to the health and welfare of this Nation. We cannot escape the startling conclusion that water could very well be the most important limiting factor as far as our civilization is concerned. This is true whether or not our scientists perfect a method of extracting usable water from the sea on a commercial basis because the relative proximity of and the transportation of water from one area to another are often as limiting as its availability or nonavailability.

S. 1176 and related bills pose one of the greatest threats to the conservation, development, utilization, and management of water resources that the Western States have had to face. To be specific, as far as wilderness areas are concerned, these activities are strictly prohibited forever by the terms of the proposed legislation. Section 3 (b) erects impregnable bulwarks against water-resource development in areas of wilderness. The people of the West have already allowed the establishment of 14 million acres of wilderness areas within national forests. These areas are successfully managed by existing agencies

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as wilderness areas and as watersheds of inestimable value. The people of the West who are interested in water-resource development cannot be expected to fall for any line of argument which might preclude their use of water resources of public lands of the West. They will also realize that they are not likely to have any representation on the Council that is proposed to be created with powers to "make such recommendations to Congress as the Council shall deem advisable" concerning additions to or modifications of wilderness areas which could preclude the development of future water-use projects or detrimentally affect projects already in operation.

In the 17 Western States there is no higher priority use of public lands than to use them for the conservation, development, and utilization of the limited water resources upon which the very lives of western people are dependent. Certainly this factor should be considered as a paramount purpose by the Congress when any proposal concerning public lands of the West is to be put into effect.

As conceived in S. 1176, the national wilderness preservation system would include wilderness, wild, roadless, and primitive areas already so classified in our national forests; all of the units of the national park system and wildlife refuges and ranges except for portions to be utilized for roads and buildings; with the approval of the tribal councils, certain parts of Indian reservations; and "such other areas as shall be designated for inclusion * * * in accordance with the provisions of this act." It is estimated that the total wilderness areas would be in excess of 25 million acres, with the great bulk of it in the western part of the United States. All of this is already Federal land capably administered by professional men at the heads of various governmental agencies. The part not presently designated for wilderness area administration will be so designated. In addition to the 14 million acres of wilderness areas now in national forests more wilderness areas may be established there. Provision is also made for purchasing privately owned land within any federally owned unit within the system. Even the "related airspace" of the more than 25 million acres would be reserved from encroachment.

It is worth noting at this point that no part of an Indian reservation may be included in the wilderness preservation system without the consent of the tribal council or other duly constituted authority. Nowhere in S. 1176 is such recognition accorded to the sovereign States whose economic and social welfare are directly dependent upon the land and water resources within their boundaries. With respect to forest lands the holding of a public hearing is mentioned. The value of such a hearing is open to conjecture when one considers the pressure on heads of Government agencies that can be exerted by the six citizen members of the Wilderness Preservation Council, who, under the terms of this bill, are to be selected because of their preconceived ideas about wilderness. It seems to be unreasonable and perhaps unjust to deny to the States the power of approving additions to, eliminations from, or modifications of wilderness areas within their borders when such changes in status of public lands from multiple-purpose use to single-purpose use could so materially affect their economy, and, on the other hand, grant this same privilege to Indian tribes. Also, since the greatest share of public lands is situated within the borders of the 17 Western States, under the procedures to be followed in S. 1176, we in the West would find ourselves in the position of allowing the populous Eastern States with their powerful nature and wilderness societies and large congressional representations deciding how the resources of the Western States should be used—or whether they should be used except by the select few who desire to use them in a predetermined, restricted manner. State and local organizations having their primary objectives deeply rooted in water and other natural resources are not even mentioned as being granted the right to make recommendations to the President regarding candidates suitable for appointment to the Council. The bill specifically limits this privilege to established national organizations.

(3) The creation of a Wilderness Preservation Council with its members selected from a group of individuals recommended only by established national organizations interested in wilderness preservation is not compatible with democratic processes

In order to be absolutely assured that everything will proceed exactly as the proponents of wilderness areas desire with a minimum of interference from the overwhelming majority representing other interests, the bill provides for a National Wilderness Preservation Council consisting of ex officio members from the heads of six governmental agencies (Forest Service, National Park Service,

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Fish and Wildlife Service, Indian Affairs, Smithsonian Institution) and "six citizen members known to be informed regarding, and interested in the preservation of, wilderness, * * *." If ever Congress has been asked to create a biased organization in the interests of a select minority group, this is the time. No provision is made for representation on the council of organizations or agencies primarily interested in the conservation and development of water resources so vital to our Nation, or of organizations or agencies, or States whose economic welfare and social welfare depend upon a primary interest in public lands, forestry, and mineral resources.

The proposed wilderness bill does not contemplate the creation of a new administrative agency having jurisdiction over any wilderness unit of the system nor over any agency that does have administrative jurisdiction. All wilderness areas permanently fixed into the system would be administered by agencies already responsible, but those agencies would be absolutely required to preserve the wilderness character of the area. In these respects the duties of the to-be-created Wilderness Preservation Council and its relationship to governmental agencies and Congress should be carefully analyzed. If S. 1176 were to be enacted into law the head of each Government agency concerned, i. e., the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, etc., would be required to report to the Secretary of the Wilderness Preservation Council any additions to, eliminations from, or modifications of wilderness areas. The Secretary of the Wilderness Preservation Council would then report the proposed additions to, modification of, or elimination from the national wilderness preservation system to the Congress. If, after the lapse of 120 days of continuous session of Congress from the time of notification, either House of Congress has not passed a resolution opposing the proposed change of status of the land area, the proposed addition to, modification of, or elimination from the national wilderness preservatin system becomes effective.

(4) *Placing future Congresses in the position of being forced to act in opposition to an administrative decision in order to be effective is a poor way to legislate*

Proponents of S. 1176 apparently feel that present administrative agencies are too weak or too incompetent to do a good job. Therefore, a council with preconceived notions favorable to wilderness is to be created to breathe down the backs of administrative officials and keep them in line. Such a procedure does not create confidence or efficiency nor contribute to constructive administration. Future Congresses would be put in the ignominous position of being forced to act—and act negatively—on an administrative decision. This is not a good way to legislate. Congress should always retain its right to establish and maintain criteria for the determination of the uses to which any given segment of public lands shall be placed in view of the conditions existing at the time and the place involved.

(5) *The superimposing of another layer of authority in the form of a Wilderness Preservation Council over the heads of agencies responsible for administering public-land areas would not contribute to efficient operation and management*

It is apparent that it is intended that this Wilderness Council shall become a powerful agency. It is inevitable that its six citizen members will represent strong national pressure groups. For these reasons the council cannot help but provide real headaches to administrative Government agencies now manned by professionally trained individuals who are specialists in their fields. This means a substitution of political motives and pressure group influence to replace a technical administration of men trained and experienced in the multiple-use concept of utilizing our natural resources—a practice universally accepted and recognized as providing the most good for the most people.

(6) *S. 1176 is too rigid. It does not allow for inevitable changes in a progressive dynamic American society*

In spite of anything that is advocated in this bill, population increases, unless enforceable birth-control measures affect them, will eventually cause pressures on now uninhabited areas that will be too great to overcome. The exclusion of roadbuilding thwarts the democratic process of making wilderness areas available to the general public and especially to those who are most in need of spiritual inspiration—the old and infirm, the harried and nervous businessmen, the overworked technical and clerical workers, and the less fortunate financially. It seems some what unfair to require all taxpayers to foot the cost of wilderness areas and permit only a very few to enjoy the benefits.

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(7) This legislation is unnecessary. Existing agencies can function better without it

One question which invariably arises when legislation as far reaching as S. 1176 is proposed is with reference to the necessity for it. After careful analysis, it is found that this legislation is not necessary. National parks are well-defined and already limited to recreational purposes. Wildlife refuges are operated by governmental agencies as sanctuaries for animals and wildfowl. Wilderness and primitive areas within national forests have been established and are administered in such a way that those seeking inspiration from nature can receive it while at the same time these areas contribute to the welfare of man in other ways. If inequalities and other faults with the administration of any of these areas now exist the best way to correct them would be to build up the agencies now doing the operating and administration jobs by providing adequate funds, personnel, and regulations.

(8) The theory that the preservation of wilderness shall be paramount is not sound on a blanket basis for all sections of the Nation

Before Congress acts upon a bill such as S. 1176 it should first provide for a thorough investigation of all aspects of public lands involved in recreational uses. It is conceded that it is quite reasonable to expect that some changes should be made in the best interests of public welfare. It is even quite possible that such a study would reveal that because of the physical nature of certain public-land units, their lack of value for other purposes, or their proximity to certain types of populated areas, certain units could be set aside for no other purpose than that of communing with nature and that the preservation of the wilderness should be paramount in those units. Such a step should not be taken on a blanket basis, as proposed in S. 1176, nor should it be done without prior and adequate investigations.

(9) There are better ways to approach the recreational problems of the Nation than by S. 1176

S. 846, the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Act, introduced by Senator Anderson, et al., and reported by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on June 19, 1957, is a reasonable and desirable approach to this problem of studying and evaluating outdoor recreational resources in order to provide information upon which to base future action. This legislation would establish a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission to study the recreational resources of the public lands and other land and water areas of the United States. Besides a Commission of 15 members, the bill makes provision for an Advisory Council of 25 members which would include representatives of State, local, educational, labor, industrial, and commercial interests. The Commission would be charged with making a nationwide inventory, evaluation of outdoor recreational opportunities, and with determining the amount and location of outdoor recreatinal resurces required by the year 1976 and the year 2000, and with recommending policies. This bill, S. 846, recognizes that natural resources that serve economic purposes also serve to varying degrees and for varying uses outdoor recreation purposes, and that sound planning of resource utilization for the full welfare of the Nation must include coordination and integration of multiple uses of the resources.

PORTLAND, OREG.

Hon. JOSEPH O'MAHONEY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to register protest against passage of bill S. 1176 which would establish a National Wilderness Preservation System upon certain Federal lands.

I am a forester by profession, not employed by any Federal agency, an active member of the Izaak Walton League, and a member of the Society of American Foresters for the past 17 years, and a firm advocate of wilderness areas.

My basic reasons opposing the bill cited above are briefly as follows:

1. Takes away discretionary powers of executive agency, professionally trained land managers and substitutes therefor politically appointed people who may or may not have adequate knowledge of land-use problems to capably make the very momentous decisions inherent with such responsibility.

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2. Includes more than 50 million acres which would never be subject to boundary revision without act of Congress. This total area is almost the same as the entire State of Oregon.

3. The rapidly expanding population of the Nation requires that every acre of land be utilized in accordance with the best interests of all the peoples of the United States, and therefore, the administration of recreational areas should be flexible.

4. The bill substitutes single-purpose use for the multiple-use concept which has been basic to our policy of forest-land management for many years.

5. Wilderness-area policy should be directed toward maximizing the number, and minimizing the area contained in each wilderness area as a partial safeguard against epidemic attacks of forest diseases or insects, and disastrous fires.

6. Wilderness recreation is, in general, limited to the well-to-do and the young and hardy. Family recreation is practically impossible in a wilderness area. Recreation policy should be directed toward providing the maximum of recreation for all citizens, not just for the favored few.

7. The great majority of lands affected by these bills are in the West. Hearings held in the Nation's Capital do not permit adequate representation of the people most vitally concerned. A public hearing should be held in the West before final decision is made.

I trust that these views will be made known to the other members of your subcommittee. They are made with the deepest sincerity and with full awareness of the magnitude of your responsibility.

Very truly yours,

CARWIN A. WOOLLEY.

FRIENDS OF THE WILDERNESS,
Duluth, Minn., June 17, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: Friends of the Wilderness emphatically and unreservedly endorses the principles of the proposed Wilderness Preservation Act. We do so because we know, from bitter experience of more than 36 years in our unique wilderness canoe country in northern Minnesota, that our Nation's wilderness areas deeply need—and often desperately—the express sanction of the Congress—the direct protection of the national law. We believe they have every right to have it; and that it is gross ignoring of the facts to say that this protection is superfluous and unnecessary.

The Superior roadless areas have been the country's outstanding laboratory for the study of how well a wilderness area protected by departmental regulation only is equipped to resist unwarranted encroachment and exploitation. Because of its unique and special character, closeness to large centers of population, and accessibility, Superior has been in a class by itself among wilderness areas in the number and scope of attacks that have been made on it. Therefore the hard-learned lessons of Superior have an important bearing on the questions posed by the bill under consideration by your subcommittee.

Our small remaining wilderness heritage, or most of it, is always in jeopardy today. Superior, as an example, has been under intermittent major attack for more than a generation. Elsewhere, yesterday it was the wildlife refuges. Today it is a couple of areas in New Mexico. And so on. As our population continues to increase at a rate that was considered fantastic only 15 years ago, the wilderness preserves will come under constantly more pressure, just like accessible Superior. And as in Superior, a departmental regulation may not be enough. These wilderness preserves increase in value as our population increases. But in the same proportion the pressure to throw them open to indiscriminate use also increases.

In this brief statement we will not go into the extremely important role of these wilderness preserves in our society today. It might be mentioned, however, that they are particularly beneficial to our young people. One of their greatest dividends is the imparting of a perspective, historical, civic and social, that leads inevitably to greater national awareness and better citizenship. The undersigned has come to regard his teen-age travels by canoe through the Superior-Quetico wilderness country of Minnesota and Ontario as among the major beneficial influences of his entire life.

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In urging urgently the real need for congressional recognition of the wilderness areas, we do not bring into question in the slightest the competence or objectives of the professionals of the Federal services concerned. We have only the highest respect for and confidence in them. In Superior, the United States forest officials have chartered a wilderness-use concept and management policy that could well be a model for the whole Nation. These professionals have been no doubt the largest single factor in the setting up of our present fine wilderness system, which combined with our great general national park and forest systems may well be said to constitute one of this country's most legitimate claims to greatness. But as I have stated, I know from bitter personal experience in the Superior canoe country that professional competency and dedication are not enough. The force of law is needed to protect an exceptional wilderness, even when there is overwhelming agreement, as in the Minnesota Superior canoe country—which was a highway to the deep interior before Daniel Boone crossed the Blue Ridge—that its highest function is its preservation in its natural condition.

To protect the Superior wilderness canoe country, since the first roadless reservations 31 years ago, the direct intervention of Congress, the Federal courts up to the Supreme Court, and the Chief Executive himself have been necessary. Congress and the courts have had to enter the picture several times. The State legislature and governors and executive departments have had to enter the fight. And, let us remember, all the time public opinion was strongly, in later years overwhelmingly, in support of preservation.

The same heavy and unrelenting pressure that forced this kind of defense in the Superior country can be expected in any superior wilderness area when the determination to exploit is stubbmorn and tenacious enough. Only the force of law—not mere regulation—and the expression of settled public opinion behind it can effectively resist this kind of pressure.

The present Superior roadless areas were already a noted canoe country when the undersigned made his first canoe trip into the area in 1910. In 1926, according to the record, the United States Forest Service made its first official wilderness reservations, to be kept free of roads and private developments, in the region. But my recollection is that certain roadless restrictions were already in effect some time previously. Certainly a powerful public opinion to preserve this matchless canoe wilderness was already in existence.

In 1925 the first major move for exploitation was made. A paper and logging company sought to biuld dams which would flood hundreds of miles of public shorelines, and application was made to the International Joint Commission, which by treaty has jurisdiction over these border waters. In 1928 a joint congressional committee toured the area to observe and approve the first struggle to preserve this unique wilderness that was just beginning.

In 1930 the Congress directly intervened with the Shipstead-Newton-Nolan Act, upholding and endorsing for the first time, it is believed, the wilderness preservation principle. The act protected by law the shorelines of lakes and streams on Federal lands in the area. In 1933 the Minnesota Legislature passed similar legislation protecting State lands.

Without the congressional action, it is doubtful that this wholesale destruction of an invaluable, unique, and historic public recreation area could have been averted. At the time, the issue seemed extremely doubtful.

By 1940 the growing use of the airplane to fly into the itnerior had begun seriously to circumvent the roadless regulations. In 1941 airplane fishing resorts were established deep inside the roadless areas, serviced entirely by air. Air taxi services were established on the boundaries of the wilderness and fishing parties flown in for a few hours or a day. All this traffic, which became unbelievably dense in the years after World War II, was in violation of the intent, if not the letter, of the roadless regulations, written before airplane intrusion was ever thought of. But the Forest Service was powerless to stop it.

It took an Executive order of the President of the United States, setting up an airspace reservation over the area, to stop it. This was issued in December 1949 and became fully effective in 1952.

In 1948 the Congress passed the Thye-Blatnik Act, authorizing $500,000 for acquisition of private lands within the roadless area, and recognizing the roadless areas' wilderness status and values.

In 1952 air zone violations brought the struggle into the Federal district court. In a far-reaching decision, the court upheld the Executive order.

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In 1953 appeal of the airplane case took it to the Federal circuit court of appeals, which upheld the district court. Appeal to the Supreme Court ended this controversy with its refusal to review.

In 1955 roadless ground violations by the plane-resort operators again brought the Superior wilderness question into the Federal district court. In another important decision, the right of the Forest Service to prevent roadbuilding across public land was upheld. In separate cases, two pilot violators of the airspace reservation also were convicted.

In 1956 the Thye-Humphrey-Blatnik-Andresen Act authorized an additional $2 million for private land acquisition and further underlined congressional recognition of the area.

Friends of the wilderness and the Supreior roadless areas are hoping that the long struggle has finally been won. But, remembering many similar hopes before, they are keeping their fingers crossed.

It will be evident from the above extremely brief recapitulation that departmental regulation, even though backed by a devoted and able professional staff, was not enough alone to protect the Superior roadless areas, which almost everybody, including the opponents, acknowledged deserved protection. No more will it protect any other wilderness area under similar pressures.

The authority of law is needed.

A final word on the matter of multiple use of forest areas. Superior Forest, of some 3 million plus acres, is divided into 3 zones. The outer area, zone 1, two-thirds of the total acreage, is an all-purpose zone where all reasonable uses are encouraged. Zones 2 and 3 comprise the roadless areas, but in zone 2 timber cutting is permitted except on shore lines. Only in the natural or wilderness area adjacent to the international border and Ontario's Quetico Park, the best canoe country, are all logging and improvements prohibited.

This is an example of true multiple use, not on each and every acre, but embracing a forest area as a whole and recognizing the variations in values in different parts.

Thank you.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM H. MAGIE,
Executive Secretary.

IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.,
WISCONSIN DIVISION,
Manitowoc, Wis., June 19, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Wisconsin division of the Izaak Walton League of America, Inc., is in favor of passage of Senate bill 1176, which provides for the establishment of a national wilderness preservation system. The Wisconsin division will not have a representative present at the subcommittee hearing to be held June 19 and 20.

We, nevertheless, wish to enter our appearance in favor of the bill and to urge passage because of the need of preserving some areas in their natural state for future generations so that they will be afforded the opportunity and pleasure given their predecessors.

Very truly yours,

AUSTIN F. SMITH.

STATEMENT OF FRED B. LIFTON OF THE OUTBOARD BOATING CLUB OF AMERICA

The Outboard Boating Club of America is the national association of boating enthusiasts and outboard manufacturers. Its members include individual boaters; affiliated boating clubs, sportsmen's organizations, and water skiing clubs; dealers in boating equipment and supplies; manufacturers of boating equipment and supplies; and manufacturers of outboard boats, motors, and trailers.

OBC directs almost all of its efforts and expends almost all of its funds toward serving the boating public. These efforts include boating-safety education, fishery research, improvement of waterfront facilities, and conservation and expansion of waterway resources. The activities of OBC demonstrate our con-

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cern for anything affecting the ability of the American people to further enjoy our outdoor recreational resources.

A few short weeks ago the Otuboard Boating Club of America testified before this committee on legislation to create a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. We vigorously supported the principle of a prompt inventory of our outdoor recreational resources while at the same time urging a continual effort to provide adequate facilities without delay. This latter legislation, which has now been reported favorably by the Senate Interior Committee, encompasses wilderness areas in the broad spectrum of recreational activities which are to be studied and presumably improved and expanded.

We would certainly agree without reservation that the preservation of wilderness areas in reasonable acreage and in areas within our national forests and parks that are most conducive to such land use is highly commendable. However, the crux of the problem is to determine the extent of the areas to be so set aside.

Without minimizing the importance of preserving our great wilderness, let us never forget that the primary purpose in so doing is to provide another healthful outdoor recreational outlet for the American people. Our outdoor recreational resources are unfortunately not unlimited. They are in fact already overtaxed, and the anticipated demands of even the next 5 and 10 years stagger the imagination.

Hence, the question is not only the desirability of maintaining wilderness areas per se, but the extent to which the removal of these areas further diminishes already limited lands and play areas. It is no reflection upon the desirability of having an unspoiled wilderness to face the fact that only a relative few are able, or are of a mind, to enjoy it. By far the overwhelming number of American people prefer to take their recreation in a manner which to them is not quite so arduous.

One of the important reasons we have supported the creation of a National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission is that such a group bodes well to be able to establish a proper balance of interest. Now we have little to go on beyond abstractions with which it is perforce difficult to quarrel. The tendency is to yield to makeshift compromises to accommodate the views of the groups more efficiently organized to scream the loudest and the longest. Hence, we urge the deferment of this legislation pending the early results of the proposed national stock-taking of our recreational resources.

This delay certainly is in no respect fatal to the interests of wilderness protection, as even the stanchest proponents of the instant bills agree that at the present time the administrative agencies are doing a good job in protecting wilderness within their particular domains.

This acknowledgement of existing adequacy on the part of the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and other administrative agencies involved strikes us as somewhat of an incongruity: It is difficult to comprehend the need to interfere with a successfully working system by interjecting a new layer of Government (the proposed Wilderness Preservation Council) of limited authority and purpose.

We wish also to affirmatively and particularly object to language in the proposed legislation (sec. 3 (b)) which would prohibit the use of motorboats in wilderness areas, and which elsewhere (sec. 3 (c) (2)) treats existing use of motorboats as a nonconforming use. We cannot comprehend the value of such a statutory prohibition.

By virtue of the mountainous character of some wilderness areas, it may be impossible or undesirable to use motorboats. In other places where limited use of motorboats is possible, nature itself will dictate the reasonable use (e. g., where portages are required, persons will obviously strive to use only a smaller and lighter motor). Where particular and unusual conditions might prevail, the best solution is disposition by administrative regulations. Express congressional language, necessarily inflexible in operation, is hardly necessary.

Finally, there are wilderness areas where water is the natural mode of transportation. Because the Indians were compelled by force of circumstances to convey themselves by canoes seems little reason to require modern-day Americans to adopt this exact type of behavior. Presumably the purpose of creating wilderness areas is not to make these a paradise for canoeists only. There are hardly enough adherents of canoeing to justify the setting aside of millions of acres for their exclusive benefit. If we are to encourage the use and enjoyment of wilderness areas by greater numbers of Americans, we ought where

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possible to permit them to more readily traverse the wilderness in other than 17th-century style.

Comfort is not the only factor. Safety and prudence also dictate the availability of today's efficient outboard motor. These provide the necessary safety factor in the event of sudden storms or injury to a participant.

We would hazard most sportsmen who plan to use these areas would be unhappy if we were also to outlaw the use of canned foods and bottled beverages, modern camping equipment, etc. They would say we would be ridiculous to prevent them from taking along modern medicines and other personal conveniences. Such a suggestion would be "drawing the line too closely." We humbly suggest that many of the wilderness advocates are themselves "drawing the line too closely" in refusing to accept other modern conveniences whose effect on the wilderness would be inconsequential. "Unspoiled" is, after all, a relative and not an absolute term.

Again we return to the basic concept of the function of wilderness areas. For the limited few we may wish to set aside some areas where no vestige of the last 300 years shall intrude. Yet no one is insisting that anyone using these wilderness areas eat, dress, fish, and hunt in a manner exactly corresponding to our ancestors. If there is to be any widespread utilization and enjoyment of our basic resources, perhaps we need a modified form of wilderness. Here we should certainly permit limited access by water and even by road. We have at least the equal responsibility of letting our citizens get to and through these wonders of nature, as in protecting nature in its pristine state for its own sake.

We have embarked upon an ambitious and necessary program of improvement of our national highways. It borders upon the ludicrous to spend billions of dollars to provide roads for people to get to recreational areas easily and quickly, and then leave them high and dry.

We believe many conservationists are impelled to take the somewhat extreme position of setting aside large areas for absolute wilderness protection because in the past many of our scenic sites and resources have been ruthlessly exploited and destroyed by interests whose only concern is with maximum profit. This ignores the fact that we can, if we wish, control this commercialization of our precious natural resource and at the same time make it possible for large numbers of Americans to enjoy these wild and primitive areas. The presence of a motorboat or even of a motor vehicle in some areas does not have to mean that there will also be a bevy of filling stations, hotdog stands and billboards. Nor is there any evidence that motorboats have any destructive effects on the flora or fauna of these areas.

We in no way condone vandalism upon our natural resources. We stand foursquare behind all desirable and reasonable conservation measures. We do not believe this attitude in any way conflicts with the adoption of a wilderness policy acceptable to a broader base of our population. We deem it unrealistic and highly unnecessary to adopt as a policy the prohibition of all modern modes of transport irrespective of the specific conditions that prevail.

We agree a review of our wilderness resources along with others pertaining to outdoor recreation is much needed at this time.

A good deal of careful thinking on the subject is certainly required. As present administrative policies are by and large effective, no basic change in our wilderness policy should be authorized until we should have an opportunity to consider the results of the national inventory of our outdoor resources.

(On June 25, 1957, Mr. Lifton submitted the following supplemental statement:)

In a statement filed several days ago, the Outboard Boating Club of America seriously questioned the desirability of the proposed legislation to create a national wilderness preservation system. We registered a specific objection to language in the proposed legislation which would prohibit the use of motorboats in wilderness areas and treat any such existing use as being nonconforming in nature.

One of the several reasons presented to buttress our position was: "Safety and prudence also dictate the availability of today's efficient outboard motors. These provide the necessary safety factor in the event of sudden storms or injury to a participant."

Over this past weekend news was flashed from the wilderness area of northern Minnesota giving dramatic evidence of the truth of this statement and

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translating an abstract principle into stark reality for a father and his young son.

Struck down by a bolt of lightning in an unanticipated storm, the half-paralyzed father was able to save himself and his boy by using his outboard to travel several miles for required first-aid treatment.

The full story of this occurrence as reproduced in the Chicago Sunday Tribune of June 23, 1957, is as follows:

"PARALYZED DAD SAVES SON, 10

"TWO EVANSTONIANS STRUCK BY LIGHTNING

"How an Evanston father and his son were struck by lightning at their campsite in the Minnesota wilderness and how the father, although paralyzed from the hips down, rescued the unconscious boy was told yesterday after they were flown to a hospital at Ely, Minn.

"John R. Barry, 43, of 2354 Ridge Avenue, an account executive for the bureau of advertising for the American Newspaper Publishers Association, 360 N. Michigan Avenue, and John M., 10, sixth grader at Orrington School, were recovering from severe burns they suffered late Thursday.

"BOTH KNOCKED UNCONSCIOUS

"The two were cleaning fish on Twin Island in Knife Lake near the Canadian border, 40 miles north of Ely, when a thunderstorm broke so suddenly they had no time to run to their tent. They took shelter under a tarpaulin stretched between trees and munched on candy bars.

"Then the bolt struck, knocking both father and son unconscious. When the father revived, he found he couldn't walk. He crawled to his son and placed a hand on him.

"'For 20 minutes I thought he was dead,' the father said. 'Then he moaned. It was the sweetest music I've ever heard.'

"Barry crawled to a canoe and tipped it to dump out the rainwater. Still crawling, he dragged the boy to the canoe, loaded him in, crawled aboard himself, and with a last burst of strength started the motor. Young John revived partly.

"STEERS TO NEARBY ISLE

"Barry headed to another island 2 miles away, hoping to get help from Dorothy Molter, a nurse, who operates a trading post. Miss Molter treated burns on the father's feet and burns on the son's legs and put them both to bed.

"Keith Mackie flew his seaplane into the wilderness and transported the Barrys to the hospital. The Barrys told how the bolt had split the boy's shoes, welded the father's camera closed, and melted a screw on a pair of binoculars. Their tent was burned.

"NURSE A HEROINE

"When the doctors took over care of the Barry's they said the emergency treatment administered by the wilderness nurse was "tremendous." The father slowly recovered from his paralysis and was soon able to walk around again. The boy's condition is good."

EUGENE, OREG., *June 18, 1957.*

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
The Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: The Natural History Society of Eugene urges the passage of a national wilderness-preservation bill. This group of approximately 100 people from all walks of life, including townspeople and members of the University of Oregon faculty, have for years been greatly interested in knowledge, use, appreciation, and preservation of our wilderness; and hope that such a bill will help insure such wilderness benefits for our children and future generations.

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We also suggest that the bill provide that the removal of an area from the system be made by congressional action.

Please enter this statement in the record of the hearing. Thank you.

Yours very truly,

FLORENCE L. CLARKE,
President, Natural History Society of Eugene.

PACKWOOD, WASH., *June 20, 1957.*

Senator JAMES MURRAY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

As president of the North Cascade Conservation Council, an organization representing wilderness conservationists from Washington, Oregon, and California. I wish to urge that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs send Senate bill 1176, the wilderness preservation system bill, out of committee with a do-pass recommendation. Precious little wilderness remains out of the original vast expanse that our forefathers encountered on this continent. If in decades hence we should lose our wilderness heritage we shall have lost the essential ingredients that made us the strong Nation we are today. Our children should not be denied the same privileges we entertained and our forefathers entertained before us. There is still an opportunity to preserve much such primitive areas. A national wilderness preservation system will guarantee Americans part of this wilderness.

PHILIP H. ZALESKY,
President, North Cascade Conservation Council.

DISTRICT NO. 2, WILDLIFE FEDERATION,
Lewiston, Idaho, June 18, 1957.

Senator JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: We are pleased to learn from your letter of June 14 that hearings are to be held June 10–20 on the wilderness bill, S. 1176.

Our statement supporting this legislation is enclosed, and we submit this statement for the record.

You are to be complimented on the fair and democratic manner in which notice of this hearing has been given to all concerned in advance of hearing time. This forms an interesting contrast with the tactics used by the promoters of Bruces Eddy Dam, who seldom let their plans leak out in advance of hearing time.

Very truly yours,

MORTON R. BRIGHAM, *Secretary.*

STATEMENT OF DISTRICT 2, IDAHO WILDLIFE FEDERATION ON LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION SYSTEM

District 2 of the Idaho Wildlife Federation acted favorably on proposals to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System at a meeting in Lewiston, Idaho, in December 1956. We are pleased to submit our request for enactment of such legislation.

Various bills introduced to accomplish this objective appear to be similar. The principal feature of these bills would be enactment by Congress of overall wilderness policies to replace the present system of control by administrative agencies. Wilderness administered by the Forest Service, National Park Service, and the Department of the Interior would still be administered by these agencies in accordance with policies established by Congress. No new Federal agency would be created, and no new Federal expense would be entailed except allowance for travel and per diem of a small advisory group designated as a Wilderness Council. The main purpose of such legislation is to insure that wilderness resources will be preserved.

Such abuses as oil drilling on the wildlife refuges serve as a reminder that unless legal framework is established by Congress to guide and bolster administrative agencies, those areas which have been set aside as wilderness will one day be whittled away for other purposes. New methods of travel, amusement devices, ski lifts, eating establishments, and mining claims are all desirable

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when in their proper place, but, if wilderness is taken over for such purposes, it will be systematically destroyed. This legislation would insure that wilderness will not be lost for such purposes unless approval is granted by Congress. Such approval would be unlikely unless a real need could be demonstrated, and would give opportunity for badly needed public discussion and a system of checks and balances not in existence at this time.

The only reform suggested in such legislation is the badly needed reform to prohibit new mining operations within designated wilderness. Mining claims have long been the Achilles heel of wilderness protection, as a valid claim can be established almost anywhere and entitles the owner to build roads, move in machinery and equipment, and carry out mining operations. The hordes of weekend and weeklong prospectors covering nearly every acre of our public lands looking for anything which might return a profit precludes any hope of retaining wilderness unless mining is prohibited in areas in which it has not become established.

If the areas which have been preserved to date as wilderness through the best efforts of our Federal agencies and our people are to be retained as such, the enactment of legislation such as H. R. 1960 and S. 1176 is imperative.

EUGENE, OREG., *June 19, 1957.*

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Obsidian Princesses, an organization of women interested in outdoor recreational activities urge the passage of legislation similar to S. 1176, which would establish a national wilderness system. We feel that is a much-needed step toward a more secure protection of wilderness areas.

We especially urge the prompt setting up of safeguards against changes being made in present wilderness areas without congressional action.

Respectfully yours,

OBSIDIAN PRINCESSES
HELEN HUGHES, *Secretary.*

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON SCHOOL OF LAW,
Eugene, Oreg., June 20, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: I should like to express my views on Senate bill No. 1176, introduced by Senator Humphrey and others. If possible, I should like my views incorporated in the record of the hearings on the bill.

The Humphrey bill would provide a system whereby the boundaries of wilderness and wild areas in the national forests (and other similar areas such as wildlife refuges, etc.) could not be changed without the opportunity of congressional scrutiny. It has been argued that such a proposal shows lack of confidence in the Forest Service. I do not believe it does. Rather, the purpose of the bill is to assist the Forest Service in establishing and maintaining such areas.

A case in point is that of the Three Sisters primitive area in the Willamette National Forest in Oregon. Although the action was vigorously opposed by responsible wildlife and conservation groups, the Forest Service, on February 8, 1957, eliminated 53,000 acres of this area. The part eliminated was on the western portion of the primitive area. It is an area containing an exceptional stand of Douglas-fir and also several tracts of unique growth stock, such as quaking aspen and a stand of sagebrush, a species almost unknown on the humid western slope of the Cascades.

The writer does not profess to know the extent or even the existence, if any, of pressure on the Forest Service by the lumber industry to open up this 53,000 acres. Internal evidence contained in the order of February 8, 1957, is suggestive, however. For example, the Forest Service order contained the assertion that it opened the area to "multiple use." Most people have regarded a forest set aside as wilderness as being in a multiple-use status. Is it possible the Forest Service meant "commercial use" by "multiple use"? If so, it indicates that this agency, at least in Oregon, is oriented toward the lumber industry.

A second internal indication has to do with the new line of the wilderness area. Instead of being along a ridge, as had been advocated by some conservationists,

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the Forest Service placed the line on Horse Creek, located at the bottom of a narrow valley. Such a line for wilderness country is certainly hardly "defensible" (a phrase frequently used by the Forest Service) when it is realized the location of a logging road on the creek, together with the siltation that accompanies logging operations, will largely destroy the wilderness value of the portion east of the creek.

We need greater protection for these areas, not only for recreation but for their scientific value. Our scientists call them "outdoor laboratories" in which they can study plant and animal life. This has a bearing on industry, too. So I say, that if the Humphrey bill provides greater protection, it should be passed.

Very truly yours,

JAMES MUNRO,
Associate Professor of Law.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p. m., Thursday, June 20, 1957, the hearing was adjourned.)

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