Constructing a civilized wilderness

An intersectional discourse analysis of the Sierra Club 1893-1910

Eleonor Ivdal
Masteruppsats i historia
HI2022, VT 2023
Handledare: Martin Öhman

Abstract
This study investigates if and how the Sierra Club adapted complex and contradictory rationalizations to legitimize their authority in wilderness and civilization. The study aims thereby to enhance our understanding of the origin narrative of the American preservation and conservation movement at the turn of the twentieth century which depicted white male heroes as discoverers and protectors of a pristine wilderness. As the origin narrative continues to influence perceptions of American wilderness and by extension the environmental movement it needs to be deconstructed and historized. Previous studies questioning the origin narrative have focused on gender, class, race and ethnicity separately and have focused on text production of specific individuals.

In contrast this study departs from an intersectional perspective and a discourse analysis on all written material 1893-1910 in the organizational journal of the Sierra Club. The study concludes complex and contradictory rationalizations to legitimize authority over the past, present and future of wilderness in the internal debate in Sierra Club were anchored in a site-specific norm, the idealized mountaineer. This norm was produced and sustained in connection to the movement of the white educated body of men and women in the wilderness who had the ability to extract knowledge due to their superior moral, intellectual and physical abilities. The Sierra Club being a collective of individuals who embodied the norm gained authority as a guardian of the Sierras and by extension their position as an influential stakeholder in the preservation and conservation movement. The idealized mountaineer as a norm was manifested in the themes of legacy, science, expertise and emotions but was developed, changed and contested over time. The norm was based on male attributes demonstrated in heroic courage, rational decision-making, physical capabilities and scientific endeavors. The time in wilderness were transformative emotionally, intellectually and physically as each undertaking got the individual closer to the norm.

The wilderness was constructed as pristine, monumental and in need of saving from everyone but them. As some women could embody the norm it indicated a site specific gender equality however certain constructions signaled how women were different without tainting the characteristics and acts of the idealized mountaineer which women generally embodied just as well as men. Legacy, science, expertise and emotions were likewise used to construct others as unworthy, unknowledgeable and uncivilized to reject their claim to authority in the wilderness. Native Americans and Chinese were constructed as racially incapable to embody the norm as uncivilized but no threat to wilderness. In contrast sheepherders were constructed as greedy, unworthy and uncivilized with reference to their class and ethnicity. Both they and their economic production were a threat as their knowledge stemmed from physical experience of wilderness which could be seen to undermine the authority of the idealized mountaineer and Sierra Club and thus sheepherders had to be removed. Others like white workers in the service industry and white educated men whose opinion differed on the future of the wilderness were constructed as unknowledgeable but redeemable.

The rationalizations in the internal debate changed as the Sierra Club developed into the commercial invasion their main purpose had been to keep out. The organized outings, increased infrastructure, successful expulsion of sheep, the transfer of Yosemite National Park to federal management and the elimination of unknown terrain in the Sierra Nevada meant that the Sierra Club in a few years had inadvertently civilized and tamed the wilderness of Sierra.

Keywords: the Sierra Club, intersectional theory, discourse analysis, civilization, American wilderness, national park movement, gender, class, race, ethnicity.

Introduction

> The true ownership of the wilderness belongs in the highest to those who love it most.[1]

That declaration was made by the prominent preservationist John Muir, one of the founders of the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club is one of the world's most prominent grassroot environmental organizations and currently have 3,8 million members and supporters.[2] The Sierra Club annually performs 15 000 trips and hikes around the world with 75 000 volunteer outing leaders. Furthermore the Sierra Club drives action on a wide range of political conservation policies such as environmental justice, biotechnology, immigration, water resources and wildlife conservation.[3] The Sierra Club was founded on the 28th of May 1892 in San Francisco, California with 182 charter members who included artists, professors, cartographers, explorers and scientists.[4] These professed a joint purpose in their articles of incorporation:

> To explore, enjoy and render accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast; to publish authentic information concerning them; to enlist the support and cooperation of the people and government in preserving the forests and other natural features of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.[5]

The Sierra Club initially had a local commitment to safeguard the Sierra Nevada Mountains and Yosemite. The organization quickly extended to fuel a nationwide preservation movement which eventually had worldwide proliferation. In the late nineteenth century the urban educated elite turned to the wilderness for romantic

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[1] John Muir, Unpublished manuscript, quoted in Robert Engberg & Donald Wesling (eds.), *To Yosemite and Beyond: Writings from the Years 1863-1875,* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999, p.8.
[2] The Sierra Club, "Historical accomplishments", <www.sierraclub.org/accomplishments> (downloaded 2023-08-03). The number of supporters and members are listed at the Sierra Club's own website with no possibility to separate out actual members versus supporters. The supporters can be assumed donated to the Sierra Club at some point and thus inflate the number significantly. .
[3] The Sierra Club, "Historical accomplishments"; The Sierra Club, "Policies", <www.sierraclub.org/policy> (downloaded 2023-04-14).; The Sierra Club, "Get outside", <www.sierraclub.org/get-outside> (downloaded 2023-08-03).
[4] Online Archive of California – The Bancroft Library, University of California, "Guide to the Sierra Club Records 1891-"(2019), <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf4x0nb0qs/entire_text/> (viewed 2023-08-08).
[5] The mission statement in Article III of the articles of incorporation has been amended three times since the founding of the Sierra Club. The current Article III was amended in 1981. It states: "To explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places of the earth; To practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources; To educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment; and to use all lawful means to carry out these objectives." See: The Sierra Club, "Articles of Incorporation", <www.sierraclub.org/articles-incorporation> (downloaded 2023-04-14).

adventure, the beauty of monumental nature and a desire for a connection with an authentic self. The American wilderness became a stage where civilization could be remade and bettered in line with the beliefs and values of the urban educated elite. The Sierra Club was a forum for this activity and way of life. From the beginning the contradiction of preserving nature while enjoying an accessible wilderness was present in the Sierra Club and the larger preservation and conservation movement.

The Sierra Club early established a publication, the Sierra Club Bulletin (referred to as the Bulletin below). The Sierra Club leadership used their publication to turn the Sierra Club into a voice for a wider movement. Besides publishing original content the editors also included reprints of articles and reports from other mountaineering clubs, articles or opinion pieces from newspapers, governmental reports and legal documents with commentary from the Sierra Club leadership. Due to these editorial choices the material published in the Bulletin provides a comprehensive insight into the contemporary debate regarding wilderness and civilization. The Bulletin published content which with its contradictions, animation and conflict debated the very foundation of American society. What content the Bulletin editors choose to publish differed over time. What stayed constant was how the journal served as a forum where different voices connected to wilderness and civilization.

Major social, cultural, economic and political changes at the end of the nineteenth century reshaped what civilization and wilderness meant in the US. In the east swift urbanization and industrialization created social issues. The wider access to education in urban civilization created a new group of prominent professionals with authority such as doctors, lawyers and academics. This to an extent included certain women but continued to exclude non-white people. In the west settlers and frontiersmen reached the Pacific which changed the conditions for the US as a nation. No more undiscovered land signaled an end to the aggressive westward frontier expansion embodied in Manifest Destiny.[6] The purpose of the American wilderness had been to be conquered and exploited. As the frontier closed American wilderness was converted to a space worthy of admiration and perceived as in need of protection.[7] Even though the meaning of American wilderness changed over time the concept of wilderness remained central to the American national identity.[8]

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[6] Bret Carroll, *American Masculinities: A historical encyclopedia*, Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2003, p.117:281-282:231-233:371-372:468-469:488.
[7] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967, p.96.
[8] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: the American experience.* Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press,1997, p.7-9.

Civilization and wilderness at first glance seem like binary opposites, however they are complex and contradictory concepts. They build and complement each other, neither wholly virtuous nor wholly corrupt. Wilderness can be a place filled with danger beyond human control. It can also be a place of great beauty, resources and refuge. Civilization can be an advanced state of human organization and culture. It can also be a place for congregated degenerate human behavior and actions.[9] The social, cultural, economic and political turbulence at the end of the nineteenth century was not unique in its challenges and debates concerning civilization and wilderness. However the increment of change exaggerated the urgency of the larger and longer conflict. The Sierra Club connected the debate of civilization and wilderness to a concrete situation. The very reason for the Sierra Club's existence was the conflict over who belonged in the wilderness, who should have control over the wilderness and who had the right to shape the wilderness.

Research on American wilderness as part of environmental history grapples with an internal conundrum. Can one critique a historical movement with a crucial mission in our own time?[10] I say we have to. The conflict between civilization and wilderness is still present today. As most historians would agree, to understand our present we need to understand our past. The environmental movement has been criticized as failing in part due to being elitist and white. The criticism is that the national parks are exclusive spaces for cultural and recreational activities of a white middle and upper class. Understanding the historical origin of the movement behind the national parks by deconstructing and historizing the movement can assist in understanding harmful structures possibly still present today and facilitate a rejuvenated stronger movement.[11] The origin narrative of the American environmental movement supports the perception of the early advocates of environmental protection as white male heroes who "found" the wilderness and acted in the best interest for both mankind and nature.[12] This origin narrative created the leadership of the movement as keepers of

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[9] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1995, p.23.

[10] For a discussion on the relationship between environmental history and environmentalism see the exchange between William Cronon and Michal P Cohen. See: William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature.", *Environmental History*, 1:1 (1996), p.7-28.;Michael P. Cohen, "Comment: Resistance to Wilderness", *Environmental History*, 1:1 (1996), p.33-42.;William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: A Response", *Environmental History*, 1:1 (1996), p.47-55.

[11] Kevin DeLuca & Anne Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness", *Environmental History* 6:4 (2001), p.542-543:547:550:556.; See: William Beinart & Peter Coats, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa*, London 1995, p.73:107.

[12] Kevin Michael DeLuca, "Trains in the Wilderness: The Corporate Roots of Environmentalism" *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4:4 (2001), p. 637.

deep knowledge of wilderness. This in turn created a position of authority over the future of wilderness, a construction which has not been explored to its fullest. Efforts have been made to widen the origin narrative. These attempts have left two opportunities to contribute. First of all, studies which question the origin narrative have focused on the role of singular social categorization in connection to the wilderness. For instance the historic conditions of Native Americans before and after white settlement or differing expressions of gender in a wilderness setting. Second, most American wilderness studies are based on books, articles and letters written by prominent male and/or female individuals in the preservation or conservation movement. Organizational publications, like the Bulletin, have not been central to studies but rather used to supplement other material. As the Bulletin was a powerful tool in itself wielded by a dedicated and deliberate board the material being disregarded is a missed opportunity. As the ability to narrate is an exercise of power to create identities for a place, self and others, the American wilderness studies use of sources need to address its origin front and center.[13] As the Sierra Club was and still is a prominent agent within this movement an examination of texts created by and for the Sierra Club members with expressions, interpretations and depictions of themselves and others in relation to civilization and wilderness can create a nuanced understanding of the complex origin narrative.

Purpose

Civilization and wilderness as concepts are not gender, class, ethnic or race neutral. As the two discourses were central in the origin narrative of the wilderness movement it would be advantageous to historizes the deployment of these discourses in a clearly defined group. Previous studies propose wilderness and civilization discourse at the turn of the twentieth century was reflective of far-reaching societal changes or have focused on abstractions such as national identity. However as studies prioritize specific individual voices or rely on scattered evidence one has to question the representativity of the studies as well as the causal relations between discourse and structural change. By contrast, this study examines the larger debate in a constricted miniature universe, the Sierra Club. As such this study by examining a clearly defined group and a clearly defined debate can in a concrete manner capture the debate in full and exemplify the causal relationships. The purpose of this study is to identify if and

[13] Susan R. Schrepfer, *Nature's altars: Mountains, Gender and American Environmentalism*, Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2005, p.13.

how the Sierra Club adapted complex and contradictory rationalizations to legitimize their authority in wilderness and civilization. To identify contradictory rationalizations in the internal debate in the Sierra Club the following research questions are asked to the material.

Research question

- How did the Sierra Club members at the turn of the twentieth century envision a meaningful civilized life in the wilderness?
- How did the internal Sierra Club debate over civilization and wilderness reflect perceptions of gender, class, race and ethnicity?
- In what ways and why did the Sierra Club's internal debate transform over time?

Previous research

American Wilderness

The American wilderness movement was split in two branches by the beginning of the twentieth century, a conservation branch and a preservation branch. They shared a common goal of wanting to protect the wilderness, but their objectives and methods differed. The conservationists (also called utilitarian conservationists) connected the protection of nature to the regulation of the nation's natural resources. As there was no more frontier a more efficient usage of natural resources was necessary for the nation's survival. The preservationists (also called aesthetic conservationists) focused on the beauty of the wild landscape and thought it should remain untouched by human economic production. The conservationists were the largest group, with prominent enthusiasts such as Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot. The preservationists were in the minority, but had influential standard-bearers like John Muir. Not all Sierra Club members were united on the side of the preservationists despite Muir's leadership. Although severely outnumbered at the time the preservationist branch would over time become the backbone of modern environmentalism.[14]

Two of the most prominent scholars on American wilderness are Roderick Nash, who's research explores the American perception of wilderness from colonial time until modern time portraying an emerging environmental movement, and his student Alfred Runte, who investigate the difficult dual mission of the National Park Service

[14] Beinart & Coats 1995, p.45-46.

to conserve nature and ensure enjoyment for people in the same space.[15] Both see wilderness as a cultural production closely tied to US national self-identity. Nash states wilderness was conceptualized as part of the patriotic act of pioneering which served as ethical and aesthetic nourishment for the nation. Nash argues that apprehension of a disappearing wilderness at the end of the nineteenth century provoked sadness for a lost national identity which in turn spurred the creation of the preservation movement. Nash contends the destruction of wilderness stimulates its appreciation, and thus the love of wilderness increases in proportion to increased civilization. Nash succinctly states only cities and not log cabins produce members of the Sierra Club.[16] Runte argues the American wilderness was produced as part of American exceptionalism. The American bombastic untouched monumental nature was thought to be the American equivalent of the European historical legacy of castles and cathedrals.[17] Runte states controversially only land deemed useless, isolated and without economic value was set aside for national parks. This statement sparked much debate and counter-research within the field. Runte posits there is an understandable reluctance of most historians to dwell on negative themes of national park history as the national parks justify the conviction that the United States long has been committed to do what is right for the environment. Therefore highlighting negative narratives surrounding the national parks movement can be seen to reflect badly on the national identity.[18]

Research following Nash and Runte concentrate on biographical work on leaders like John Muir, George Perkins Marsh and Henry David Thoreau (described by Simon Schama as the founding fathers of environmentalism), how romanticism in visual and literary culture promoted appreciation of wilderness, the relationship between transcendentalism and nature and the impact of tourism and cars in national parks during the twentieth century. From mid-1990s deconstruction of the discourse of wilderness became a common theme in new research which rejuvenated the field of American wilderness research.[19]

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[15] See: Nash 1967; Runte 1997.
[16] Roderick Nash, "The American Invention of National Parks", *American Quarterly* 22:3 (1970), p.726-728:731-734.
[17] Runte 1997, p.7-9.
[18] Runte 1997, p.xxi-xxii.
[19] See: Robert L. Dorman, *A Word for Nature: Four Pioneering Environmental Advocates, 1845-1913*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.; Steven J. Holmes, *The Young John Muir – an environmental biography*, London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.; Michael Lewis et al. (eds.), *American Wilderness: A new history*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.; Thomas R. Wellock, *Preserving the Nation: The Conservation and Environmental Movements 1870-2000*, Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 2007.; Stanford E. Demars, *The Tourist in Yosemite 1855-1985*. Utah: University of Utah Press,

The discourse of Wilderness

Studies on wilderness has evolved to include human impact and agency. Most agree, as stated by Carl Holmberg, that nature as lived, interpreted, and described has been constructed and reconstructed in different temporal and spatial contexts.[20] As Schama writes, the wild does not locate, name or venerate itself but is constructed and can become a scene to play out conditions for societal relations.[21] Kevin DeLuca describes contemporary research on wilderness as a confluence of conflicting discourses conspiring to create a wilderness vision from sublime, romantic, corporate, industrial, technological, scientific, philosophical and literary discourses.[22] DeLuca argues that while the preservation movement was the first wave of environmentalism the mythic narrative of heroic individuals who discovered and saved a pristine wilderness from a forthcoming corporate industrialism erases a complicated history. He states that Nash (and many others) ignore that Yosemite was preserved as a state park four years before Muir ever set foot in Yosemite in part due to the Southern Pacific Railroad.[23]

Susan R. Schrepfer writes American wilderness at the turn of the twentieth century was elusive and symbolized a world not yet infiltrated by man. The American wilderness was represented by enigmatic forests, monumental mountains and tumbling waterfalls. The American wilderness held secrets of the past and potential for the future. It was a magical place where people could connect to an authentic self and test one's capacity against the might of nature.[24] This contemporary discourse of wilderness was connected to the contemporary discourse of civilization.

The discourse of Civilization

Civilization is a wide discourse with the capacity to hold contradictory claims to power such as white male hegemony, female advancement and racial egalitarianism.[25] Bederman argues the middle and upper class white men at the turn of the twentieth century constructed a powerful manhood by combining a civilized manliness and a

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1991.; Margurite S. Shaffer, *See America First – tourism and national identity 1880-1940*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.; Ian Tyrrell, "America's National Parks: The Transnational Creation of National Space in the Progressive Era", *Journal of American Studies* 46:1 (2012), p.1-21.; Mark Stroll, "Milton in Yosemite: "Paradise Lost" and the National Parks Idea", *Environmental History* 13:2 (2008), pp.237-274.; William Cronon et al. (eds.), *Uncommon ground: Toward reinventing nature*, New York: Norton 1995.

[20] Carl Holmberg, *Utanförskap och uppbrott: fyra essäer om flyktförsök från civilisationen*, Göteborg: Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, 2005, p.15.

[21] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995, p.7.

[22] DeLuca 2001, p.633-635.

[23] DeLuca 2001, p.637.

[24] Schrepfer 2005, p.3:8.

[25] Bederman 1995, p.23.

primitive masculinity to counter perceived challenges in the public sphere.[26] Bederman argues that by linking male dominance to white supremacy the middle and upper class mobilized the discourse of civilization in different contradictory ways to legitimize class, gender and racial authority. The contemporary perceptions of civilization was that civilization was a specific stage in human racial evolution where humans evolved beyond savagery to an advanced civilization. At the time only the white race was deemed to have reached the stage of civilization. Civilization was also connected to gender where it was deemed that an evolved civilization was thought to be composed of separate spheres with pronounced sexual differences. The surge of Darwinism at the time combined with protestant millennialism created assumptions that the superior races would survive inferior races as evolution worked toward perfecting the world. Thus the most advanced and civilized race, the white race, would triumph via human evolution.[27] Bederman argues class was obscured by gender and race in the discourse of civilization. She argues the middle and upper class were positioned as biologically determined to their position due to racial superiority rather than a result of cultural structures and financial resources.[28] Bederman's study is a thought-provoking deep exploration of gender, race and civilization at the turn of the twentieth century. However Bederman does not clarify why the specific examples of literature she has selected covers the contemporary perceptions of civilization as a whole. In contrast the source material in this study while limited to an organization and time is canvassed in its entirety which reduces the risk of distorted data.

Yosemite

Yosemite is located in central California, USA within the mountainous Sierra Nevada Ecoregion. The conifer forests has high indigenous species diversity with vegetation dominated by cool temperate forest, polar and alpine cliff vegetation. A small portion is covered in semi-desert vegetation, shrub land and grassland.[29] In 2022 Yosemite National Park had close to 3,7 million visitors.[30]

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[26] Bederman 1995, p.11–17:19-23.
[27] Bederman 1995, p.23-26.
[28] Bederman 1995, p.29-30.
[29] Rachel E. Golden Kroner, Roopa Krithivasan & Michael B. Mascia, "Effects of protected area downsizing on habitat fragmentation in Yosemite National Park (USA), 1864 – 2014.", *Ecology and Society* 21:3 (2016), p.3-4.
[30] National Park Service, "National Park Service visitor Use Statistics". Annual Park Recreation Visitation (1906- Last Calendar Year) <https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/Reports/Park/YOSE> (downloaded 2023-05-12).

When President Lincoln in 1864, during the Civil War, signed the Yosemite Grant which gave Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Big Tree Grove to the state of California it was the first time in US history land was designated for preservation and public use.[31] In 1890 the US Congress established the federal Yosemite National Park, which encircled the area set aside in the Yosemite Grant.[32] Historical research on Yosemite beyond the origin narrative to a large extent concern consequences of white settlement for Native American communities, development of infrastructure post-white settlement, the corporate influence on national parks and women's role in the preservationist and conservationist movement. This research can in a way been seen to indirectly use the site of Yosemite as a stage for the discourse of wilderness and civilization to a certain degree, which will be presented below.

Native Americans

Archeological data suggests Yosemite has been inhabited for 8000 years, with Native American remnants dating back 4000 years. By late eighteenth century most of Yosemite Valley was populated by Southern Miwok while Central Miwok utilized the northern quarter of the park.[33] Yosemite Valley was known as Ahwahnee (gaping mouth-like place), and the people who lived there called themselves Ahwahneechee. The California Gold Rush of 1849 brought thousands of miners into the Sierra Nevada foothills which resulted in thousands of Miwok killed or starved to death. In 1851 the Mariposa Battalion, a state-sponsored militia, entered Yosemite Valley to counter a perceived Native American threat. The battalion made two unsuccessful attempts to remove Native Americans by systematically burning villages and food supplies, and forcing men, women and children from their homes. The Miwok upon return, joined by survivors from other tribes, formed new smaller settlements and created by

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[31] US Congress, "An Act authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the "Yo-Semite Valley", and of the Land embracing the "Mariposa Big Tree Grove."" [S. 203; Public Act No. 159]" in "U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 13 (1864-1865)", 38th Congress.", p. 325.

[32] The federal government overtook management of the Yosemite Valley in 1906 when they accepted California's recession. See: US Congress, "An act to set apart certain tracts of land in the State of California as forest reservations." [H.R. 12187] 1890" in "U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26 (1890-1891), 51st Congress.", p.650-652.

[33] Beyond Yosemite Valley, seven traditionally associated Native American tribes and groups have connections to Yosemite National Park. These are the American Indian Council of Mariposa County, Inc. (aka Southern Sierra Miwuk Nation), Bishop Paiute Tribe, Bridgeport Indian Colony, Mono Lake Kootzaduka'a, North Fork Rancheria of Mono Indians of California, Picayune Rancheria of the Chukchansi Indians, and the Tuolumne Band of Me-Wuk Indians. See: National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Surviving Communities." (2022), https://www.nps.gov/yose/learn/historyculture/surviving-communities.htm (viewed 2023-04-16).

necessity accommodating relationships with nearby mining camps.[34] The name Yosemite is believed to relate to the Sierra Miwok term for "(grizzly)-bear" or with a collective noun meaning "the killers" or "a band of killers". Madison S. Beeler argue the second is the true etymon because it is likely it was the first word white men heard from Miwok in the northern parts of Yosemite as they described the inhabitants in Yosemite Valley to white men.[35]

Mark Spence contends the tipping point for Native American communities in Yosemite were the tourist industry rather than the mining operations. Between 1855 and 1863 there were 406 visitors. The number grew between 1874 and 1875 to 2711 visitors. Spence argues Native Americans were generally despised but tolerated when their labor could not be replaced by Mexican or Chinese workers.[36] The California Goldrush attracted Chinese workers into Yosemite who deemed resilient and skilled labored at timber camps, road construction, ranches and farms or household chores such as laundry or cooking.[37] The remoteness of Yosemite Valley meant Native American labor were more appreciated than in other national parks. Native American men worked as guides and wranglers in the wilderness or labored at hotels. Native American women provided childcare and housekeeping services for non-Native American residents and visitors or wove baskets to sell.[38] Furthermore Native Americans authenticated the experience for tourists in Yosemite by dancing at hotels, taking pictures with tourists or consenting to have tourists visit Native American settlements for dinner.[39] Spence argues Native Americans could exploit the patronizing affection from tourists to ensure the right to stay when Yosemite became a federal park in 1890. As Native Americans in Yosemite were a significant part of the work force and had a long unthreatening presence (unlike in Yellowstone) they were allowed to stay. It was however noted by park management that the Native Americans

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[34] National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Their Lifeways." (2022), <https://www.nps.gov/yose/learn/historyculture/their-lifeways.htm> (viewed 2023-04-16).; National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Destruction and Disruption." (2018), <https://www.nps.gov/yose/learn/historyculture/destruction-and-disruption.htm> (viewed 2023-04-16).; Mark Spence. "Dispossessing the Wilderness: Yosemite Indians and the National Park Ideal, 1864-1930." *Pacific Historical Review*, 65:1 (1996), p.28-29:31.

[35] Madison S. Beeler, "Yosemite and Tamalpais", Names 3:3 (1955), p.185-186.

[36] Spence 1996, p.30:33.

[37] National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Forgotten Footsteps: The Role of Chinese in Yosemite's History." (2023), <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/chinesehistory.htm> (viewed 2023-04-16).

[38] National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Their Lifeways." (2022).; Spence 1996, p.31-33.

[39] National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Surviving Communities." (2022).; National Park Service – US Department of the Interior, "Forgotten Footsteps: The Role of Chinese in Yosemite's History." (2023).

were already vanishing, by dying or assimilating into white society. By 1910 over 90% of the original Ahwahneechee were dead or missing.[40]

Infrastructure and Capitalism

Studies questioning the origin narrative of American wilderness protection have shown that corporations and infrastructure had a large impact on the development of the national parks. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 significantly reduced travel time coast to coast. However it was still expensive and uncomfortable, and took a long time to travel to Yosemite from San Francisco. The role of railroad companies in promoting national parks as a tourist destination have been largely overlooked. Later the technical evolution from rail to road was at the center of the expansion and democratization of national parks. The construction of roads and usage of automobiles enabled quicker access to the wilderness but also altered the state of the wilderness. Additionally studies have shown how economic incentive like gold or timber production led to several reductions or additions of the Yosemite national park over time. This highlights how economic motives continued to trump preservation efforts long after establishment.[41] At the start of the twentieth century Yosemite was far from a pristine wilderness. Yosemite Valley in 1906 had lodgings, transportation, curio dealers, grocery stores, photographic studios as well as a butcher ship, bakery, laundry, bowling alley, billiards room and barber shop.[42]

The Sierra Club

John Muir, the Sierra Club and Yosemite are a popular source for historical research on the origin of the preservation movement including the political and recreational influence of Muir and the Sierra Club.[43] Class, gender, race and ethnicity are not common themes in research and when present studied separately.

Studies of class and wilderness in general, and mountaineering clubs particularly, concern the origin of the savior of wilderness as the white educated man from the middle or upper class. Attempts to diversify research on class does not focus

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[40] Spence 1996, p.30-41:43-44.
[41] Christopher E. Johnson, "Getting There: Yosemite and the Politics of Transportation Planning in the National Parks", *The George Wright Forum* 29:3 (2012), p. 352-353.; Deluca 2001, p.633:638.; Golden Kroner, Krithivasan & Mascia 2016, p.4.: Peter J. Blodgett, "Visiting "The Realm of Wonder": Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916.", *California History* 69:2, p.130:133.
[42] Peter J. Blodgett, "Visiting "The Realm of Wonder": Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916.", *California History* 69:2, p.130:133.
[43] See: P. Michael. P. Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club 1892-1970*, San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988.; John Muir, Ed. Terry Gifford, *His Life and Letters and Other Writings*, London: Baton Wicks, 1996.; Tom Turner, *The Sierra Club: 100 years of protecting nature.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991. Holmes 1999.

on marginalized groups in wilderness but on the role of another wealthy urban elite, the capitalist, and their role in the establishment of national parks such as DeLuca's study on railroads. Schrepfer pinpoint how class factored into the Sierra Club activism as they with their high quality publications spread the narrative of a virgin territory in need of protection from human economic interest. This she argues ignored the reality that economic production was already present in Yosemite.[44]

Studies on race and wilderness has concerned Native American presence in Yosemite. The lack of research on race connected to Sierra Club has been highlighted by the Sierra Club themselves. Michael Brune (at the time executive director of the Sierra Club) encouraged a reexamination of the organizations history when he in 2020 urged transparency on the organization's past. Muir's usage of racial stereotypes, Muir's connections to men associated with white supremacy and how the structure for membership kept non-white people out until 1960s were examples Brune gave which if examined could contribute to a more accurate depiction of the Sierra Club's past.[45]

Studies on gender in relation to the Sierra Club are often biographical portraits of prominent women in the organization or studies on expressions of gender in the wild.[46] The records from the meeting where women became eligible to join the Sierra Club were destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 but Schrepfer reasons the issue likely had little debate as Muir had an inclusive attitude to women in the wild.[47] Schrepfer studies the role the mountains played in shaping American ideas about wilderness. Schrepfer analyses rhetoric created by male and female mountaineers, how gender influenced what men and women valued in wilderness and how these perceptions stimulated the wilderness movement. Schrepfer posits men visited the wilderness to challenge themselves as preparation for a more successful business life and to exhibit civilized behavior. Schrepfer describes male rhetoric as emotional, both concerning their own experiences and depictions of mountain

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[44] Schrepfer 2005, p.3:23-25:76:94.
[45] Michael Brune - Sierra Club, "Pulling Down Our Monuments"(2022), <https://www.sierraclub.org/michael-brune/2020/07/john-muir-early-history-sierra-club> (viewed 2023-02-13).: Brune argued some directors systematically screened out applicants of color. To acquire membership candidates had their names presented to the club's secretary who referred it to a ballot vote in the committee of admissions consisting of thirteen people. Two adverse ballots was sufficient to prevent admission. One could also become an honorary member via a vote of two-thirds of members present at an annual or general meeting. See: Art VII sec 4 & Art XIII in By-Laws of The Sierra Club 1892. Sierra Club, "Sierra Club Board of Directors meeting minutes 1892-1907 - By-Laws of The Sierra Club 1892", <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ark:/28722/bk000775x57/?order=18&brand=oac4> (viewed 2023-04-13).
[46] See: Kimberley A. Jarvis, "Gender and Wilderness Conservation." in *American Wilderness: A new history*. Ed. Michael Lewis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. p.149-150.
[47] Schrepfer 2005, p.76:94.

inhabitants.[48] In comparison Schrepfer argues women's life in the wilderness was defined by the will to escape the societal domesticated role. In the wild these women could create a "New Woman" which defied the Victorian norm of separate spheres. Schrepfer describes female rhetoric as less emotional and held less disdain for mountain inhabitants than male rhetoric.[49] Schrepfer's comparison of gender roles in the wild to Victorian gender roles in urban setting treats the source material static by focusing on expression of gender instead of perception of gender. The possibility for intersectional analysis is seen when Schrepfer contends rhetoric was patriotic and that Native American legends were appreciated as romantic while Native Americans working in tourism were held in low esteem.[50] Unfortunately Schrepfer does not explain how or why the perceptions of the Native Americans were shaped in that specific manner.

Theory

Intersectionality

To be able to capture more components of the origin narrative an inclusive theoretical framework is necessary. Intersectional historical studies identify and problematize relations of hierarchy in historical and spatial contexts as simultaneous consequences of gender, class and racial structures. An intersectional framework poses questions on how authority and inequality are interconnected to a norm often composed of whiteness, masculinity, heterosexuality and class. A norm is a privileged position creating an otherness in markers of "we and them". These markers can be seen as exploitative or stigmatizing depending on what legitimizing strategy and material consequences the production and reproduction of a norm have. Beyond identifying and presenting each social category separately intersectionality investigates how social categories affect each other. By doing so the history of lived experience and structural hinders can be linked together and articulated.[51]

Analytical categories and concepts

The intersectional categories for this study is gender, class, race and ethnicity.

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[48] Schrepfer 2005, p.1-5:45:48:50:62.
[49] Schrepfer 2005, p.73-74:79-83:94.
[50] Schrepfer 2005, p.13:20:23:27.
[51] Paulina De Los Reyes & Diana Mulinari, *Intersektionalitet: Kritiska Reflektioner över (o)jämlikhetens Landskap*, Malmö: Liber, 2005. p.7:9-11:45:47:127.

Gender

This study will follow the social constructionist perspective on gender. This perspective views gender as a consequence of continual dynamic historical ideological processes. Through that process individuals are positioned and position themselves as a specific gender. In the process institutions, ideas and daily practices produce a set standard of social meaning, expectations and identities of who an individual can be within a gender. Historically there have been contradictory ideas of gender to explain what gender is, how a gender ought to act, and what authority a gender may lay claim to. Gender hides contradictions by referring to gender as naturally fixed traits. To study manhood or womanhood is to unmask the process of how gender was developed, changed, combined, amended, and contested. Crucially while the process of gender connects body, identity and authority it does not exclude human agency.[52] Based on previous research the source material is expected to hold perceptions of gender based on a writer's own gender and/or opposing gender.

Class

Class concerns how economic relations affect people in a society. Society can be construed as divided in hierarchical social categories of lower, middle and upper class which reflect cultural, social, economic and political grouping. In this study class is seen as a historical phenomenon when some people as a result of common experiences articulate an identity of the interest between themselves and against other people whose interest are different and often opposed to theirs. An individual's ambitions, expectations in life, behaviors, values, and tastes is shaped by class. An individual also often lack understanding for the tastes, values or ambitions of other classes. People of a class have similar tools, resources, and opportunities which create similar outcomes in producing and reproducing class. This means that without a large external change the individual will reproduce their class, and in doing so the individual agency of many becomes a collective.[53] Based on previous research the source material is expected to hold comments connected to class two ways. The first is perceptions of the service industry and infrastructure connected to the act of mountaineering. The second is perceptions of natural resource extraction in the mountains such as lumber, mining and agriculture.

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[52] Bederman 1995, p.6-8:10.
[53] Magnus Hörnqvist, *Klass*, Stockholm: Liber, 2016, p.9:17:38–44:90-94.: E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York, Vintage Books 1963, p.9-10.

Race and Ethnicity

This study will follow the poststructuralist and postcolonial perspective where race and ethnicity are situational concepts in the production and reproduction of categorization as a strategy of a hierarchy of authority. A poststructuralist perspective argues belonging and heritage is constructed socially via language. For example poststructuralists argue one becomes American through actions and language about what is deemed American or not. For poststructuralists it is crucial how race and ethnicity produces and reproduces otherness connected to hierarchies of authorities, who has the right to define someone and the consequences of categorizing.[54] The postcolonial perspective treats race and ethnicity similarly as the social consequences are comparable and focus on how racist strategies use ethnicity and/or race to separate and create hierarchies.[55] The concepts of race and ethnicity does overlap in some respects. However there are significant differences in how race and ethnicity has shaped American history and the destinies of individual people. Based on previous research the source material is expected to hold perceptions of Native Americans and Chinese presence in Yosemite.

Method

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is suitable to use in conjunction with intersectional theory as it emphasizes different positions of groups within a set situation. The foundation of discourse theory is that people's perception of reality is shaped by what words or concepts are used and what significance or categorization is attributed consciously or unconsciously. Discourses change over time and place as part of social processes contingent on historical and/or cultural circumstances. Change in discourse are often connected to production and/or reproduction of authority. Discourse can create authority for and by individuals, groups and institutions claiming to hold knowledge of what is the truth. This position as keepers of knowledge can be used consciously or unconsciously to impose a norm which position others as deviant or marginalized. In this manner discourse constructs, reflects, and reproduces perception of reality, identities or social relations. A historical discourse analysis center on how text and speech have formulated and communicated representations of reality and

[54] Hanna Wikström, Etnicitet, Malmö: Liber, 2009, p.12–13.
[55] Wikström 2009, p.39–42.

consequences thereof. It can expose the complexity of hierarchies of authority by if and how categorization was produced, reproduced, changed and interrelated. The purpose of a discourse analysis is to expose what is being expressed in the text, how statements are to be understood and how it affects norms and actions.[56]

Discourse analysis as a method has its limitations. Despite being aware of context, intention and production of the source material the focus on language can create a disconnect to reality. Thus there can be misinterpretation of empirical material if real world events are overlooked or minimized as causal connection to a change in discourse. This study covers seventeen years, so it is likely the organizations intentions and emphasis changed as leadership matured. Such a change could affect the format and material published in the Bulletin. Equally the discourses of wilderness and civilization could have been affected by a multitude of events in California, the US and the world between 1893-1910.

Source material

The phenomena of Alpine club organizations spread in the British empire, Western Europe and North America from 1850s onwards. The Sierra Club was one of several active organizations with similar purpose in wilderness at the time. Boone & Crockett Club (founded by Theodore Roosevelt) focused on hunting and published game-related books which represent a limited part of wilderness. Appalachian Mountain Club published a journal *Appalachia* (still published) while sharing a similar mission as the Sierra Club. Three aspects spoke in favor of using the Sierra Club. The first was the prominent position of John Muir in Sierra Club as he was a national figure known to publish material to influence public opinion. The second was the Sierra Club's western geographical position as the closing of the frontier made the western wilderness a prime battleground for perceptions of social categorization. Third, the Sierra Club as an organization still has a strong influence on wilderness today.

The Bulletin was founded with the aim to introduce people to the mountains, to relay authentic information and to urge action on environmental concerns. Thus when using texts published in the Bulletin one need to consider the political agenda of the Sierra Club. The Bulletin is still published quarterly as *Sierra* magazine and reaches

[56] Anders Hassing & Christian Vollmond, *Historieämnets Identiteter och Metoder: En Introduktion*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2018, p.104.; Anna Nilsson Hammar, "Diskursanalys" in Martin Gustavsson & Yvonne Svanström (eds), *Metod: Guide För Historiska Studier*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2022, p.135–138:143-145.; Marianne Winther Jørgensen & Louise Phillips, *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000, p.7-9:11-16:20:25:28.

over one million readers.[57] The Bulletin published travel reports, letters from members, scientific texts, and reports from committees and the board which were created concurrently over time. The illustrations, maps, photographs, membership lists and advertisements have been excluded in this study. The bulk of the material are of individual origin and contain narratives of travels including personal and colloquial descriptions and opinions.[58] The Bulletin texts are suitable for a discourse analysis as the texts are deliberated material where the authors express opinions on who has the right to be in the wilderness, use the land or what the correct behavior in the setting was. The activities and writings of these men and women reveal their opinions on a wide range of subjects in relation to gender, class, race and ethnicity. As authors were conscious it would be published in a setting where certain expectations prevailed the texts can be seen to codify behavioral norms.[59]

The Sierra Club leadership was influential in what was published in the Bulletin. John Muir remained president until his death in 1914 but seemed to have let go of operational control by 1907.[60] From 1895 Joseph Le Conte was Vice President but by late 1800s he stepped back. Instead his son J.N. Le Conte became board member and treasurer.[61] Both father and son Le Conte were prominently published. By the early 1900s the next generation of board members such as William E Colby, A.G. McAdie, J.S. Hutchinson Jr and Edward T. Parsons together with J.N. Le Conte controlled the Sierra Club.[62] The Sierra Club had a standing committee on publications and

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[57] Sierra Club, "About Us", <https://www.sierraclub.org/sierra/about-us> (viewed 2023-08-11).
[58] The authors most published (excluding reports from the board or committees and notes & correspondence) was J.N. Le Conte (8 articles) and Marion Randall (7 articles) followed by Bolton Colt Brown (6 articles), Edward T. Parsons (6 articles), Fredrick WM Badé (5 articles), Lincoln Hutchinson (4 articles), John G. Lemmon (4 articles), N.F. McClure (4 articles), Theodore S. Solomons (4 articles), Vernon L. Kellogg (4 articles), J.E. Jr Church (4 articles) and G.K. Gilbert (4 articles). John Muir only published one eulogy and two opinion pieces The remaining text authored by Muir were either as cosignatory as part of the board or as editor.
[59] Louise Berglund & Agneta Ney, *Historikerns Hantverk: Om Historieskrivning, Teori Och Metod*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2015, p.136:160.; Hassing & Volmond 2018, p.104–105.: Nilsson Hammar 2022, p.149.
[60] A report issued by the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club directed to the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture and the Forester had an editor's note which stated Muir disagreed with one part of the report. But as the report was already in press Muir's dissenting opinion was added separate. This suggest operational management of the Sierra Club was performed outside of Muir's purview at that point of time. See: WM. E. Colby, J.N. Le Conte, & E.T. Parsons, "Report on the King's River Canon and Vicinity.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 35 (January, 1907), p.125.
[61] Chairman, "Officers of the Sierra Club", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 12 (January, 1896), p.292.; Chairman, "Officers of the Sierra Club", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 17 (June, 1898), p.247.; Chairman, "Officers of the Sierra Club", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 18 (January, 1899), p.293.; Robert M. Price, "Secretary's Report", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 19 (June, 1899), p.326.; Chairman, "Officers of the Sierra Club", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 20 (January, 1900), p.108.
[62] Chairman, "Officers for the Year 1900-1901", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.164.; Chairman, "Officers for the Year 1901-1902", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.59.; Chairman, "Officers for the Year 1902-1903", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.146.; Chairman, "Officers for the Year 1904-

communications which was in charge of what was published in the Bulletin.[63] J.H. Senger started as chairman from 1893 with J.N. Le Conte serving on the committee.[64] Muir overtook the chairmanship in 1895 but was succeeded by David Starr Jordan in 1900 with J.S. Hutchinson Jr as editor.[65] In 1905 Elliott McAllister became editor.[66] Other noteworthy appointments was when in 1905 F.B. Whittier joined the publication committee and Anita Gompertz became Librarian. This was the first women appointed to official position in the Sierra Club.[67]

Two committees exerted substantial influence in the Sierra Club and generated a formal report for each edition of the Bulletin. The committee for outing and transportation was created in 1901 and from 1902 constituted of William E Colby, Edward T Parsons and J.N. Le Conte.[68] In 1905 the Le Conte Memorial Lodge Committee was formed also formed by Colby, Parsons and Le Conte.[69] Women could also occupy positions in connection to the Lodge. For instance Kate R Gompertz in 1907, Mary Randall in 1908 and Lydia Atterbury in 1909 and 1910 served as custodians of the Lodge.[70] Atterbury also received a position on the Le Conte Memorial Lodge committee in 1909.[71]

Method design

This study will include the full material published from the first edition 1893 until 1910. There are four reasons for choosing this time period. The first reason is the period will cover the inception of the Sierra Club and a few years after. This will allow observation of how the new organization matures. The second reason is the material published by the Sierra Club during this period precedes the creation of National Park Service in 1916. As a federal governmental agency the National Park Service professionalized the management of the national parks and thus affected the activities

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1905", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.133.; Chairman, "Organization for the Year 1904-1905.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.238.
[63] Sierra Club, By-Laws of the Sierra Club 1892, Art VII sec.3.
[64] Chairman, "Contents:", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 6 (January, 1894), p.60.
[65] Chairman 1896, p292.; Chairman 1900, p164.; Chairman, "Officers for the Year 1902-1903.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 29 (June, 1903), p.308.
[66] Chairman, "Organization for the Year 1905-1906", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (June, 1905), p.310.
[67] Chairman 1905, p.310.
[68] Chairman, "Officers for the Year 1901-1902", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 24 (June, 1901), p.329.; Chairman 1902, p.146.
[69] Chairman 1905, p.310.
[70] Kate R. Gompertz, "Report of the Le Conte Memorial Lodge Committee", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908) p.274.; Mary Randall, "Report of the Le Conte Memorial Lodge Committee", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January,1909), p.61.; William. E. Colby, "Report of the Secretary. May 2, 1908, to May 1, 1909." *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.120.; William. E. Colby, "Report of the Secretary. May 2, 1909, to May 1, 1910." *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.244.
[71] Editor, "Organization for the year 1909-1910.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.119.

in wilderness. The third reason is the period covers the societal turbulence at the end of the nineteenth century which could entail a heightened probability of explicit social categorization. The fourth reason is that the outbreak of World War I in 1914 fundamentally changed debates on gender, class, race and ethnicity and altered the discourse of civilization at its core.

By including the full material from 1893 to 1910 this study takes on a delimited world in its entirety. This choice was made to avoid the risk of sampled or selected empirical data creating an unsubstantiated result. The Bulletin generally published two editions per year. The journals from 1893 to 1910 constitute 2269 pages in 35 journals (3164 pages including pictures, illustrations and advertisement). Many original documents of the Sierra Club were destroyed in the earthquake and fire in San Francisco 1906 but as the Bulletin was widely distributed the early editions were recollected and republished in collected volumes in 1950 which are used in this paper. The period of 1893-1910 are published in seven volumes. The texts will be read in full one volume at a time (each volume containing 400-650 pages in 4-8 journals). Any reference relating to gender, class, race and ethnicity will be excerpted. After reading each volume the excerpted material will be examined aimed at finding, if present, a pattern of recurrent statements, words, feelings, concepts or thoughts relating to the discourses of civilization and wilderness. With an intersectional framework it is crucial to analyze how social categorization interconnect in these patterns. The excerpts will be explored for how argumentation was built, if it borrowed from other contexts or referred to other hierarchies of authority and if anything is excluded/missing in the material.[72] After each volume has been read, excerpted and analyzed the next volume will be attended until all seven volumes have been covered. At that point an overall analysis of a common pattern or change in pattern over time will commence.

Two potential risks have been identified in the execution of the analysis. First, as the material are a collection of individual voices it is expected some of the material may be harder to interpret than if all text material had been authored by one person. Some writers occur frequently which allows for getting to know the writer and their tone. For others it can be hard to know if it's a serious statement or a dry sense of humor. If I am in doubt of the intention of an author I will explain why I made a certain interpretation and what an alternative interpretation could be. Second, one of the fundamental traits of a discourse analysis and intersectional theory is to identify the

[72] Berglund & Ney 2015, p.160.; Nilsson Hammar 2022, p.149–150.

norm and the deviant. As the material is from a deliberated official source intended for publication by the author and approved by an editorial board the material could hold less possibilities to identify what was thought deviant than in an informal personal text unintended for the eyes of others.

Empirical findings

Publishing the Bulletin gave the board and editors opportunity to produce a narrative of the purposeful civilized life in the wilderness which fit their agenda. The Sierra Club leadership worked as gatekeepers but not enforcers, which allowed for a type of flexibility in which values and opinions were expressed in the texts. This allowed a lively internal debate as to how to live a purposeful civilized life in the wild. The debate centered on legacy, science, expertise and emotions. Within each theme the debate of civilization and wilderness reflected perceptions of gender, class, race and ethnicity which intertwined in different combinations dependent on theme and time period. A gradual shift in the narrative can be seen between 1897-1902. This shift manifested at different times in the themes of legacy, science, expertise and emotions. The change in the discourses was both due to the Sierra Club's internal maturity as an organization and external real world events. There was no clear cut decision or event which changed the debate, so there is no before and after to be referenced to. However an early and a later phase can be deduced. This will constitute the structure for the empirical findings.

Early phase

Legacy

Legacy in the Sierra Club was based on the significance of being first, nomenclature or remnants. The positive narrative in connection to legacy concerned the Sierra Club members as pioneers and explorers. A negative narrative however marginalized the legacy of people of purportedly other races and classes in juxtaposition to the educated and selfless presence of the Sierra Club member. This negative legacy was constructed either as a lost past in the form of nomenclature or remnants of Native Americas or as a failed legacy of a wilderness destroyed by immoral greedy people.

Importance of being first

The descriptions published in the early journal were filled with Sierra mountains, meadows, trails, lakes, canyons, and forests portrayed as waiting anxiously to be

discovered by the right man. The word "conquest/conquered"[73] was often used in connection to the desire to accomplish or accomplishing an ascent. The word conquest alludes to a military mission or task giving a sense of organized invasion of wilderness. Furthermore numerous writers described the wilderness in the region as "terra incognita", "virgin forest", "virgin peak" or wrote of its "virgin freshness".[74] This choice of wording associated the individual to adventure and constructed mountaineers as pioneers reporting for duty. Physical presence was used as a demarcation against other educated people. Those who had not been in wilderness were construed as unable to comprehend and this eliminated those who had not performed mountaineering as keepers of knowledge on wilderness. As P.B. Van Trump wrote in a travel report after describing the harsh cold conditions of his climb.

> Should some person chance to read these humble lines who has never caught the contagion of mountain-climbing, who has never known the proud delight that thrills and swells the breast of the happy mountaineer who has planted his foot triumphantly on the crest of some sublime peak which, through generations, had baffled the efforts of man to conquer it — should such a one, I repeat, read these pages, he will wonder where is the pleasure, or profit, or honor of mountain-climbing under such circumstances.[75]

Being first was an important part of creating legacy for both genders. Helen M. Gompertz was the first female author to be published when her travel story on MT. Lyell was included in the fourth issue of the Bulletin. Gompertz remarked that she and Ms. Isabelle Miller were the first women to climb Mt. Lyell and she stated they had been assured by several people that they were the first ladies and they had not found any records of other ladies on the peak.[76] The use of the word ladies implied mountaineers were people of good reputation and high social standing.

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[73] See: Evelyn Marianne Ratcliff, "The Sierra Club's Ascent of Mt. Rainer.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 34 (January, 1906), p.1.; Joseph N. Le Conte, "The High Mountain Route Between Yosemite and The King's River Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.13.; Edward T. Parsons, "The San Francisco Peaks in April.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.111.
[74] See: Theodore S. Solomons, "Among the Sources of the San Joaquin.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 6 (January, 1894), p.62.; P.B. Van Trump, "Mount Tahoma.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 7 (May, 1894), p.113.; Theodore S. Solomons, "A search for a High Mountain Route from the Yosemite to the King's River Canon", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (May, 1895), p.225.; Cornelius Beach Bradley, "Exploration of the East Creek Amphitheater.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 18 (January, 1899), p.272.; John R. Glascock, "A California Outing", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 9 (January, 1895), p.148.; William A Brewer, "Scarper Peak, in San Mateo County", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 28 (February, 1903), p.245.; Marion Randall, "The Second King's River Outing", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 35 (January, 1907), p.102.
[75] Van Trump 1894, p.121.
[76] Helen M. Gompertz, "A Tramp to Mt. Lyell.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 7 (May, 1894), p.136.

In the early phase some failed at being first and therefore had to create contrived reasons to create a legacy as first. One example was Cornelius B. Bradley who stated no others had reached a summit so early in the day as he had.[77] In this manner he ensured a claim to be first in some aspect. Another example was Van Trump who had long coveted to climb North Peak. He found out that another travel party had beat him to the conquest two weeks previously. He wrote "and now, when victory at last crowned our final effort, the long-coveted peak was not, as it had been for so many years, a virgin and unexplored peak."[78] Van Trump could not let the other climbing party have their victory unspoiled as this would have left him in an undisputed second place. Van Trump thus adapted and wrote he had been the first to reach the South and Middle peak near the North peak. Thus Van Trump laid claim to another victory by noting his pioneering activities at neighboring peaks. This signals an internal struggle for authority within the group to be the superior specimen, to be a leader among peers.

The authority of the Sierra Club was in part based on the disregard of previous human presence in wilderness. The Sierra Club members were not oblivious to others previous presence. However if previous presence had been by a purportedly different race (Native Americans) or class (lumbermen, miners or sheepherders) their presence did not have the same significance as the presence of the first white educated person. The contradiction in the material was often obvious. For instance Mark Bricknell Kerr who described a trip he performed as topographic expert as part of a U.S. Geological Survey exploration in 1886 made a comparison between being a topographic engineer and being a pioneer. The contradiction in calling himself a pioneer was evident as Bricknell Kerr previously had explained how "a party of prospectors, hungering after gold"[79] had already been at the site Bricknell Kerr was going to. Furthermore upon arriving Bricknell Kerr described a Native American legend connected to the lake and the island. Thus despite the site being known by prospectors and Native Americans Bricknell Kerr thought him going there made him a pioneer.[80]

Nomenclature

Being first at a site was often combined in the early texts with mountaineers claiming what was thought an undeniable right to them as pioneers to name the site. This created a legacy for themselves and/or the person they named the mountain, meadow,

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[77] Cornelius B. Bradley, "Neglected Routes Up Mt. Shasta.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 17 (June, 1898), p.242.
[78] Van Trump 1894, p.124.
[79] Mark Bricknell Kerr, "Crater Lake, Oregon and The Origin Of Wizard Island", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 3 (June, 1893), p.31-32.
[80] Mark Bricknell Kerr 1893, p.33-36.

trail, lake, or canyon after. It was seen as a worthy enterprise to piece by piece appropriate the wilderness for civilization by settling the wild with an appropriate name. For instance C. Mulholland remarked after ascending a peak he was "very tired, but well pleased that we had ascended a peak never before touched by human feet, and bestowed upon it a name that will be remembered as long as the stars are studied by human beings."[81]

A contentious debate on what was deemed an appropriate name seethed within the mountaineering community. David Starr Jordan wrote a list of several pages suggesting new names for places in High Sierra.[82] The vivid discussion suggested an internal struggle for authority. In an anonymous letter a writer argued that there was an urgency to find suitable names for the Sierras as the region was increasing in fame. His/her perception of race, ethnicity and class was unmistakable as he/she wrote,

> Our heritage of Indian names seems never to have been very large - at least within the High Sierra; and the greater part of what might have been saved from that source, has now been irrecoverably lost under the spendthrift régime of sheep-herder and prospector. On the other hand, the nomenclature which these later nomads have invented is generally so void of euphony and dignity – is often so unutterably vulgar, – that one can hardly regret its scantiness. Here, then, is an opportunity for valuable and lasting service to society - or for lasting harm.[83]

The contempt for Native Americans and people who made a living in the wild was obvious and based on their perceived state as uncivilized. However the disappointing results of their presence in the mountains had left a gap of opportunity for enlightened civilized mountaineer to perform a good deed for the wilderness and civilization. Thus in a way the uncivilized legacy of others created opportunity for the white educated mountaineer to create value for all. However the writer followed that statement with a caution. As there was no formal process which approved or denied suggestions of names there had been many undignified and unserious names.[84] Therefore it seems the writer thought some mountaineers were unserious men unable to create appropriate legacy which signals an internal lack of trust within the mountaineering community of each other's worthiness.

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[81] C. Mulholland, "Mt. Barnard.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 6 (January, 1894), p.89.
[82] David Starr Jordan, "The Easy Basin of Mountain Brewer, or Ouzel Basin", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 20 (January, 1900), p.109-111.
[83] Anonymous author, "On the Naming of Mountains", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 14 (January, 1897), p.53.
[84] Anonymous author 1897, p.53.

Mount Rainer/Tahoma became the contentious focal point of the tension between the legacy of Native Americans and the legacy and authority of historical explorers and the Sierra Club members. Van Trump in an unusual stand explicitly defended Native American nomenclature when he questioned the right George Vancouver had to name the mountain after his friend Rainer:

> When Vancouver thus named this grand mountain, he did so without considering, apparently, whether some other navigator might not have discovered and named it, and evidently without endeavoring to ascertain by what name it was known among the primitive dwellers by the beautiful inland sea. This people, or race of mysterious origin […] called the mountain by a name which had a peculiar and appropriate meaning.[85]

Van Trump argued Vancouver had not been first to explore the region but that Spaniards had beat him to it. But more importantly despite his exotifying vocabulary Van Trump deemed Native Americans a group with independent rights and claims to the wild which were to be considered and respected. Texts in the Bulletin in general held no recognition of ownership of land before white settlement. Van Trump wrote:

> And these Indian names are thus appropriate not only on account of the peculiar significance of them, but because this primitive race were the original discoverers of the mountain, and the original and rightful owners of the country […][86]

This made Van Trump rare in the internal debate on legacy but probably not alone.

Remnants

Legacy could also be manifested by producing remnants in two different forms. The first was the literary remnants in the form of publications in the Bulletin. The second was physical remnants by building monuments or leaving a civilized item at significant locations in the wilderness. For instance Van Trump fixed a tin-plate reflector near a peak stating "It will serve as a relic or proof of our visit to the other explorers who reach the summit."[87] The physical remnants were in some cases revisited years later when mountaineers wrote they had been back to look for the remnants again or had heard of others acknowledging their monument in text or in person. Van Trump looked for a lead plate he had left in a crater but could not find it.

[85] Van Trump 1894, p.109–110.
[86] Van Trump 1894, p.110–111.
[87] Van Trump 1894, p.125.

Afterwards he learned another mountaineer weeks before had taken the lead plate to serve as a proof of conquest.[88]

The descriptions of what happened after completing an ascent or visiting a specific meadow, river, trail, forest or lake were similar. A.W. de la Cour Carroll and Stafford W. Austin stated that they planned to perform the "usual order of things" by climbing a summit to erect a monument when it was decided to name a peak after Joseph Le Conte.[89] The actions performed at peaks can be compared to the Sierra Club members performing a ritual from which civilized wilderness emanated. The informal process was described by Charles S. Thompson:

> There were the usual ceremonies consequent upon such an occasion — the building of a cairn, the reading of our aneroid (11,050 ft.), and the taking of various bearings with our prismatic compass. Then we lazily stretched ourselves upon the stones, as comfortably as possible, to enjoy the view.[90]

The ritual indicated a fellowship and alluded to an awareness of producing a ritual only their own group performed and could recognize. This produced a separate position for mountaineers as civilized in comparison to previous humans at the site who with their uncivilized behavior had not produced identifiable remnants and thus did not deserve a legacy.

In 1894 the Sierra Club formalized the process of creating a legacy. This by constructing a register box (canister) where mountaineers were invited to register name, date of ascent, time of registry, weather, time of ascent, barometrical observations and additional remarks.[91] The board published a list of peaks without registers to encourage more placements.[92] Several expeditions were made with the specific purpose of placing a canister. For example Bolton Colt Brown stated he and his wife for a long time intended to "capture a desirable mountain"[93] and planned their whole trip around depositing a canister. In taking on the mission many secured a publication in the Bulletin and by extension secured a legacy as contributors to the process of civilizing the wild.[94]

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[88] Van Trump 1894, p.122-123.
[89] A.W. de la Cour Carroll & Stafford W. Austin, "The Ascent of Mt. LeConte.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 13 (May, 1896), p.325-326.
[90] Charles S. Thompson, "The Taking of Mt. Balfour.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 18 (January, 1898), p.268.
[91] John Muir, "Sierra Club Registers.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 13 (May, 1896)", p.337-338.
[92] Elliott McAllister, "Sierra Club Registers.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 13 (May, 1896)", p.338.
[93] Bolton Colt Brown, "Wanderings in the High Sierra, Between Mt. King and Mt. Williamson. Part II.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.91.
[94] Unknown, "Notes and Correspondence", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.200.

Native American remnants were seen and described in the early texts of the Bulletin. The remnants were seen as a lost legacy embodied in trinkets to be collected as souvenirs or viewed as in a museum in the case of cave dwellings. For instance W.A. Brewer wrote he secured "trophies" of shreds of ancient pottery.[95] In the early phase Bricknell Kerr was the only one who wrote of the romantic legacy as an integral part of the past of wilderness when he fully narrated "*a romantic Native American legend*" as he viewed an island related to a legend of Wimawita.[96]

Native Americans was perceived as unable to adapt to the civilized world. This can be seen as contemporary Native Americans being perceived as remnants of an unmodern past. Observation and interaction with Native Americans included lamenting the sorry state of them or how poorly they had adapted to civilization. For instance Filippo De Filippi in a travel report from Alaska wrote "The Indians of the coast are at present under a very liberal government, but apparently are only in part civilized. They could very much improve their condition if it were not for the unfortunate tendency of the race which renders their civilization difficult."[97] When stopping at another village De Filippi described the inhabitants as "there were a good many Indians loafing around, - dirty, with faces colored and hair hanging over their shoulders."[98] Most of the perceptions of Native Americans were communicated based on observations from afar. A few mountaineers interacted with Native Americans which displayed the same perceptions. Joseph Le Conte when meeting a large party of Native Americans stated "We saluted them. In return they invariably whined 'gie me towaca,' 'Gie me towaca'."[99] In this manner Le Conte indicated Native Americans did not know how to properly greet as one did in civilization but instead without manners insisted on being given tobacco. Native Americans were thus positioned as if they were too weak to resist temptation which stood in stark contrast to the white mountaineers with manners and self-restraint.[100] Not all mountaineers used derogatory terms when writing of Native Americans. Some just acknowledged in passing that Native Americans were disappearing, like Theodore S. Solomons who wrote there were only a few remaining Native Americans in a certain area.[101]

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[95] W.A. Brewer, "The Mystic Spring Trail.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 24 (June, 1901), p.334.
[96] Mark Bricknell Kerr 1893, p.33-36.
[97] Dr. Filippo De Filippi, "The Expedition of His Highness, Prince Luigi Amedeo of Savoy, Duke of Abruzzi, to Mt. St. Elias in Southern Alaska.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.131.
[98] De Filippi 1898 , p.132.
[99] Joseph Le Conte, "Ramblings Through the High Sierra.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 20 (January, 1900), p.76.
[100] Le Conte 1900, p.76.
[101] Theodore S. Solomons, "A Search for a High Mountain Route From the Yosemite to the King's River Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (May, 1895), p.226.

In the early texts in the Bulletin writers described their walking in detail which included numerous sightings and descriptions of remnants of economic production. Mining operations, sheep-corrals, deserted mines, mules' stations, farms or trails made by timbermen or sheep were included in the travel reports.[102] Mountaineers used abandoned water tanks, took a wagon from an abandoned site when their own broke down or used remnants of cabins or production sites for shelter. There were many examples of mountaineers who could not have made it through the wilderness without these pockets of civilization that economic production had left behind.[103]

A report alluded to whose presence was considered desirable in wilderness in a section which described those that could appreciate a visit to a park:

> To the scientist, whether he be botanist, geologist, or zoologist; to the artist in search of grand subjects for his canvas; to the camper who loves to pitch his tent where he may listen to the music of falling water and fill his lungs with the pure breath of the hills; to the mountain-climber seeking heights worthy of his ambition; or to the tired businessman whose weary brain demands rest away from the busy routine of mercantile life […][104]

This text established the different motives an educated white person could have for visiting wilderness but also crucially emitted one type of person, a person driven by the need to make money. The wilderness was a place free of profit for the white educated person. The legacy of profit and greed in the wild was perceived to be a broken devastated wilderness.

A few contributors to the Bulletin dealt with how remnants or consequences of economic production had affected human life. When passing a large and thriving mining village Joseph Le Conte stated he had heard the village was sickly. Le Conte thought the reason for the sickness was caused by the mining and damming activities which stirred the earth.[105] Some early texts deliberated on remnants of abandoned towns where people had taken what they needed for wrong reasons which had resulted in nature evicting them. J.S. Hutchinson Jr. vividly described an

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[102] Hubert Dyer, "The Mt. Whitney Trail.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 2 (January, 1893), p.6.; Fred W. Koch, "Through Death Valley. A Brief Account of a Trip from Daggett to Furnace Creek.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 3 (June, 1893), p.46:48:50.; William W. Price, "Description of a new Grove of Sequoia Gigantea.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 2 (January, 1893), p.19.; Solomons 1894, p.71.; Solomons 1894, p.77.
[103] Warren Gregory, "Notes on the Pine Ridge Trail", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (May, 1895), p.212.;Koch 1893, p.44-45.
[104] Chas. E. Fay, W.A. Brooks, E.P. Sheldon, Alden Sampson, & E.T. Parsons, "Report of the Joint Committee of the Mazama Club and the Sierra Club on the Mt. Rainer National Park", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 34 (January, 1906), p.46.
[105] Le Conte 1900, s.103.

old mining town with the appearance of being deserted at a moment's notice as if the population fearful of a great cataclysm suddenly fled as if from a burning Vesuvius.[106] Joseph Le Conte made similar observations when discussing two deserted mining towns. He wrote "All along the road from Monitor to Markleeville, and in Markleeville itself, I have seen sad evidences of the effects of the speculative spirit - sad evidences of time and money and energies wasted. Deserted houses and deserted mines in every direction."[107] It was clear that the impact of economic activity in the wilderness produced negative consequences for nature and humans.

The main point of contention between the mountaineers and locals was the right to use resources. The Sierra Club constructed the sheepherder as the main enemy and to a lesser extent cattlemen, ranchers and lumbermen. Mountaineers saw the lack of pasture for their pack-animals as a remnant of economic production by another class.[108] As Warren Gregory stated "wood and water were in abundance, but the sheep had destroyed nearly every vestige of pasture."[109] and Dudley stated "Where the sheep pass on the mountain slopes and summits, there indeed is the trial of destruction and death."[110] The mountaineer being above economic motivation with a higher moral and a purpose of discovery and science positioned mountaineers in their opinion as more entitled to the bounty of nature. The strong criticism of sheepherders was often connected to their ethnic origin. Dudley stated sheepherders were worse than ranchers as "[…] the herder was a foreigner, a non-citizen, a parasite, who intendeds eventually to move back to France, or Portugal, or Ireland, whence he came, and carry with him gains pilfered through sheep-raising on land not his own."[111] In this respect a purported ethnicity and class was merged and complemented each other in the perception which constructed sheepherders as less worthy.

Science

Contributors of the Bulletin presented science as an activity and interest which was produced as an exclusive domain for and of the educated mountaineer. Their presence, discoveries, observations, calculations and documentations was constructed as in aid of the scientific evolution and by extension as a service to both civilization and

[106] J.S. Hutchinson Jr., "Round About Mt. Dana" *Sierra Club Bulletin* 24 (June, 1901), p.322.
[107] Le Conte 1900, s.91-93.
[108] Alden Sampson, "The Aftermath of a Club Outing.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 36 (June, 1907), p.154-155.
[109] Warren Gregory, "The Kern and King's River Divide, and Mount Tyndall", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (May, 1895), p.215.
[110] William Russell Dudley, "The Sierra Forest Reservations: With a Report on the Sierra Reservation, California", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 12 (January, 1896), p.265.
[111] Dudley 1896, p.265.

wilderness. A book review unconsciously conveyed how an educated mountaineer tackled wilderness when it stated the well-known mountaineer de Saussure took on wilderness with "serious purpose, mind receptive, and body active."[112] This speaks volumes of how a Sierra Club member combined physical presence in the wild with an active intellect and pure purpose.

Scientific data

The contributions to science made by the Sierra Club members during their travels in the wild had scientific value and furthered the knowledge of the region. The performance of science was part of the ritual at an ascension and a way to position oneself as a leader among peers. From the earliest travel reports mountaineers measured mountain heights while questioning previous scientific data. This critical stance was often directed at surveys performed by scouts from the federal government such as the US Geological Society.[113] A typical example was how Elliott McAllister wrote the map survey marked 7426 feet but his own measurements of 7650 feet was the correct one.[114] The perception in the early texts of the Bulletin was that the educated men behind the geological surveys were men of the east without a local connection. This prevented them from performing their task correctly which together with their political motive corrupted the science which resulted in deficient maps. The perception of other white educated men as uninformed and unable to understand due to them being visitors was a contradiction in the material as the Sierra Club members indeed themselves were visitors, mostly from the San Francisco region.

The Sierra Club member and others like him/her were perceived as the one with the moral necessary to create new reliable knowledge for the betterment of all. It was a form of higher duty they responded to. Emphasizing the importance of experience of the wild as necessary to be able to create knowledge connected the white educated body to the creation of science. Science was not thought an area which other ethnicities could contribute to despite having a presence in the wilderness. For example N.F. McClure stated in a letter from the Philippines after a list of height data for local mountains that "These mountains are given in Spanish figures, which are more or less unreliable […]"[115]

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[112] Edvard T. Parsons, "Voyages Dans Les Alpes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 34 (January, 1906), p.64.
[113] Lincoln Hutchinson, "The Ascent of "Matterhorn Peak."", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.160.
[114] Elliott McAllister, "Itinerary of a Route from Gentry's to Top of El Capitan and Yosemite Falls", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 7 (May, 1894), p.135.; See also: Lincoln Hutchinson, "A Tramp in the Emerald Bay Region", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 14 (January, 1897), p.57.
[115] N.F. McClure, "Letter from Capt. N.F. McClure.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.172.

Botany & Zoology

Botanical sightings and descriptions were frequent. The botanical interest was shared across genders as an acceptable and desirable undertaking in the wild.[116] For instance John G. Lemmon's fascination with conifers resulted in a three part exhibition of 64 pages on conifers excluding the illustrations and photographs.[117] Botany was in a few instances used to create a position of uncivilized otherness for Native Americans as their usage of plants or wildlife was brought up in a way to exotify Native Americans. To cope with the contradiction of portraying Native Americans as knowledgeable this knowledge of what to eat in the wild was merged with an insinuation that Native American tastes in food were strange. For instance Joseph Le Conte in educating the reader of a certain larvae which was said to be a staple food for Native Americans he described how foul the stank in the air was from all the dead larvae.[118]

Zoological descriptions were present to a lesser extent. When animals were brought up it was often in connection to a sighting[119] or the discussion of if and when it was appropriate to kill an animal. The mountaineer's presence in the wilderness did not entail a senseless savagery of vicious killing for sport but only taking what one needed for survival without relishing in primitive actions. As John R. Glascock wrote "We killed, cooked, and ate as necessity required – we never slaughtered."[120] This consideration did not extend to fishing. In another article Solomons positioned himself as in adherence to formal rules and his moral nature when he described standing at the boundary of Yosemite National Park, he wrote "Standing thus on the line separating the prohibited from the unprohibited, I waited in vain for a deer or other eatable animal (provisions were distinctly low), to appear south of the line, for, of course, I would not have discharged my rifle within the limits of the Park!"[121]

Expertise

The continuous claim to be experts on the wild, what to bring into the wild and how to handle situations in the wild was one of the most direct strategies used to cement

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[116] See: Sampson 1907, p.159.; Ella M. Sexton, "Camp Muir in the Tuolumne Meadows, where the Sierra Club Went A-Camping. (A Woman's View of the Outing.)", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.15.
[117] John G. Lemmon, "Conifers of the Pacific Slope. How to Distinguish Them. No. I.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.61-78.; John G. Lemmon. "Conifers of the Pacific Slope. How to Distinguish Them. No. II.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.156-173.; John G. Lemmon. "Conifers of the Pacific Slope. How to Distinguish Them. No. III.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.100-130.
[118] Le Conte 1900, p.83.
[119] Le Conte 1900, p.83.
[120] Glascock 1895, p.148.
[121] Solomons 1894, p.77.

the Sierra Club members as keepers of knowledge of how civilized life was to be performed in wilderness. The early phase was crammed with general advice directed to novices based on their experience of where to walk or camp, what and how much to bring, or how to carry it or use it.[122]

The position of expert was not granted to all mountaineers as evident in the criticism of other mountaineers as not knowledgeable or trustworthy. For example Colt Brown wrote "I am strongly inclined to suspect that there was a general tendency with Mr. King to put down the things he did not himself do as impossible. His book is very far from giving a true impression of the region from Brewer to Tyndall."[123] Another example was J.E. Church Jr who questioned if a particular event had taken place. He wrote "It was to this "monument" that a horse […] was said to have climbed last season, and that, too, with a young lady on its back. If it did so, it must have been a Pegasus, or been assisted by rope and tackle part of the way at least."[124] This criticism alluded to the mountaineering community as having frauds in their midst. This damaged the Sierra Club project of creating a knowledge monopoly above reproach. Hence those who had displayed incorrect behavior in connection to posing as an expert had to be called out.

The internal struggle to position oneself as a leader among pears was the mountaineering community was apparent. Contributors to the Bulletin wanted to portray themselves as someone with deep useful knowledge. The expertise of the Sierra Club members were in juxtaposition with the knowledge of the service industry, non-members and institutions.

The Sierra Club packing expertise

Packing advice was heavily featured in the early phase.[125] It illustrated a split in the mountaineering community between proponents of austerity and luxury. Lincoln Hutchinson addressed this split when he wrote:

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[122] See: Howard Longley, "Mountain Trips; what to take and how to take it.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 14 (January, 1897), p.29-43.; Alex G. Eells. "Pack-Animals, and How to Pack Them.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 18 (January, 1899), p.287-289.; Helen M. Gompertz, "Up and Down Bubb's Creek.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.79:85.; Theodore S Solomons, "Food Supply for Mountain Trips" *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.111-114.

[123] Bolton Colt Brown, "Wanderings in the High Sierra, Between Mt. King and Mt. Williamson. Part I.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.26.

[124] J.E. Church, Jr., "From Mt. Rose to Mt. Shasta and Lassen Buttes.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 17 (June, 1898), p.211.

[125] See: Solomons 1897, p.114.; J.S. Hutchinson, Jr., "Camp Commissariat.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.173-178.; Vernon L. Kellogg, "Notes for the Commissary", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.178-180.

> "Broadly speaking, there are two classes of mountain tourists - one seeking adventure; the other, mere recreation. To the first class, pack-animals and pioneering in the farthest wildernesses alone have any charms; to the second, repose and scenery are sufficient rewards. To the one, hardships and privation are mere incidents which add zest to the pursuit; to the other, they are evils to be reduced if possible to a minimum. To any one of the truly adventurous class, the mention of the word "road" or "wagon" is an affront, and even "trail" is treated condescendingly. He is the true mountaineer, and will naught of the ordinary modes of locomotion or the paraphernalia of civilization; the very thought of "easy" camping is tabooed."[126]

For the true mountaineer the distance to civilized comfort was important to get closer to an authentic presence in the wilderness. The advice for this group was often in line with the advice by R.M. Price who wrote "The object should be to get the maximum of nutriment in the minimum of bulk and weight […] it would be better to live on short rations for a day or two, than to be overburdened with provisions."[127] Nevertheless there were hints a certain comfort level even for those who had discovery as their purpose. For example De Filippi mentioned in an article on pioneering travels in Alaska that they decided to leave their iron folding beds half-way up the glacier.[128]

Gender was not prominent in connection to packing advice. Nobody suggested women should pack other items than men when faring into the wild. However most women did not provide lists with items and quantity as many men did.[129] Women instead reflected on the decision process of packing as fun and were proud of scaling down. For example Gompertz wrote "if one be a woman, she will feel a glow of pride in the thought of doing her best to rough it, whilst she packs into a bag things that seem impossible to be without […] at the last moment a handful of anything will be snatched from the top […] Strange to say, no afterglow of satisfaction follows this sacrifice."[130] This difference in portraying the preparation for wilderness can be said to reflect that it was thought more of a challenge for women to dispense with the comforts of civilization. Additionally women not providing lists can be said to indicate that women did not attempt to occupy the same space as men as experts on what to bring to a camp. As the camp was the home in the mountains it can be seen to be a

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[126] Lincoln Hutchinson, "Wagon-Trips to the Sierra", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 23 (February, 1901), p.210.
[127] R.M. Price, "Through the Tuolumne Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 10 (May, 1895), p.200.
[128] De Filippi 1898, p.143.
[129] See: Solomons 1897, p.114.; J.S. Hutchinson, Jr., "Camp Commissariat.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.173-178.; Vernon L. Kellogg, "Notes for the Commissary", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.178-180.
[130] Gompertz 1897,p.80.

contradiction to that the domestic sphere usually was perceived to be a sphere dominated by women.

The Sierra Club expert and the service industry

People working in the service industry were one of the purported lower classes the Sierra Club members were in frequent contact with. In the early texts the service industry featured in connection to provisions, guides, pack-animals or lodgings.[131] The planning before trips was described as a cumbersome but necessary task to avoid possible fatal trouble in the wilderness. The activity of planning was a demarcation towards the lower class who supplied the service. The Sierra Club members positioned workers as ignorant and somewhat lazy in performing requests. Alexander G. Eells wrote a text "[…] to warn the inexperienced against placing too much reliance upon persons who may undertake to supply animals and packing equipment."[132] Eells then stated "It should be added that our outfitter did not appear to be an ill-natured or ill-disposed man […] Doubtless, if he could have looked upon the matter in the light of modern business methods […] he might have proved a very acceptable caterer to such wants."[133] Eells thus thought it his responsibility to educate other mountaineers to not trust locals ability but not due to them being fundamentally incapable of meeting the needs of a modern civilized man. Instead the locals, assumed white as nothing else was stated, could redeem and better themselves if educated bya better man.

An early letter from J.S. Hutchinson Jr. indicated antagonistic relations between Sierra Club and the locals. Hutchinson claimed he had needed to educate several locals, such as his coach driver, after hearing they had misunderstood the Sierra Club. According to Hutchinson locals believed the Sierra Club had selfish motives for getting the US army to prohibit sheepherders. The aim of the Sierra Club was said to be to establish a game reserve for members while excluding the public from hunting and fishing rights.[134] This shows the self-professed role of the Sierra Club as savior of the wilderness was not shared by all. Instead the mistrust of those living in or near the wilderness the Sierra Club members professed to be saving did not trust them.

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[131] See: Alice Eastwood, "From Redding to the Snow-Clad Peaks of Trinity Country.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.39-40.; R.M. Price, "The grand Canon of the Tuolumne.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 2 (January, 1893), p.9-10.; Price 1893, p.17-18.; Dyer 1893, p.5.
[132] Eells 1899, p.287.
[133] Eells 1899, p.288-289.
[134] J.S. Hutchinson, "Privileges of Members of the Sierra Club", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 14 (January, 1897), p.57.

The Sierra Club expert and the knowledge of other people

To legitimize the authority of the Sierra Club the knowledge of other people and groups were marginalized. Several interactions with Native Americans were included where mountaineers sought advice and expertise only to find Native Americans had no useful knowledge to share. Joseph Le Conte described when he asked for help when he was lost that he "At last reached some Indian huts. "How far to white man's house?" "Leetle ways." "How many miles?" 'No savé." "One mile? two mile? half mile?" "No savé."'"[135] This anecdote positioned Native Americans as not able to perform the rudimentary civilized task of determining distance in a system of measurement. J.S. Hutchinson Jr. on an interaction with Native Americans wrote "Attempts to carry on a conversation with them were almost futile, for their English vocabulary was exceedingly small, and our Indian vocabulary still smaller."[136] This recognized a lack of knowledge on both sides of the conversation which was unusual.

The disdain expressed at the knowledge of people of a purported lower class or ethnicity was a contradiction with how often mountaineers needed their assistance when lost or without provisions. Sheepherders were the group the Sierra Club members depended on most for help. Colt Brown was glad to have his choice of trail confirmed by a French shepherd but most interactions were described in derogatory terms.[137] For instance Roy R. Dempster ridiculed a sheepherder's expertise after having gotten advice on the conditions of the roads he did not agree with "And yet, to the best of our knowledge and belief, these people were not practical jokers, but actually supposed they were giving useful advice."[138] Solomons while grateful to receive food from a sheepherder at length ridiculed the sheepherder as a useless source of information as:

> The sheepman is at home in every part of the High Sierra in which he happens to have herded, but you can not read his mental map. He is a good guide, but is nearly worthless in directing others. He will draw diagrams on the sooty bottom of the "fry-pan," which you must vow are lucid, though you know in your heart they are ridiculous. […] Yet his contempt for your maps —though not altogether unjustified for other reasons than his

[135] Le Conte 1900, p.90.
[136] Hutchinson 1901, p.320.
[137] Colton Colt Brown, "A Trip About the Headwaters of the Middle and South Forks of King's River.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 13 (May, 1896), p.304.
[138] Roy R. Dempster, "Camping A-Wheel.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.103.

> is as ill-concealed as it is profound. The nomenclature, too, of the mountains and rivers, changing with each new generation of herders, adds another element of confusion.[139]

This produced a narrative of the sheepherder as a mentally unstable person who did not understand the value of civilized documentation but still must be humored. Depicting the sheepherder as uneducated positioned him away from the mountaineer's form of knowledge based on science, civilization and morals. Ironically Solomons due to ignoring advice later almost died in a snowstorm.[140]

It was evident the source of the expertise should and could not be from another class or ethnicity to be of use. The presumed ethnic origin of sheepherders (such as France, Portugal or Basque) was included to assure the reader the source of the knowledge was not proper. A narrative of sheepherders as not knowledgeable in a civilized language or civilized organization emerged. A sheepman should not be asked for advice as the answers would be confused and unintelligible as they did not speak English and every one of them had different names for trails.[141] In contradiction to the contempt the mountaineers turned to sheepherders for help. Colt Brown who earlier in his travel story had stated "It is rather less attractive when you get into it, for it is a veritable nest of the sheepman- and his sheep."[142] actively looked for a sheep camp when he needed help. Colt Brown wrote of the sheepherder "He was a typical French peasant, blue blouse outside his trousers, big shoes, stick, and shepherd-dog. He did not know a word of English, and I was too tired to think of even one in French."[143] Here the mountaineer positioned the language barrier as an essential trait in the sheepherder but as circumstantial in the mountaineer. The sheepherder gave Colt Brown every hospitality but still he could not respect the sheepherder when looking back on the trip to write his travel story.

At the end of the early phase the editorial board introduced a new recurring feature, the Forestry Notes.[144] The report operated like an editorial page. The report could hold opinions on legislative agendas in California and Washington connected to forestry, information of the value of land and timber, suggestions for future betterment of the wild such as practical forest protection and forestry schools, scientific reasoning as to why economic production in the wilderness should cease as well as how to

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[139] Solomons 1895, p.224-226.
[140] Solomons 1895, p.233-235.
[141] Solomons 1895, p.224.; Dyer 1893, p.5-6.
[142] Bolton Colt Brown, "Three Days with Mt. King.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 12 (May, 1897), p.243.
[143] Colt Brown, p.252.
[144] William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.201-204.

encourage public sentiment and knowledge.[145] The Sierra Club created a position of them as a rational conduit of nature's wishes. This created a relationship with governmental agencies in Washington filled with contempt and hostility. Washington was often depicted as senseless and corrupt doing the bidding of special interests. Marsden Manson wrote "There are, of course, interests now thriving on the free use of these areas which, for selfish reasons, will oppose any measure looking to staying the destruction by which they profit […]"[146] Manson's point was that eastern men in Washington knew nothing of the local area and thus created faulty policies. He questioned if the political government could administer the mountains effectively and wisely. He proposed to instead put forest management into a conservative stable body, such as a state university.[147] This was a prime example of content to legitimize a guardianship of science for the wilderness which placed the Sierra Club informally in control as many of the members were connected to the universities out west.

Emotions

For the Sierra Club members their presence in the mountains were a deeply emotional experience, however which emotions and to whom they could be directed were limited. The emotions was tied to the location i.e. to Sierra Nevada Mountains and wilderness. Those without the physical experience could not feel the same way. Similarly those who had physical experience of the wild but had a purported different race, ethnicity or class could not feel the same way.

Elation, Reverence & Appreciation

In the early editions of the Bulletin elation, reverence and appreciation were reserved to the individual experience of being in or missing wilderness. The early texts were permeated with the sense of enthralling adventure and being enchanted by the beauty and monumentalism of wilderness. Elation and reverence were closely connected to wandering solitary in the woods seeing stones, rivers, meadows, mountains, trees, flowers, animals, and lakes. Being in a position to appreciate the beauty created a fenced off experience where the Sierra Club members had the ability to look at a forest and see beauty instead of timber. This emotional construction elevated their purpose and intelligence compared to people of a purported other classes, races or ethnicities.

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[145] See: William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 20 (January, 1900), p.112-118.
[146] Marsden Manson, "Denudation of Vegetation", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 19 (June, 1899), p.311.
[147] Manson 1899, p.304-308.

Appreciation could also be expressed for fellow mountaineers if they displayed behavior deemed suitable in wilderness. This was specifically expressed for women who embraced the life in the wilderness. Glascock wrote after the wives had rearranged the men's camp "Exactly how it comes about we do not know -a man never can know; but there's such divinity doth hedge a woman's touch that disorder flees."[148] In this Glascock acknowledged the authority of women in the domestic sphere, even though the specific home (the camp site) was in wilderness. In this manner Glascock's suggested camp life improved when women were present instead of a possible indignation of being disturbed in his manly activities and freedom. However the apprehension Glascock felt before the wives arrived despite having actively tried to live up to their standard was notable as he wrote "Much preparation had been made for the inspection."[149]

Appreciation was also expressed at the ability of women to adapt to harsh conditions. Colt Brown expressed admiration for his wife several times as he wrote "Though Lucy had never before been in the mountains, yet already she had become so hardy and skillful climber that I hesitated at nothing on her account."[150] and later he admired her spirit when he stated "Lucy was not at all used up by our twenty-four hours of hardships and exposure, and would not hear of returning to camp without climbing something"[151] Others did not aim their appreciation at a specific women but at the female genders capability over all. Solomons ended one of his articles where he had traveled in mixed company stating:

> I think our experiment proved the ability of the average young woman, in good health, to endure without great hard-ship many of the most difficult feats of mountaineering in the High Sierra […] none of the ladies ever suffered from so much as a cold. In the Tuolumne Cañon , than which there is scarcely rougher traveling to be found anywhere in California, I found them considerably slower than athletic young men, but fully as able otherwise to cope with all the physical difficulties; and their capacity of endurance of cold water, loss of sleep, snow, and certain forms of muscular fatigue, somewhat greater, perhaps, than that of the average young mountaineer of the other sex.[152]

[148] Glascock 1895, p.159.
[149] Glascock 1895, p.158.
[150] Colt Brown 1897, p.21.
[151] Colt Brown 1897, p.24.
[152] Solomons 1897, p.52.

In choosing words like "experiment" Solomons suggested that he appraised women in a scientific manner. E. Weldon Young also expressed admiration for women when he wrote of when he helped both men and women cross a crevasse "I could not but notice that the ladies in the party in most instances were as cool, if not more so, than many of the men."[153] He also mentioned how a Ms. Fuller who was struck in the head by a rock "was quickly up and kept pluckily on to the summit."[154] Despite this positive assessment of women's capabilities Weldon Young wrote that "[…] some of the men, thinking they could stand the icy wind better, took off their coats and put them on the ladies."[155] and later during the descent he added that he "[…] assist one of the young ladies, who was took weak and ill to walk unattended."[156] This alludes to that despite the capabilities of these mountaineering women men could still fulfill a role as protectors and could display chivalrous behavior.

The admiration for women at times included appreciation of these strong women knowing their own limits and avoiding the extremes. J.E. Church Jr. wrote that his wife during an ascent became exhausted and insisted she be "permitted"[157] to instead climb a smaller rock. He stated they met up with his wife again during the descent and wrote "She had succeeded in reaching the altitude of 13,000 feet, but declared that height to be her limit."[158] Also Gompertz who chose to not complete an ascent also expressed admiration for a fellow woman who paused at a narrow ledge and then made "the wise decision of going no further."[159]

Women were not only lauded for their performance in the wilderness but also for the capabilities in civilization. The female commitment to the region and their powers of persuasion were held as an example to strive for, as Dudley wrote:

> An immense labor though it was, the women of this club appear to have been the only influence which thoroughly aroused the public and gained the attention of the people, not only of this State, but of the nation, as well as that of Congress. They bent their energies to the task of getting petitions in California and to personal interviews with the Congressional and Executive officers at Washington.[160]

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[153] E. Weldon Young, "The Mazamas on Mt. Rainer", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 24 (June, 1901), p.279.
[154] Weldon Young 1901, p.279.
[155] Weldon Young 1901, p.280.
[156] Weldon Young 1901, p.280-281.
[157] J.E. Church Jr. 1898, p.210.
[158] J.E. Church Jr. 1898, p.212. See also: Colton Brown 1897B, p.93.
[159] Gompertz 1897, p.81.
[160] William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.184.

Danger, Courage & Failure

As the Sierra Club's purpose was to encourage positive sentiments towards the mountains it would be reasonable to assume dangers or accidents would be concealed in the material. Instead they were prominently featured as a dramatic flair and opportunity for the Sierra Club members to manifest inner qualities like capability and bravery. Dangers were described in alarming manners for instance by Colton Brown who wrote "If you fall off one side, you will be killed in the vicinity; if you fall off any of the other sides, you will be pulverized in the remote nadir beneath."[161] The ability of the Sierra Club member to handle a dangerous situation was part of referring to civilized deliberation as a necessary component of a successful presence in the wild. Solomons implied how a mountaineer handled dangers when he wrote:

> "We reached a point on the almost vertical cliff from which it seemed equally impossible either to continue the ascent or to descend. We did not experience that sudden inspirational agility which came to Mr. Muir just in the nick of time; but by great care and good management — as we prided ourselves — succeeded in accomplishing the ascent."[162]

For some the longing of adventures and eagerness to see wonders worked up courage like no other, Price wrote "But stimulated by a desire for adventure and an eagerness to see the wonders […] we […] worked up our courage to the highest point, and started."[163] Others found they had no choice, such as Van Trump who wrote they had to make a dangerous climb or "beat an ignominious retreat – and retreat was a word that had no place in our mountain vocabulary."[164] Some felt disheartened by the obstacles, for instance Solomons expressed "as the dismal night closed threateningly around us, exhausted, cold, and dispirited, we stood in the snow prison which had clogged our limbs since early morning […]"[165] The few who did balk at danger, and tried to dissuade others did so by referring to the senseless risk. Thus they appealed to the use of rationality of the mountaineer to get their wilderness dopamine in a more prudent fashion. For instance George Gibbs wrote:

> "If one loves excitement and peril, he may rest assured that he can find it in the trip we took. As an example of dangerous mountain - climbing, it will serve as one of the best;

[161] Colton Brown 1897B, p.97.
[162] Solomons 1894, p.68.
[163] Price 1893, p.11.
[164] Van Trump 1894, p.120
[165] Solomons 1895, p.235.

but neither Corbett nor I would wish any friend the doubtful pleasure of some of our experiences."[166]

There was a contradiction within the mountaineering community which related to the allocation of responsibility in case of a misfortune. If the hardship happened to the mountaineer who had authored a text it was accidental but when a hardship happened to another mountaineer it was due to the person being careless or unprepared. For instance when Price sprained his ankle it was described as due to circumstances beyond his control as his backpack overbalanced him when he jumped between boulders.[167] In contrast Van Trump spent several pages describing a dramatic fall of a companion several hundreds of feet into a crevasse caused by a faulty step on some ice.[168] The companion was depicted as having himself to blame for the fall. He had thus not only failed in the incident but in being a mountaineer as he had been careless and not properly examined where he placed his feet. The Sierra Club members were quick after an accident to show their abilities of good management and great care by helping their companions. For example Van Trump noted he carried the man's backpack after he had made it up injured from the crevasse.[169] In another example of blaming others for their hardships Kellogg described two mountaineers as dying due to their own folly. The first was a woman who insisted on going against the advice of the guide but perished in a storm and the second was an inexperienced man who "foolishly" brought a revolver and accidentally shot himself. In both cases Kellogg defended his guide Lamb as having tried to prevent the deaths.[170] This was unusual as caution and advice from the lower class more often were ridiculed.

Colt Brown made an unusual comment in his article connected to danger. He had taken his two year old daughter on the trail with himself and his wife Lucy. He started his text defensively with "She did not so much as bump her head all summer, and except for the time a rattlesnake slid too close to her, and once when an owl tried to drag her out of her little nest and fly away with her, she had no disagreeable experiences whatever."[171] Possibly Colt Brown wrote this caveat to protect himself from disapproval of exposing his young daughter to the dangers of the wild as it inferred he had not lived up to the protective norm of manhood.

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[166] George Gibbs, "The Descent of Tenaya Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 23 (February, 1901), p.235.
[167] Price 1893, p.15.
[168] Van Trump 1894, p.125–129.
[169] Van Trump 1894, p.129.
[170] Vernon L. Kellogg, "Parks and Peaks in Colorado", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 23 (February, 1901), p.196.
[171] Colton Bolt Brown, "Another Paradise.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 22 (May, 1900), p.135.

Death & Sorrow

In the early phase the few fatalities were prominently featured in the Bulletin. The first who died was Philip S. Abbot. Abbot fell to his death without any previous indication in a travel report. The reason for Abbot's accident was unknown but the travel party attempted a rational and scientific explanation by looking at the body.[172] The travel story was followed by a eulogy which stated the world had been deprived of an enthusiastic and skilled mountain-climber by mischance in a hazardous sport. This was in contradiction to the usual narrative of accidents being due to the mountaineer's own carelessness. The foundation of Abbot's manhood was found in the courage of his male ancestors. Robert Henrich wrote "This ancestry left its heritage of intellectual force, moral and physical courage, and uprightness with young Abbot."[173] Abbot himself was described as a renaissance man skilled in the classics, math, political economy, geology, entomology, history and languages as well as physically accomplished in sports with an active social life.[174] Henrich wrote "A strong, normal physique, and a normal, well-ordered mind, made it possible for him to devote himself successfully to these many diverse interests."[175] A year later Abbot's friend C.S. Thompson wrote another travel story after having accomplished the original failed ascent and the place where Abbot fell was renamed Abbot Pass.[176]

The second death of Professor Edgar McClure occurred during a large outing organized by the Mazamas mountaineering club. McClure was not eulogized but his death was covered in three articles.[177] Earl Morse Wilbur wrote McClure had lost his footing on a steep slope and dashed upon rocks with a probable instant death. As with Abbot a conclusion was again drawn by a physical inspection of the body, using science to determine turn of events. Both were assumed to have had quick deaths without pain.[178] It was communicated that McClure had not walked with the main party. Wilbur deemed, excepting the accidents, that the trip was a remarkable success

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[172] Charles Sproull Thompson, "On Mt- Lefroy, August 3, 1896.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 14 (January, 1897), p.8.
[173] Robert Heinrich, "Philip Stanley Abbot.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.6.
Henrich noted Abbot's ancestors were Captain Nathan Hale and Increase Mather, his father was an instructor in Greek and Latin at Harvard, his father's youngest brother left Harvard to serve in the Civil War dying at Gettysburg and another uncle filled high positions a general in the Corps of Engineers during the Civil War and was a prominent scientist.
[174] Heinrich 1898, p.10-12.
[175] Heinrich 1898, p.12.
[176] C.S. Thompson, "On Mt- Lefroy, August 3, 1897.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.155.
[177] See: Bolton Colt Brown, "A Day with Mt. Tacoma", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 17 (June, 1898), p.227-237.; Earl Morse Wilbur, "The Mazamas' Trip to Mt. Rainer.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.192-193.; Weldon Young 1901, p.271-287.
[178] Weldon Young 1901, p.283.

and praised the strict discipline and military order.[179] This removed responsibility from the mountaineering club and placed the blame on the rogue careless individual while at the same time praising their ability to organize by lending legitimacy to their own capability from the military. Weldon Young claimed the perils of the trip had been exaggerated in other renditions as he wrote "Any mountain […] to a careless climber is fraught with a thousand perils, and could not be recommended under any circumstances as a place to play golf or lawn-tennis."[180] With this statement Weldon Young created a demarcation between real mountaineers and those treating it as a vacation and therefore had themselves to blame for accidents. Weldon Young stated many would blame McClure for his own recklessness. McClure was thus in contrast to Abbot responsible for his own death. McClure's was described briefly by Weldon Young as "[…] a manly man, unselfish in his nature, devoted to his friends, thoroughly scientific in his tastes and inclinations, of spotless reputation and unsullied character."[181] McClure's legacy was in two parts. First the rocks he died on were renamed McClure Rocks. Second, most scientific data McClure had collected was saved and it was stated his measurement of the mountain would be used.[182]

Anger & Contempt

Anger and contempt permeated the articles in the Bulletin which concerned the presence of purported other classes, ethnicities and races in wilderness. All external groups were constructed as ignorant as they did not understand, unlike members of the Sierra Club, what needed to be achieved for a civilized purposeful life in the wilderness. Due to the importance of the construction of a pristine wilderness for the purpose of the preservation movement the assumption was the material would ignore economic production. However economic production was featured to a significant extent and with strong emotional association. The depiction of people making a living in wilderness were split into those who worked to service mountaineers and those who didn't. Both could be treated with contempt, but while the former was criticized for providing inadequate service the latter was described as a force of destruction with reference to their divergent ethnic heritage. There was only one workforce completely respected, the soldiers of the US Army said to be calmly doing their duty guarding

[179] Wilbur 1898, p.193.
[180] Weldon Young 1901, p.271.
[181] Weldon Young 1901, p.283.
[182] Weldon Young 1901, p.283-284.

against sheep and sheepherders, which can be seen by extension to be a service provided to mountaineers.[183]

The early texts was characterized by an explosive anger and simmering contempt towards sheepherders. The presence of sheepherders in the wilderness was perceived as wrong in part due to their ethnic heritage and in part due to scientific consequences of them over-using resources. Sheepherders were seen as without rights to the land and its resources. For instance Dudley wrote:

> "Probably most of this destruction had been worked by the nomadic Portuguese and Frenchmen, who have no holdings in the mountains […] when men who owned or had legitimately rented mountain meadows arrived later, they found their feed devoured, and sometimes the marauders holding the conquered territory with shot-guns."[184]

Thus a perception was created which combined class and ethnicity where sheepherders were less civilized and more prone to irrational violence due to their heritage. The purported ethnicity of sheepherders were at times used to compare sheepherders to animals. Muir used dehumanizing language when he stated "A very suggestive flock, not of sheep, but of shepherds and their dogs […]"[185] Further Muir described the docility of the sheepherders after their capture by the US army despite previously having boasted of their fighting qualities. This created the perception of sheepherders as aggressive animals who when confronted in a civilized manner became submissive as if bowing down to a better man who could control the wilderness inside them the sheepherders themselves could not control.

The early phase also contained contempt and anger towards the federal government which was portrayed as distant and corrupted by capitalist lobbyists. Dudley wrote "that the branch of Congress which should show the greatest statesmanship is less conservative of the rights of the whole people, and more the champion of special interests, than the more popular branch."[186] Greed was used as a demarcation toward outsiders, as Sampson stated "A dollar is the least interesting of all things in the world to one in the heart of the Sierra, and with the Sierra in his heart."[187]

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[183] John Muir, "Proceedings of the Meeting of the Sierra Club. Held November 23,1895.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 12 (January, 1896), p.273-274.
[184] William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 18 (January, 1899), p.293.
[185] Muir 1896, p.274.
[186] Dudley 1898, p.203.
[187] Sampson 19007, p.159.

Uncontrolled anger and violent tendencies were rare. One of the few examples were written by Joseph Le Conte when a man after having been kicked off his horse and then securing it again punched the horse on the nose with a clenched fist.[188] It was included as an amusing anecdote but a breakdown of the components described a man who used violence against the horse to assert dominance and regain his manhood.

Late phase

During the later phase the scope of the community of those capable of understanding the civilized purposeful life in the wilderness narrowed. There were increased references to the membership of the Sierra Club as a demarcation towards others.[189] For instance a book review stated, "It may be that to some persons the work would not possess all the interest of the most exciting novel, but certainly all good Sierra Club members will find it a book to be read with absorbing interest."[190]

The organized outings changed the routine of mountaineering. The outings took 150-200 members into the mountains for a four week stay with transportation and catering provided. The Sierra Club at this point of time had matured into a more robust infrastructure with larger resources.

Legacy

Importance of being first

Individual legacy

Ascents on unknown summits in the later texts were described similarly as in the early texts in the Bulletin. The focus was on the sense of unique accomplishment, as J.S. Hutchinson Jr. stated "There were no signs of any one having been on the summit of the peak before. Probably no one had ever stood where we then were, unless perhaps during the early Jurassic period, before the mountain was fully sculptured."[191] However the vigorous efforts of the mountaineers for discovery had resulted in less "firsts" left to capture in Sierra. As commented by Hutchinson "Untrodden summits

[188] Le Conte 1900, p.8-9.
[189] See: Theodore L. Solomons, "Notes to Professor Stillman's Article on a Trip from King's River Canon to Tehipite Valley.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.107.; W.L. Richardson, "Route from the Grand Canon to Tehipite, down the Middle Fork.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 15 (May, 1897), p.110.; Alex G. Eells, "Pack-Animals, and How to Pack Them.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 18 (January, 1899), p.289.
[190] J.M.S. "Book Review", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 16 (January, 1898), p.200.
[191] J.S. Hutchinson Jr., "First Ascent: Mt. Humphreys.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.171-172.

in the Sierra are now very scarce, and the sight of one gives every mountain-climber a thrill of excitement such as comes from no other source."[192]

The lack of unknown terrain to capture and the organized outings resulted in a decrease of published texts from men and women who travel in solitude or smaller travel parties. Those who were published had a twist to add excitement into the narrative such as performing the travel with a specific scientific purpose, in wintertime or abroad. The trips for scientific purposes were such as establishing a scientific observation site or mapping a phenomena such as glaciers. The later articles concerning science in the Bulletin were often created by people with academic positions, such as professors, and were more advanced and moved beyond documenting measurements and whether. The travel stories in winter focused on choosing equipment which showcased a unique expertise and portrayed the otherworldliness of the familiar Sierra grounds dressed in snow.[193] The trying conditions of deep snow combined with desolation and lack of other mountaineers created a new way to construct legacy in the same space as others had been before but in a different season. As Tracy Randall Kelley wrote "How still the woods! how fresh the frosty air! how beautiful and strange to us the snow! […] Thus the old path of a dozen summer tramps took on new fashions, for which one pair of eyes could never suffice."[194]

Trips performed abroad in for example Asia, South America, Africa and the Alps were published to larger extent in the later phase. Some notes and correspondence included shorter texts on cutting edge accomplishments, for example how Ms A. Peck had claimed to have ascended the north lower limit of Mr. Huascaran in Peru.[195] Longer travel reports from abroad often concerned sites with a preexisting tourist industry. The otherness of the foreign cultures supplied the same otherworldliness the harsh conditions did in the winter stories. Several articles on trips to Japan were anchored in how it was a mysterious place filled with strange customs. Edward A. Wicher described how guides warmed food by digging a hole next to a volcano and the special equipment like straw sandals (waraji).[196] The foreign nature provided a way

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[192] J.S. Hutchinson Jr. 1905, p.153.
[193] See: Tracy Randell Kelley, "A Winter Trip to King's River Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (January, 1902) p.158.; Charles H. Lee, "Winter in the High Sierra", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.237-242.
[194] Kelley 1902, p.156.
[195] Fanny Bullock Workman, "The Altitude of Mount Huascaran.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.249-250.
[196] Edward A. Wicher, "The Ascent of Asama-Yama.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 36 (June, 1907), p.184:187:194.; See also: Lena Martha Redington, "The Ascent of Fujiyama.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.229-233.

to create excitement, for example Venable's excursion in the Philippines started with descriptions of tropical vegetation and how the active volcano historically had killed thousands.[197]

Another change in the later texts was how travel stories was written. Instead of commencing texts with the aspiration to be first at a site travel stories started with a historical summary of prominent men who had visited the same place before.[198] This created a connection to pioneers and ensured a place in line behind great men. Another new construction of legacy was to pinpoint new records enabled by the outing structure, for instance how many mountaineers had performed an ascension together. Badé stated due to the large size of the travel party and the height of the mountain "[…] deserves to be remembered in connection with one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of mountaineering."[199] This can be seen as a contradiction to the early phase where legacy was created in solitude.

The later texts in the Bulletin held a new form of production of legacy created not by enterprises in the wild but by donating money or items to mountaineers, the Sierra Club or the US. Several initiatives were made for subscriptions for a new trail, someone who lost all their photographic equipment in a fire or in one case a guide who lost a limb in pursuit of a mountain.[200] One of the largest fundraising efforts was the construction of the Le Conte Memorial Lodge which held Joseph Le Conte's legacy alive. The names of those who donated either from their own volition or responding to a specific request were published ensuring their legacy.[201] Some made large gifts of land for preservation to the nation. Correspondence between William Kent and President Roosevelt published in 1908 connected patriotism, legacy and wilderness. Kent donated a piece of land he named Muir Wood and President Roosevelt thanked Kent for the "most heartily for this singularly generous and public-spirited action on

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[197] Andrew Venable, "The Ascent of Volcano Mayon", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 28 (February, 1903), p.228-230.
[198] See: Alexander McAdie, "The Observatory on Mount Whitney", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 41 (January, 1910), p.140-146.; J.N. Le Conte, "The Ascent of the North Palisades.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.1-19.
[199] William Fredric Badé, "On the trail with The Sierra Club.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.63.
[200] G.F. Marsh, "Professor McAdie, San Francisco", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.138-139.; F.M. Hall, "To Mr. Wm. E. Colby, San Francisco, Cal", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.140-141.; Harrington Putnam, "Appeal for a Crippled Guide", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.124-125.
[201] See: Unknown author, "Notes and Correspondence", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.81.; W.M. E. Colby, "Report of the Secretary, from May 4, 1907, to May 2,1908.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 38 (June, 1908), p.316-317.; Mary Randall, "Report of the Le Conte Memorial Lodge Committee.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.59-60.

your part."[202] but asked for permission to name it Kent Monument instead. To this Kent wrote "I have five good, husky boys that I am trying to bring up to a knowledge of democracy […] If these boys cannot keep the name of Kent alive, I am willing it should be forgotten."[203] to which Roosevelt acquiesced and hoped his four boys would do the same for his own name.[204] Again legacy was anchored in the physical body of performance and the perception was that legacy could not be bought.

The Sierra Club legacy

It was not only important for the individual mountaineer to claim a position of being first. In the later phase it was evident in the material that the Sierra Club tried to create a reputation as first in the field of preservation. For instance Colby stated "The Club aided very materially in the establishment of our forest reserves, and exercise a powerful moral influence whenever any question arises affecting the welfare of the forests and natural scenery of the Sierra." and added "There is not the slightest question but that the Sierra Club is destined to be one of the greatest clubs of its kind […]"[205] The Bulletin also reprinted quotes which recognized their influence such as when President Roosevelt declared the Sierra Club had done much to perpetuate the spirit of the explorer and pioneer on the Pacific coast.[206]

The Sierra Club was protective of their reputation and legacy. A note was published which mentioned a firm which without approval had advertised "The Sierra Club Mountaineering Boots". It was called an unwarranted use of the Sierra Club's name and that the directors had determined to never allow the name to be used by others. Those allowed to advertise in the journal were allowed only after the correctness and qualities of their offerings had been approved, as stated "In this way our members have a proper protection against imposition […]"[207] Further the attention to the Sierra Club legacy was evident as the Sierra Club leadership felt the need to defend themselves against the perception that organizing outings was the Sierra Club's primary purpose. While acknowledging the outings had contributed to increased membership and financial resources it was reaffirmed the main work was preservation of forest and natural scenery.[208] The development of the content in the

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[202] William Kent, *"Redwoods", Sierra Club Bulletin* 38 (June, 1908) p.288.
[203] Kent 1908, p.288.
[204] Kent 1908, p.288-289.
[205] Wm. E. Colby, "Communication from the Secretary". *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.72-73. See also: William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (June, 1905), p.327.
[206] Colby 1904, p.72.
[207] Unknown author, "Notes and Correspondence.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.257.
[208] Colby 1904, p. 71.

journal during the later phase contradicted that statement as a majority of reports from the directors and travel reports concerned the outings. In one journal 3-4 articles could cover the same outing, for insance in one case an outing was first covered from "a woman's view of the outing "and then "a man's view of the outing".[209]

Nomenclature

In the later phase bestowing wilderness with appropriate names was still practiced among mountaineers.[210] In an attempt to control the process Congress established a new governmental agency, the US Board on Geographic Names. Lists of decisions were published when relevant.[211] As in the early phase the mainstay of the discussion on nomenclature regarded Native American legacy and what was deemed a suitable name. Prompted by a request Henry Gannett, the Chairman of the US Board on Geographic Names, wrote a piece explaining what an appropriate name was. Gannett thought names should be dignified and beautiful to match the grand features. He thought some names needed to be discarded stating "Because some man has seen fit to attach a bad name to a mountain is no reason for condemning mankind to go on using this name for all time."[212] This was in opposition to the self-evident rights to name wilderness in the early phase. Gannett recommended keeping Spanish and Native American names as he thought it an appropriate connection the history of the state of California.[213]

The issue of Mount Rainer/Tahoma remained contested in the later phase. A report written by George Davidson countered the criticism that Vancouver had not taken Native American names into consideration by stating "These men were exploring unknown regions inhabited by uncivilized peoples, whose language they had neither the time nor opportunity to learn."[214] and "The Indians he met with were not desirable companions, and he was not collecting folk-lore. He was presenting fresh discoveries in geography to the world; he was settling a commercial problem."[215] Thus Vancouver's mission as a white educated man was lauded as in the service of the

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[209] See: Ella M. Sexton, "Camp Muir in the Tuolumne Meadows, where the Sierra Club Went A-camping. (A Woman's View of the Outing.)", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.12-18.; E.T. Parsons. "The Sierra Club Outing to Tuolumne Meadows. (A Man's View of the Outing.)", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.19-24.
[210] See: Eastwood 1902, p.49.; J.N. Le Conte 1904, p.9.; J.S. Hutchinson Jr. 1905, p.193.
[211] Unknown author, "Decisions of the United States Geographic Board.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 36 (June, 1907), p.201-202.
[212] Henry Gannett, "Place Names for Application in the Sierra Nevada.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 28 (February, 1903), p.239-240.
[213] Gannett 1903, p. 240-241.
[214] George Davidson, "The name "Mt. Rainer", "*Sierra Club Bulletin* 35 (January, 1907), p.91.
[215] Davidson 1907, p.93.

modern civilization while Native Americans were perceived as unconnected to the process of discovery and additionally were unpleasant company. Furthermore Davidson argued there was no coherent Native American name to adopt as he claimed the divided Native American community had contradictory views of the original name. Davidson unsurprisingly determined conformity to historical and governmental records prevented the change of Mt. Rainer to Mt. Tahoma.[216] That the subject remained a topic for debate in the community was a sign that there was no internal consensus on the value of the legacy of the Native Americans.

Remnants

The informal and formal process of creating civilized remnants continued in the later texts with descriptions of building cairns, monuments, depositing canisters or writing in existing canisters.[217] Avery indicated the importance of the canisters when he wrote of his friend who had carried up the skeleton head of a mazama to place near the canister that "Leaving this guardian of the sacred archives […]"[218] The ritual of the canister was even exported when Edward Bingham Copeland deposited a cannister at Mt. Apo in Philippines.[219]

The sightings or reflections on remnants by Native Americans decreased in the later texts in the Bulletin. This decrease could be because the mode of traveling changed with the large outings. The lone or smaller parties roaming freely without a specific goal were less published. The sightings of Native American remnants which did occur were of a similar construction as in the early phase.[220] A discovery of Native American pictographs in Yosemite was published with pictures. The pictures had been shown to an authority on anthropology who said "In no case do the present Indians know their origin or meaning. In some cases at least they have myths about them, that they were made by supernatural beings."[221] Statements like these positioned Native

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[216] Davidson 1907, p.96-99.
[217] See: Lincoln Hutchinson, "Red-and-White Peak and the Head-Waters of Fish Creek. Part II", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.200-201.; J.N. Le Conte "Among the Sources of the South Fork of King's River.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 29 (June, 1903), p.262.; J.N. Le Conte 1904, p.17.; Hutchinson Jr. 1905, p.171.; Joseph N. Le Conte, "The High Mountain Route Between Yosemite and the King's River Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.13.; Russ Avery, "Mt. Lyell and Mt. Ritter Ascents By Sierra Club Outing of 1904.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.191.
[218] Avery 1905, p. 191.
[219] Edward Bingham Copeland, "Secretary of the Sierra Club, San Francisco", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.265-266.
[220] See: William A Brewer, "Notes Concerning the Bright Angel and Hance Trails, Grand Canon of Arizona.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.162.; William Fredric Badé, "The Tuolumne Canon." *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (June, 1905), p.287.; Sampson 1907, p.157.
[221] E.W. Harnden, "Indian Pictographs in Pate Valley.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.259.

Americans as ignorant about even their own past. Even in that area did the white educated man have precedence.

William A. Brewer in 1902 wrote the longest article concerning interaction with living Native Americans, the Havasupai, when traveling in Grand Canyon. Brewer wrote "a canon in whose rocky heart dwells a hermit–tribe of Indians, whose history and customs make up one of the most romantic chapters in the story of the native tribes of America."[222] He painted a picturesque portrait of the village with children playing, animals grazing, orchards and willows. Brewer included his observations of the design of dwellings, water sources, and the general state of the village. He described the Havasupai as unique but was quick to note how civilization had been brought to them from the federal government in form of a post-office, a schoolteacher, a farmer and a teacher of domestic economy. He further posited the Native American numbers would dwindle as the death rate was much larger than the birth-rate.[223] Brewer communicated that it was a disappearing way of life and a disappearing race, so if one wanted to have a look one would have to hurry.

There were correspondingly significantly less observation of remnants from economic production in the later phase.[224] Some made note of current economic production, such as Eastwood who wrote "It was along this road that we came across several colonies of Chinese engaged in placer mining with all the modern methods […]"[225] A new feature in the texts were the remnants the Sierra Club created in connection to their economic production (the outings), updates on the progress of mending or establishing infrastructure in the park and the requests the Sierra Club made to the federal government for infrastructure.[226] For instance a joint report with the Mazamas included wishes of trails and a hotel they wanted the federal government to build.[227] The requests were deemed appropriate additions to the wild. This was a contradiction considering infrastructure from other economic production was deemed detrimental to wilderness. Another contradiction was the usage of economic remnants in connection to the outings. Members on the outings used timber railway to have

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[222] William A Brewer, "Into the Heart of Cataract Canon, Grand Canon of Arizona.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.77.
[223] Brewer 1902, p.83-84.
[224] See: J.N. Le Conte 1903, p.257.; Badé 1904, p.53.; Francis M. Fultz, "The Mt. Ritter Knapsack Trip", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 38 (June, 1908), p.291.
[225] Alice Eastwood, "From Redding to the Snow-Clad Peaks of Trinity Country.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.44.
[226] See: Unknown author, "Extracts from Report of Superintendent of the Yosemite National Park, 1908.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.127-130.; Unknown author, "Extracts from Report of State Engineer, November 30, 1908.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.130-131.
[227] Fay et al 1906, p.48-49.

comfortable fast travel to and from the wilderness and in one instance a mining company arranged boats for the Sierra Club members to use during an afternoon by a lake.[228] An example of illogicality was how Monroe wrote in despair of how the large pines she said had been her friends during the day and guardians by night had been humbled by the timber company while walking to use the logging train to leave an outing.[229] Clearing roads and building bridges was not an uncommon feature of the Sierra outings to get the commissary and the packing where it needed to go.[230] Parson showed a lack of insight on the impact of the Sierra Club outings on wilderness when he wrote happily how "it was a sight to see dignified college professors, wily limbs of the law, deft doctors, and reverend clergymen join gleefully in rolling rocks, lifting logs, and shoveling […] while the road-makers sent out by the owners of Tioga Road used dynamite where blasting was necessary and moved more serious obstructions with their teams."[231] All in all the awareness of the impact on nature due to their own creation of remnants connected to economic production was absent or concealed.

Science

In the later phase scientific endeavors were featured to a higher extent in the Bulletin. G.K. Gilbert wrote that the purpose of the professional scientist was to increase the sum of human knowledge but that the layman seeking recreation only need to consider their own personal profit in intellectual growth and added zest to life.[232] Being first at a geographical site was no longer easy. Instead one could attempt to be the first person to perform an organized scientific study or establish a science station to create legacy. Scientific talks also served as entertainment during the outings. Many wrote of the joy of sitting at the campfire during evenings to listen to experts share their knowledge, such as Muir or professors from Berkeley and Stanford.[233]

Scientific data

The internal debate in the Sierra Club rarely addressed the outside world in a positive manner. An exception was scientific and academic institutions as a few attempted to borrow legitimacy to their own scientific endeavors. This was done by referring to how

[228] W.E. Colby, J.N. Le Conte, E.T. Parsons, "Report of the Outing Committee.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905),p.240.; Harriet Monroe , "Camping above the Yosemite – A Summer Outing with the Sierra Club", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.97.
[229] Monroe 1909, p.97.
[230] See: Parsons 1902, p.21.; Randall 1907, p.101-102;107.
[231] Parsons 1902, p.21.
[232] G.K. Gilbert, "Lake Ramparts", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.226-227.
[233] See: Parsons 1902, p.23-24.; Fultz 1908, p.257.

institutions had calibrated their instruments, as McClure's instruments had been calibrated by Smithsonian Institute. Another way was to write they had compared their instruments against an instrument of an institute, such as McAdie had done against a barometer which belonged to the Weather Bureau office at San Francisco.[234]

The disrespect for data in government surveys continued in the later phase. George P. Putnam even made a joke connected to their lacking dependability stating "Indeed, we trusted entirely to our government maps, and started out secure in the knowledge that we could blame our mistakes to these."[235] Lincoln Hutchinson unusually defended the map makers while also connecting knowledge in the wild to the science, expertise and ability of the white educated body. He wrote "They are of the nature of pioneer work, gotten up under peculiarly difficult circumstances […] The visitor must rely far more upon his own judgment and observation than upon the lines of his chart."[236]

Publishing measurements of height or temperature after an ascent continued but most scientific efforts in the later phase were made in dedicated scientific excursions.[237] Gilbert even attempted to measure changes in glacier size over time.[238] Another example was J.N. Le Conte who published an article on data he had collected on snowfall and the rate of melting snow on the ground at a single station from the past eleven years. He wrote humbly "The results are, of course, rather unreliable, but enough is brought out, it is hoped, to be of some assistance."[239] Who it would assist was not clear but neither was the point that it would be of use. The important thing was that data had been recorded and made part of the legacy of Le Conte and the Sierra Club.

Another method to create legacy in later texts was to colonize wilderness with stations dedicated to science.[240] McAdie wrote of the construction of an observation cabin at Mt Whitney. He stated the ambition was to "diffuse knowledge throughout

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[234] Alexander G. McAdie, "Mount Whitney as Site for Meteorological Observatory" *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.93-94.; Weldon Young 1901, p.282-283.
[235] George P. Putnam, "Down the Kern-Kaweah.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.33.
[236] Hutchinson 1902, p.205.
[237] Willard D. Johnson, "The Grade Profile in Alpine Glacial Erosion.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (June, 1905), p.271-278.; G.K. Gilbert, "Systematic Asymmetry of Crest-Lines in the High Sierra of California.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (June, 1905), p.279-286; G.K. Gilbert, "Domes and Dome Structure of the High Sierra.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.211-220.; Joseph N. Le Conte, "The Motion of the Nisqually Glacier, Mt. Rainer.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 35 (January, 1907), p.108-113.; J.N. Le Conte, "Table of Elevations of Peaks in the Sierra Nevada Mountains over 12,000 feet above sea-level.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 29 (June, 1903), p.285-291.
[238] Grove Karl Gilbert, "Variations of Sierra Glaciers.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.20-25.
[239] Joseph N. Le Conte, "Snowfall in the Sierra Nevada.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 38 (June, 1908), p.310.
[240] McAdie 1910, p.140-146.; J.E. Church Jr., "Mt. Rose Weather Observatory, 1905-1907.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 36 (June, 1907), p.177-185.

the world for the welfare of men."[241] McAdie even argued the station in the future would be important for the efforts of collecting data from Mars.[242] This highlighted the need of the Sierra Club to be cutting edge on scientific discovery aiming even beyond the limitations of earth for the next wilderness and frontier. The establishment of stations also suggested a change from individual to institutionalized science. It was important that the Sierra Club did not fall behind the Mazama Club and Mt. Whitney. This was evident in an article where McAdie wanted to know why no progress had been made on "the conquest of Sierra"[243] in a similar manner.

Publishing unsolicited reports and correspondence to the federal government, President Roosevelt or local representatives further contributed to increased scientific content in the later phase. The Sierra Club's competence to create reports was in one case legitimized by stating members of twenty-two American colleges and universities had commissioned the report during an outing.[244] Hence yet again the Sierra Club referred to external authorities to gain legitimacy to their efforts.

Botany & Zoology

Descriptions of wildlife and plants increased in the later phase.[245] For instance a list of the 180 varieties present at an exhibit of wildflowers, shrubs and trees at the Lodge was published.[246] The unsolicited reports sent to political institutions could contain a section on botany or zoology as a reason for protecting a specific area. For instance Alden Sampson wrote "The presence of wild animals greatly adds to the pleasure of those who visit the Mt. Rainier National Park. Fortunately, it is not yet too late to preserve this feature of interest […]"[247] Hence animals were not to be saved for their intrinsic value or for those living in the region but for those who visited. The same conclusions can be drawn concerning the efforts of planting fish in the mountain lakes. In the beginning of the later phase individual mountaineers, like Colt Brown, wrote how much trout they had carried up and put in a lake which would serve as a source for food and entertainment for mountaineers.[248] This developed into several organized

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[241] McAdie 1910, p.145.
[242] McAdie 1910, p.142.
[243] Alexander G McAdie, "Mr William E. Colby.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.248.
[244] Fay et al, p.45.
[245] See: Alden Sampson, "A Deer's Bill of Fare.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.194-210.; Vernon L Kellogg, "Birds of the High Mountain.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.132-145.; William Frederic Badé, "The Water-Ouzel at Home.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.102-108.
[246] Kate R. Gompertz, "Report of the Le Conte Memorial Lodge Committee.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.270-273.; See also: Sampson 1905, p.194-210.
[247] Alden Sampson, "Wild animals of the Mt. Rainer National Park.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 34 (January, 1906), p.32.
[248] Colt Brown 1900, p.148.

enterprises and reports on efforts to implant fish signaling a move from individual initiatives to larger organized endeavors. Texts contained descriptions on specialized vessels designed to carry large quantities of fish from lower levels to higher levels and the data on how fish adapted would be recorded by California Fish Commission and the US Fisheries Bureau.[249] Thus again the wilderness was a scene for visitors to admire, better and use instead of a place for locals or the animals themselves to live in undisturbed.

The debate of whether or not to kill wildlife was still present in the later phase. Sampson stated some still killed deer in the Mt Rainer National Park regardless of the law and thought more competent rangers would put a stop to the killing.[250] So the key to the problem was knowledge, which was a commodity the Sierra Club possessed. The contradictions in the attitude towards killing animals were evident in a reflection by Badé. He wrote how some who consider themselves sportsmen killed deer "in spite of wardens and regulations, sometimes make murderous descents."[251] But Badé had no problem to later reveal he killed a rattlesnake as it challenged his right of way highlighting the contradiction of rules for other and rules for the Sierra Club members as well as different values ascribed to different types of animals.[252]

Native Americans continued to be the only marginalized group featured in connection to science. This was done in the same manner as in the early phase where Native Americans were positioned as knowledgeable about local plants.[253] The competence of Native Americans were still used to exotify them, for instance by comparing their diet with animals. As Sampson wrote "the squirrels having this trait in common with the Mexican Indians […]"[254]

Expertise

The construction of the Sierra Club member as a keeper of knowledge based on their physical experience and education remained prominent in later texts in the Bulletin. The expertise however moved away from general advice as the introduction of the outings changed the prerequisites for expertise. As Randall stated "It has been a matter

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[249] WM. E Colby, "Reports of the Secretary, May 1905 – May, 1907.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 36 (June, 1907), p.198.; A.A: Forbes & Mary R Forbes, "Planting Golden trout in Gardener Creek and Kings River Waters", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.252-255.; Fresno Republican, "State to Plant Trout in Higher Altitude of the Sierra.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.255-257.
[250] Sampson 1906, p.33-34.
[251] Badé 1905, p.294.
[252] Badé 1905, p.295.
[253] See: Sampson 1905, p.200-201:205-206.; Lemmon 1898, p.120:123.
[254] See: Sampson 1907, p.160.

of pride with the Sierra Club that the management of its outings has been so perfected that the goodly fellowship of the multitude is exempt from the responsibilities and labors of normal camping experience [...]"[255] A new expertise took a prominent spot, the ability to organize larger groups as Monroe wrote "In command of the expedition was the Club's Outing Committee - California lawyers and business men by profession and mountaineers by election, to whose mild authority we all submitted."[256] The military parables were numerous and hinted at an organized male as key to an outing's success, for instance one outing was described as successful due to Parson's "able guidance and generalship."[257]

The Sierra Club packing expertise

The packing advice changed dramatically in the later phase. Matching the emergence of more specific trips the packing advice were specific such as how to build a sled or skis or which boots to buy.[258] The detailed lists of how much bacon to bring were no longer published. As the outings removed planning expertise the luxury tourists, the novices and the mountaineers merged into one group. Instead a new distinction was created inside the outing between those which did knap-sack tours from the camp and/or took part in ascents and those who remained with the larger group in the lower meadows for the full stay. The divide was observable in the descriptions of those not being able to keep up the pace as "slow- goers"[259] or "the slower ones, the beginners."[260] Those who were more careful or novices were described as "the less ambitious"[261], "tenderfoot"[262] or "tenderfeet."[263] Those who did knap-sack tours or the organized climbs sometimes referred to themselves as "the hardier ones"[264] or "the sturdier climbers."[265] It's important to note these terms were not used pejoratively but often to

[255] Randall 1907, p107.
[256] Monroe 1909, p.91.
[257] WM E. Colby, J.N: Le Conte & E.T. Parsons, "Report of Outing Committee", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 34 (January, 1906), p.50-51.
[258] See: J.E: Church Jr., "Some Further Experiments with Sleeping-Bag and Sled on Winter Trips", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (June, 1905), p.318-321.; L.L., Hawkins, "Hot to Make "Skies"", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 29 (June, 1903), p.312-313.; F.K., "Comfort in Your Outing Boot.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.267.
[259] WM. Conger Morgan, "From Kern Canon to Giant Forest. The Chronicle of a Knapsack Trip.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1909), p.100.
[260] Edward T. Parsons, "Climbing Mt. Brewer – the Climax of the Sierra Club's Outing for 1902.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 29 (June, 1903), p.283.
[261] Parsons 1902, p.23.
[262] Badé 1904, p.52.
[263] Marion Randall Parsons, "With the Sierra Club in the Kern Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.23.
[264] Fultz 1908, p.290.
[265] Parsons 1903, p.283.

describe oneself. Only Randall used tenderfeet as a detrimental term when she wrote that many had bowed out of going at the 1906 outing after the San Francisco earthquake and fire. She wrote "the tidings of high water and lingering snow a little later alarmed the more timid among the tenderfeet until there remained only eighty intrepid Sierrans whom fire, 'quake, and flood could not deter from their wanderings."[266] Thus she used it to demarcate between those who were serious about the wilderness and could not be deterred in comparison to easily daunted tourists.

The Sierra Club expert and the service industry

The outing changed the relationship between the Sierra Club members and the service industry. The Outing Report for 1909 stated "There were 180 regular members of the party, and including employees, assistants, and guests, nearly 220 persons […]"[267] This suggest the support staff made up almost 20 percent of the group. The transportation was no small operation. For instance the 1903 outing had 30 000 pounds of personal luggage, provisions and camp equipment carried on pack-animals to the site.[268] There was no need to pack any food "except a little chocolate for an emergency […]"[269] The perception of the service industry moved from disparaging assessments of locals to how superbly outings had been organized. As Francis M. Fultz wrote:

> "I was impressed with the orderliness and lack of confusion with which the outing was conducted. It is no small task to provide during a whole month for one hundred and fifty people, part of the time on the march and the remainder of the time in camp in the mountains at a distance from the base of supplies at all times and there was but a little delay in bringing forward baggage."[270]

The outings changed the Sierra Club profoundly from an advisory function to an executive role. The intention before the first outing was stated as to draw attention to the Sierra Club and its work, create a spirit of good fellowship among members and lessen the costs to travel in wilderness. It was stated "The trip will be particularly attractive for woman, and every effort made to secure comfort usually lacking in

[266] Marion Randall, "The Second King's River Outing.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 35 (January, 1907), p.100.
[267] WM. E. Colby, J.N: Le Conte & E.T. Parsons, "Report of Outing Committee", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 41 (January, 1910), p.189.
[268] WM. E. Colby, J.N: Le Conte & E.T. Parsons, "Report of the Outing Committee.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.74.
[269] John Chetwood, "Grand Canon Excursion", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.166.
[270] Francis M. Fultz, "An Easterner's Impression of a Sierra Club Outing.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.256.

excursions to the high mountains."[271] Before the first outing some had objected traveling with a crowd would be disagreeable but the outing committee assured it would be an exclusive party only for members and immediate friends which would be a sufficient guarantee to a high class and tone.[272] From the arrangement it was clear that even though the group would be large the people part of the group would be people like themselves. Thus beyond elimination of the planning, the carrying and the worrying, the outings also eliminated contact with uncivilized people.

However the presence of people of Chinese heritage in the support staff was mentioned several times, interestingly all the remarks were made by female writers. Randall wrote that a "sleepy chinaman" banged on a dishpan and yelled a Mongolian version of "everybody get up" to wake up camp.[273] Others mentioned the cook they called "Chinaman Charlie Tuck"[274] or as Randall called him "Charley Tuck, the canny heathen cook […]"[275] Several praised the kitchen services, Sexton stated "the two excellent Chinese cooks set to work […]"[276] and Monroe wrote "[…] aloof, disdaining and disdained, were three Chinese cooks, especially "Charley Tuck," the indispensable chef who had served the Club during every one of its outings […][277] While the texts expressed appreciation of the work performed one was never to forget their ethnic origin. Further the personal traits that was ascribed to them such as cunning, aloof and disdaining were in stark contrast to the happy openminded white mountaineer. The demarcation was obvious. The Chinese support staff were nothing like the mountaineers but excellent in the station they had been assigned to by the mountaineers.

The Sierra Club expert and the knowledge of other people

Also in later text the notion that only those who had been in the wild could understand the wild anchored the expertise in the white body of the Sierra Club member. As Sanderson stated "There are those who believe that in this modern day the love of nature - wild nature - is vanishing from the world. Probably they read their Thoreau of a vacation on the verandas of summer resorts; at all events, they are not members

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[271] WM. E. Colby, "Proposed Summer Outing of the Sierra Club – Report of Committee.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 23 (February, 1901), p.253.
[272] Colby 1901, p.252.
[273] Randall parsons 1901, p.32.
[274] Sanderson 1903, p.186.
[275] Marion Randall, "Some aspects of a Sierra Club Outing.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 , (January, 1905), p.222. p.221-228.
[276] Sexton 1902, p.16
[277] Monroe 1909, p.91.

of the Sierra Club."[278] The point was the right people, the Sierra Club member, could create and understand knowledge which made them the experts. For a group of highly educated people who liked to showcase their classic education it was surprising how much significance was ascribed how acquire knowledge to practical application. For instance J.N. Le Conte wrote "to balance the little pots on rough stones requires knowledge of the laws of equilibrium which can never be gleaned from books on mechanics."[279]

The prominent theme in the early texts of disrespecting the expertise of sheepherders were not present in the later texts. The suspicion and disbelief expressed towards the advice of people of other ethnic origin were however manifested during international excursions. This perception of purported other ethnicities created opportunity for the Sierra Club mountaineer to appear brave and assertive. As Badé wrote of his guide "Burgener, who felt that a change of weather was impending, urged that we rest a day before starting for the Matterhorn. But I insisted on starting the next afternoon."[280] Likewise McClure in the Philippines questioned the expertise and trustworthiness of his guides when they told him to not go any further. McClure stated "To this day I do not know whether the Negritos wished to turn us back or not, but I suspect that they did; for after we got above the falls we found old camp-fires and other signs which had been but recently made, and our little black companions must have known of them"[281] McClure also perceived the guides as obstinate as he wrote "Whether they feared the bands of Igorrote savages found in these mountains, or whether they had some superstitious dread, I do not know, but not another step would they go."[282] Thus people with differing ethnic origin were perceived as either cowards or had hidden agendas. Regardless they did not have the character a Sierra Club member needed in a travel companion to respect them.

The contempt in the early texts of a lazy and corrupt federal government with no local knowledge of wilderness was exchanged for admiration in the later texts. This can in part be attributed to the decision to decentralized management in the Forest Service which brought the management of the wilderness closer to the parks.[283] More

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[278] Charlotte Sanderson, "With the Sierra Club in King's River Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 28 (February, 1903), p.192.
[279] J.N. Le Conte 1904, p. 10.
[280] William Fredric Badé, "An ascent of the Matterhorn.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 35 (January, 1907), p.76.
[281] N.F. McClure, "How Private Burns Climbed Mt. Pinatubo.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 30 (January, 1904), p.29.
[282] N.F. McClure 1904, p.29.
[283] William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 40 (June, 1909), p.137.

importantly was that President Roosevelts took office in 1901. Roosevelt was often admired in texts written by the Sierra Club leaders connected to Roosevelts personal experience of wilderness. For instance Dudley wrote "What he says of forestry, the arid lands, and irrigation are clearly the words of one who has hunted, camped, and climbed among the mountains and traversed the dry plains of America's own personal estate west of the Mississippi."[284] The Sierra Club even actively worked for the transfer from state management to federal management.[285] Thus after the successful transfer the credibility of the Sierra Club leadership was connected to the actions of the federal government. An editorial note connected to a report on all the improvements of infrastructure in the park stated that the criticism of the federal government's management of Yosemite Valley had come to their attention. The Sierra Club leadership reassured members that the federal government contributed far more than the state of California had and that even though they hoped congress would allocate additional funds the federal investments so far had justified the decision to transfer.[286]

When the federal leadership sided with San Francisco city leadership on the Hetch Hetchy dam issue it had substantial consequences for the relationship. The Bulletin published the decision from the interior department in full which then allowed the federal conservationist reasoning to be distributed unedited to members.[287] Hetch Hetchy brought to surface an internal divide in the Sierra Club. It was stated an internal canvass had disclosed most members were opposed to the reservoir but that a few members held contrary opinions.[288] The Sierra Club leadership reinforced their opposition to Hetch Hetchy by reprinting op-ed pieces from other papers. One reprinted article argued that those who did not understand the value of the wilderness beyond materialistic value represented a retarding influence on American Civilization.[289] The Sierra Club putting beauty of wilderness at the center of its argument had resulted, according to one reprinted op-ed, in an unfair reputation of Muir and the Sierra Club as sentimentalists.[290] This was a grave accusation indeed as

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[284] William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.71.
[285] John Muir, A.G. McAdie, J.N. Le Conte, WM. E. Colby, George Davidson, WM. R Dudley, J.S. Hutchinson, Jr., Warren Olney & E.T. Parsons., "Memorial of the Sierra Club of California to the President and Congress of the United States in relation to the recession of the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove to the United States by the State of California.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 34 (January, 1906), p.58-61.
[286] Unknown Author 1909, p.129-130.
[287] Unknown Author, "Decision of the Secretary of the Interior", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 38 (June, 1908), p.321-329.
[288] WM. E. Colby, "To the Editor of the Sierra Club Bulletin", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.265-268
[289] R.U. Johnson, "A High Price to Pay for Water", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.71.
[290] Johnson 1901, p.71.

the Sierra Club identity and legacy rested upon rationality and science. The defense mounted by the Sierra Club leadership was to appeal to the federal conservationist perspective. The importance of sublime pure wilderness beauty was still at focus but connected to the economic value it could create as tourist revenue. The beauty was constructed as a national resource which could not be sacrificed due to a few local special interests.[291]

Another unusual move prompted by Hetch Hetchy was that Muir himself penned an op-ed. Muir argued capitalists were trying to destroy one of God's best gifts while the Sierra Club was trying to save Yosemite. In contradiction to all the good the Sierra Club was positioned to have achieved Muir claimed the water from Hetch Hetchy would not be pure as sewage from campgrounds drained into it, both from humans and their pack-animals, which made it unfit to use as drinking water for San Francisco.[292] In this manner the Sierra Club admitted for the first time that mountaineers did not only bring positive traits of civilization into the wild.

Emotions

In the later phase emotions were dampened which could be because the published content focused on science and outings resulted in decreased opportunities for danger and/or interactions with outsiders.

Elation, Reverence & Appreciation

Elation was still connected to legacy, to the personal triumph of being the first to see and appreciate wilderness. The importance of the bodies as having physically been there as a prerequisite to understand the emotions and experiences continued in the later texts. As Ratcliff wrote "Only a mountaineer can appreciate the sense of exhilaration with which we contemplated the vast expanse of the crater and told ourselves that we had conquered the kingliest among all the mountains of the United States."[293]

The later phase overall displayed less difference between gender which decreased the proportion of content containing appreciation for women as capable. A reason for this could be because the Sierra Club outings changed the organization of the travels into the wild. A few still persisted in highlighting the female capacity in domestic chores. For instance Joseph Le Conte commented "Nowhere more than in

[291] John Muir, William E. Colby, J.N. Le Conte, WM. F. Badé, & E.T. Parsons, "The Hetch-Hetchy Water Project.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.264-265.
[292] John Muir, "The Hetch-Hetchy Valley.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.220.
[293] Ratcliff 1906, p.5.

camp does true womanly refinement show itself. In spite of the unfavorable conditions, our ladies never wholly lost that neatness and tidiness so dear to the heart of every true woman."[294] More often the content which featured a capable woman focused on what type of women she was. The college educated woman had arrived in the wilderness. Parsons wrote:

> "Nearly all of the women in this party were Berkeley or Stanford girls, and their vigor and endurance were a revelation to all of us, demonstrating as they did that health and vigor go with college life. At no time during the outing did the college women give out or find fault, nor did they delay or prove a drag on the progress of the excursion."[295]

A new type of joy was expressed by women themselves. Several wrote of the elation of being free of society's formal restraints of vanity in descriptions of their attire. Monroe described how at an outing women squirmed into clothes behind a cloak or blanket fastened to trees, learned how to wear short skirts and felt inspired by new personal adornment such as putting wildflowers in their hair or small pinecones in their hats.[296] As Monroe wrote "We felt very strange in our mountain clothes […] and most wonderfully free of all conventions and traditions."[297] and added later "We knew literally the emancipation of having 'only one dress to put on' […]"[298] These reflection on the challenge for women to adapt to a less vain existence can be seen to connect to the discussion of packing in the early phase which indicated that it was thought more of a challenge for women to dispense with the comforts of civilization. This could also be seen to confirm Schrepfer's finding that women in wilderness distanced themselves from the formal attire of civilization as a critique of the urban civilized Victorian female gender role. However the texts in the Bulletin celebrating new adornments of the natural kind can instead be seen as adaptable vanity and not a rejection of the concept.

Danger, Courage & Failure

In the later phase dangers were portrayed in a more muted language such as "Danger was again encountered in descending this canon."[299] This was not the same type of individual colorful risk as in the early phase but more hinting at an ongoing conscious risk management. A reason for the muted language could be that most ascensions were

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[294] Joseph Le Conte, "My Trip to King´s River Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (June, 1902), p.89.
[295] Parson 1902, p.22.
[296] Monroe 1909, p.90-91.
[297] Monroe 1909, p.86.
[298] Monroe 1909, p.91.
[299] Forbes and Forbes 1910, p.253.

during outings organized by the club which removed much of the nerve of an ascent. Danger moved from something the individual mountaineer managed by internal qualities and good management to something good order and military organization from the Sierra Club leadership mitigated. Randall Parsons illustrated this as she wrote:

> Had some of the novices realized how easily a single misstep could have precipitated one or more of us into the cruel pile of rocks that lay so far below, an attack of unreasoning panic might have brought about that very catastrophe. That no accident did occur is due in great measure to the cool, unhurried, confident manner of our leaders, to whose work that night too high praise cannot be accorded.[300]

This good order was at several outings forced on the individual when some were blocked from ascent as the Sierra Club leaders made decisions due to "[…] policy of the club to discourage too severe exertions that might result in any permanent disability."[301] There were thus fewer possibilities for mountaineers to display bravery and good management in the later phase.

J.S. Hutchinson Jr. performed a trip more in line with how trips had been performed during the earlier phase. He reflected on being afraid when facing danger in a similar style as in the early phase when he wrote "A cold chill crept down my back. My knees began to shake. The alarm, however, was only momentary. I saw the uselessness of fear, turned my face to the wall, and then looked on things above, determined not again to look downward."[302] This shows that the circumstances of how travel was performed changed the narrative published in the Bulletin. When performing a travel in solitude with the purpose to explore and create legacy as was common in the early phase the same narrative was expressed likewise in the later phase. Hence when a text did concern a solitary mountaineer it contained the same discourse on wilderness based on adventure, danger, difficulty, exploration, legacy and emotions as in the early texts. This can also be seen in a text by Foster who stood out in the later phase as he purposefully performed trips trying to disprove danger and difficulty portrayed in earlier articles. Foster wrote "[…] I think the statements may unnecessarily deter prospective trampers from an easy and interesting trip. The

[300] Marion Randall Parsons, "On Mt. St. Helen with the Mazamas", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 41 (January, 1910), p.176.
[301] Parsons 1903, p.283.
[302] Hutchinson Jr. 1905, p.168.

difficulties described were the attractions for me."[303] Foster was keen to position himself as more capable than previous authors as he wrote "As to the passage from Lost Valley to Little Yosemite being impossible, I did not find it so. […] I found four ways over into Little Yosemite."[304] The editor saw through Foster's attempt to undermine previous authors and had them answer the critique in an editor's note. One of them stated in a tone of dry humor he had not found as many ways through he wilderness as he had not been as willing to swim in rivers as Foster had been.[305]

Death & Sorrow

The same rationalizations and excuses to create distance between death and the Sierra Club were present in the later texts. The death of Mr. Smith was mentioned followed by the statement it had happened after he had left the main camp of the outing.[306] The committee wrote "Under the circumstances, there was nothing the Club could have done to have prevented this […]"[307] In 1908 the first eulogy for a woman was published. The details of Mary Ratcliff's (married to Badé) death were not disclosed but it is alluded to that she died at home. The focus of the eulogy was on her personality as she was said to have been a good warm-hearted companion on outings with untiring energy and a splendid voice. Her accomplishment at performing three ascents during an outing in 1905 was also mentioned.[308] This first eulogy for a woman was followed by a eulogy for P. A. Kanawyer who for many years had a packtrain and hotel business many used. The eulogy was the first given to a service provider, however it mainly served the purpose of announcing his family would continue the business.[309]

In 1909 a eulogy for Grace Bartlett who died in an accident during an outing was published which also clearly stated Bartlett had herself to blame. The unnamed author wrote "She had the spirit of an explorer […] And in this love she died, tempted too far by her joy in the wilds."[310] The outing committee were again quick to create distance between the organization and Bartlett as they wrote "This is the first serious accident that has befallen any one on the Outings, and we sincerely trust that it may be the last.

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[303] S.L., Foster, "An August Outing in the Upper Merced Canon.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.39.
[304] Foster 1909, p.41.
[305] Foster 1909, p.45.
[306] WM. E. Colby, J.N. Le Conte, & E.T. Parsons, "Report of the outing Committee.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.261.
[307] WM. E. Colby, J.N. Le Conte, & E.T. Parsons, 1908, p.262.
[308] Unknown author, "Notes and Correspondence", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 37 (January, 1908), p.275.
[309] Unknown author 1908, p.275.
[310] Unknown author, "Memorial.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.63-64.

Every precaution had been taken to prevent accidents, and this one would not have occurred if an unnecessary hazard had not been taken."[311] One aspect which stood out in the obituaries for female mountaineers was that they were lauded for their happy disposition and sweet nature which contributed to the good mood in an outing camp. The obituaries of male mountaineers had concerned their contributions to society with science, discovery and knowledge. In comparison the contributions of the deceased female mountaineers had been not to society overall but to the camp site, the domestic sphere in the mountains.

The later phase also contained deaths not specifically connected to danger as the prominent Joseph Le Conte and Galen Clark died from old age. Le Conte died at an outing surrounded by family and friends. The eulogy focused on his kindness, his physical capability, and him being a southern gentleman, a great author and a great scientist with ability to apply his knowledge practically in wilderness.[312] At the dedication of Le Conte Memorial Lodge Eells said "It is fitting that we should dedicate this memorial in this unpretentious way. It is entirely in keeping with the simple, unaffected character of him to whose memory we do reverence."[313] Thus, this man who embodied the Sierra Club had been a simple modest man. Galen Clark's eulogy was unusually written by Muir himself. Muir described Clark's kindness, his courage, his generous nature and his skill as Clark often traveled alone to explore with only a gun, bacon, flour and a blanket.[314] Interestingly Muir wrote that Clark had explored Mariposa Big Tree Grove made him the real discoverer of the famous trees.[315] This was in line with the perception seen elsewhere in the Bulletin which disregarding the legacy of others however this time it was outright stated that even though Clark was not the original discoverer his scientific purpose made him the "real" discoverer.

Anger & Contempt

The later phase contained significantly less emotional content connected to ethnicity and race. One explanation was the successful prohibition of sheepherding in the park enforced by the US Army. As roles were defined and the routes preplanned the outings resulted in that the mountaineers had less contact with people outside their own group. Greed remained a delineator towards outsiders where the main enemy was

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[311] WM. E. Colby, J.N. Le Conte, & E.T. Parsons, "Report of the Outing Committee – 1908 Outing.", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 39 (January, 1909), p.62.
[312] Frank Soulé, "Joseph LeConte in the Sierra", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 25 (January, 1902), p.1-4:6:10.
[313] Alexander G. Eells, "Address at Memorial Exercises", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 32 (January, 1905), p.179.
[314] John Muir, "Galen Clark", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 42 (June, 1910), p.215-217:219.
[315] Muir 1910, p.218.

constructed as the greedy capitalists who fraudulently evaded the original intent of laws.[316] Eastwood mused on the effects of greed when she commented on La Grange Mines "It is desolation and ruination of the natural features of the country, and the result on the landscape is typical of the effect on humanity of the greed for gold."[317] The contempt she felt of people connected to this greed was evident as she wrote "Occasionally we passed a lonely cabin in which some old miner lived. These men seemed like the driftwood of humanity left behind […]"[318]

Discussion

This study shows it is evident in how the Sierra Club members envisioned a meaningful civilized life in the wilderness at the turn of the twentieth century that they adapted complex and contradictory rationalizations to legitimize their authority in wilderness and civilization. The internal Sierra Club debate over civilization and wilderness reflected specific perceptions of gender, class, race and ethnicity which were used to create a demarcation between those who had been initiated into the secret of the wilderness, those who was yet to be enlightened, and those who could never understand. Through the eyes of the Sierra Club members the wilderness was pristine, magnificent, monumental and in need of saving from everyone else but them. The Sierra Club members had been initiated into the secret of the wilderness and it was their duty to enlighten other educated professional white men or women from the middle or upper class. White men and women who were part of the local community in the Sierras but belonged to a purported different class could also be bettered by the collection and distribution of knowledge from the Sierra Club. Those who could never understand wilderness were of a purported different race or ethnicity. They could not be bettered and had to stay in the position the Sierra Club had designated for them or be removed from the wilderness.

The discourse of civilization and wilderness was used in the internal debate to produce and sustain a site-specific norm, the idealized mountaineer, which legitimized the Sierra Club leaderships authority to have guardianship of the wilderness. The idealized mountaineer was not a specific person or group within the Sierra Club, the

[316] For example the Timber and Stone Act, the Desert Land Law and the Homestead Law. Sierra Club argued large pieces of governmental land for little money passed into the hands of millionaire investors when it was supposed help individuals build a pioneer home. See: William R. Dudley, "Forestry Notes", *Sierra Club Bulletin* 31 (June, 1904), p.150-152.
[317] Eastwood 1902, p.44.
[318] Eastwood 1902, p.44-45.

mountaineering community or the preservation or conservation movement. The idealized mountaineer was a collection of attributes, behavior, performance and capabilities which were prominently and continuously displayed in the Bulletin as crucial for the identity of the individual mountaineer or the Sierra Club organization. The attributes, behavior, performance and capabilities were demonstrated in connection to legacy, science, expertise and emotions. The idealized mountaineer could be partially or fully embodied by those who fulfilled the criteria of being an educated professional white man or woman from the middle or upper class. Those who came the closest to embody most facets of the idealized mountaineer were the leadership of Sierra Club in the later phase. The authority of the idealized mountaineer to make decisions in wilderness and in civilization rested on their morals, their intellects and their physical abilities.[319] By embodying the norm the authority of the Sierra Club leadership was legitimized which enabled them to speak for the wilderness in the public sphere.[320]

The core of the norm was based on class, race and ethnicity where gender was subordinate if the attributes, behavior, performance and capabilities were fulfilled. Thus the idealized mountaineer could be a man and a woman. However, the perception was that it was more of a challenge for a woman to dispense with the comforts of civilization. Thus it took more effort for women to become an idealized mountaineer, but their gender did not prevent them from embodying the norm. The wilderness thus created opportunities for the right type of women who, at least superficially, could reach a type of site-specific equality. It is important to note that almost all interactions with other purported classes, ethnicities or races in the wild were with men. Thus the white educated female mountaineer had no equivalent in other classes, races or ethnicities to construct a position in opposition to in the wild. If there had been possibly womanhood would have been prominent as a demarcation.

As the internal debate changed over time the expressions of the norm, the strategies to justify the authority connected to the idealized mountaineer, changed but the core characteristics stayed the same. The internal debate was transformed by

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[319] This supports Bederman's conclusion of the relationship between manhood and civilization at the turn of the twentieth century as based on a highly evolved white male body who used evolution, race and gender to create and uphold authority.

[320] Edvard T. Parsons, J.N. Le Conte, J.E, Church Jr., William R. Dudley, WM. E. Colby, J.S. Hutchinson Jr., Alexander G. McAdie and Marion Randall Parsons all published individual articles and wrote reports which represented the leaderships agenda from their leadership positions on the board, committee for publications, transport and outings or the Le Conte Memorial Lodge which reflected important attributes of the idealized mountaineer.

internal and external factors. The internal factor was the developing maturity of the Sierra Club organization. It was not clear from the beginning what the Sierra Club would become or how much the Sierra Club would achieve. There was no obvious path for the organization to take but over time the Sierra Club became a prosperous project for members of the board and committees. At inception the Bulletin had been a vessel for a multitude of voices on adventure in wilderness, but the leadership transformed the Bulletin to a structure with recurrent politically devoted authors whose articles supported the leaderships aspiration of a Sierra Club guardianship of wilderness. The leadership wanted the Sierra Club to embody expertise and competence to be able to claim the coveted position as a trustworthy and suitable consultant for political stakeholders on important questions. To achieve this status they needed to be polished and professional. The Sierra Club realized complaining and antagonizing federal agencies was not productive. Instead they sought cooperation even when they disagreed fundamentally, as on Hetch Hetchy. The Bulletin at the end of the time period of this study was no longer the same conduit for input from independent mountaineers but rather a channel of an elite political agenda from the board.

The norm of the idealized mountaineer served as a demarcation to exclude others as too uncivilized for the wilderness. Perceptions of gender, class, race and ethnicity simultaneously strengthened the leadership of the Sierra Club and undermined the rights of those who purportedly was incapable to embody the norm of the idealized mountaineer. From the beginning the texts in the Bulletin depicted a pattern of desirable attributes, behavior, performance and capabilities of the idealized mountaineer which reflected an adventurous, rational, moral, devoted and self-reliant person. The idealized mountaineer was organized and planned ahead, but adapted to challenges in the wild using intellect and resourcefulness. The idealized mountaineer was executive but could follow the leadership of his betters. The idealized mountaineer was uncorruptible be it by politics, money, desire or urban life. The idealized mountaineer was unconstrained by domestic life left behind in civilization. The idealized mountaineer could be emotional but was never overwhelmed into outbursts of violence, sadness or lust.[321] The importance of having physically

[321] Bederman posed the Victorian masculinity as the ultimate Anglo-Saxon male with a primal masculinity who had a superb body, was violent but chivalrous, moral but passionate. This does sound like the idealized the Sierra Club member besides the violent nature. Some exerted violence toward animals in fishing and hunting but only within the rules of the National Park and with moral restraint.

experienced the wild to be able to understand the wild cannot be overstated. Legacy, expertise and science could not be bought. Knowledge and thus authority was anchored in the experienced white body of the idealized mountaineer.

These were the fundamentals of the idealized mountaineer, the expressions of these changed over time to adapt to changing circumstances. As mentioned, internal changes in the organizational maturity of the organization changed the internal debate in the Bulletin to facilitate the professionalism the Sierra Club leadership wanted to establish in the organization. Additionally four significant changes altered the discourses on wilderness and civilization in the internal debate. These were the elimination of unknown terrain in Sierra Nevada, the outings and infrastructure, the successful expulsion of sheep and the transfer of Yosemite National Park to federal management. The Sierra Club leadership had to adapt the content which legitimized the authority of the idealized mountaineer to align to the new circumstances or lose Sierra Club's position of authority.

The first significant change was the disappearance of terra incognita. It was evident in the earlier texts that the purpose of the idealized mountaineer was to conquer the wilderness. This competition to conquer the wild in the early phase put Sierra Club members in opposition with other people who had visited the wild for other reasons than discovery itself. A visit to a site was considered valid only if it was a cultured man with higher purpose who performed it. In a way the narrative implicated the wild could not exist or experience human touch before the touch was made by man with selfless motives. This did not mean there were no legacy from other classes, races or ethnicities in the wild, but their legacy was a broken unworthy legacy not to be taken seriously. The presence of other races, ethnicities and classes in wilderness were belittled and reduced to uncivilized as the people were perceived as incapable of civilized language, documentation or organization. As such Native Americans and the lower class workers, often depicted with a purported different ethnicity, were racially incapable of embodying the idealized mountaineer. This meant their legacy was not part of the past of the wilderness and this excluded any authority on the future of wilderness.

The perceptions of Native Americans were that they were poorly adapted to civilization, dirty, whining and without self-discipline. The Native Americans knowledge of plants and food sources was the only challenge to the knowledge monopoly of the Sierra Club which came from inside the wilderness. This can explain why the Native American race was prominently featured as an evolutionary failure. It

was acceptable to express sorrow at their pitiable existence, as it stood in stark contrast to both civilization and their romantic past. In a way they were a part of the wilderness. Their seizing to exist was a cause for sorrow as it would be if an appreciated animal or plant went extinct. There was nothing the Sierra Club members could do to save them. There was no need to express anger towards the Native Americans as it was thought Native Americans could never embody the idealized mountaineer no matter how hard they tried. In contradiction to the contempt and disregard of their legacy the Sierra Club used the Native American romantic legacy as a way to exotify the wilderness and thus create interest for Yosemite and the Sierra Club's work. It did split the internal debate into those who thought the legacy of Native American nomenclature were beautiful and worthy of preserving and those who preferred the names created by explorers. At no point was it suggested Native Americans should be consulted for their opinion on the future of the wilderness or that their diminishing numbers was connected to the arrival of the civilized white body. Guardianship and protection of the lost legacy of Native Americans was up to the Sierra Club and the educated white body to use or discard.

By the late phase the wilderness of Sierra had been civilized and tamed by the Sierra Club. The sheer amount of excursions performed in the earlier phase with the purpose of being first and create legacy resulted in that there were very few unexplored areas left in Yosemite. In the early texts the mountaineers traveled solo or in smaller groups which enabled free escapades with unexpected dangers and difficulties. Less solo travels were featured in later texts, but when they were featured the texts had the same expressions of legacy, expertise and emotions as in the early texts. This shows the importance of the leadership of the Sierra Club. Most content in the Bulletin in the later phase concerned the outings, science, output of specific committees or legislative agenda. This crowded out pioneering solo travels from the journal. As it had become near impossible to create legacy from being first in a place the Sierra Club members adapted new strategies. Expertise, adventure and legacy moved to a specialized arena in the form of foreign wilderness, traveling in winter or traveling with a specific scientific purpose. A contradiction to creation of legacy in the early phase based on earned by physical presence in the wild was that in the later editions of the Bulletin published different forms of donations which indicated a certain type of legacy could be bought.

The second significant change was self-induced when the Sierra Club begun holdings outings and created infrastructure in wilderness. The contempt for economic

production were muted in the later phase in parallel with the increase of the Sierra Club's own economic enterprises. The very intention behind the foundation of the Sierra Club was to preserve wilderness. After some time the Sierra Club instead made money off the land and altered the wilderness with infrastructure and concessions to attract visitors. The Sierra Club became the commercial invasion their main purpose was to keep out. The use of logging trains, blasting to clear paths for the commissary during outings and the requests for federal aid to build roads and bridges to enable mountaineering illustrated the contradictions in the Bulletin. The reflections connected to the impacts on the wilderness by blasting away or building bridges concerned how fun and bizarre it was to see these highly educated people perform hard physical labor. The only time the remnants of the presence of mountaineers in the wilderness were portrayed negative was when Muir argued the sewage from mountaineering polluted the water in connection to the Hetch Hetchy conflict. Thus mountaineering produced negative remnants only when it fit the Sierra Club's argumentation.

The perception of gender differences decreased in the later phase. This could reflect a change of discourse but more likely the outings changed the circumstances of wilderness. The Sierra Club built a comfortable world in the wilderness where one did not need to bring everything for survival and did not risk much. With the outing comfort women could be depicted as equals as their possible weakness could not jeopardize the mission. At the same time their specific strength of domestic tasks were no longer needed. The capability of women in the earlier phase had been connected to their daring in the wilderness before the organized outings. In the later phase the source of appreciation was instead connected to the women's position in civilization. It was frequently noted that college girls had chosen to go to the wilderness and performed admirably. Before women had traveled with families in the role of a wife or daughter. The outings enabled women to sign up for visiting the wilderness independently. At first sight the Sierra Club organization looks like a contemporary progressivist organization granting prominent public space for women. The women's role in the organization was early on a public role, as leading members were applauded for raising awareness and money. This was not surprising as philanthropic endeavors were a public sphere where women were welcome during the nineteenth century. The Sierra Club needed outreach campaigns to the community and women had personal networks which included infrastructure to collect money and organize events. Women were published and granted official leadership positions to a larger extent in the later phase. However the positions were connected to practical work in

the wilderness. Thus the leadership positions granted to women were more connected to operational maintenance than formal power as a seat on the board would have had.

Another shift brought on by the outings was that danger moved from something the individual mountaineer coped with by careful management and resourcefulness to something good order and military organization from the Sierra Club leadership mitigated. Thus the individual mountaineer did not need be conscious of the danger or handle it. They could rely on the organization provided by the leadership of the Sierra Club. This changed dimension of danger also decreased content with overwhelmingly positive depictions of women in the wild. In the early texts women in the wild were lauded as strong. But even the women who made dangerous ascents could still use a helping hand from one of the gentlemen. There the male mountaineer could still fulfill the role as protector of these capable female mountaineers. Some writers explicitly wrote they saw women in the wild as an experiment and evaluated them accordingly. Most often to the advantage of the women. However the performance of such evaluations signal that women were thought a separate group who needed to be assessed. These assessments decreased as women in the larger outings merged into the crowd and could depend on the organization for assistance. The outings also entailed important change of how deaths on the mountain were perceived. Only the death of Abbot was depicted without any indication that he had himself to blame for the accident. McClure, Bartlett and Smith all died in connection to an outing by the Mazamas or the Sierra Club, but it was never perceived to be the fault of the organization. It was the individual who recklessly disregarded prudence and thus fell to their deaths. The organizations claim to military order and excellent organization remained unblemished due to this distanced created to the deaths.

The introduction of outings also changed the interaction with the people who worked in the service industry. In the earlier texts the service industry was depicted as something the Sierra Club member had to oversee as the people of this purported lower class did not possess the skills to organize or had a modern business sense. With the outings the critique of the service industry stopped. The service industry was then safely under the guardianship of the committee of outings and transportation. The praise published in the later texts of the handling of the transport, food and excursion also positively reinforced the perception of the organizational skills of the Sierra Club leadership. In connection to the services rendered much appreciation was expressed towards the men of Chinese heritage who worked at the outing camps. The Chinese were touched upon to a lesser degree than other races and ethnicities in the Bulletin

but with significantly more positive words. This could be because the Chinese had an established setting where they interacted with the Sierra Club members. There was no risk of running into them in the wild. Instead they had a set function, as part of the outing party. As such the Chinese were not thought a threat to the current order the Sierra Club had constructed but were perceived to have submitted to it. They performed in accordance with their station and thus did not have to be addressed further beyond the occasional derogatory term, which was used almost as endearments. Despite Spence information that many Native Americans worked in the service industry in the valley no Native Americans were depicted as doing so in the Bulletin. This shows the limitation of using discourse analysis. Does it mean there were no Native Americans working for the people who wrote published articles or were the Native Americans role in service industry so insignificant that it did not appear in the internal Sierra Club debate? Further inquiries would have to be made to clarify.

The third significant change was that direct and confrontational interactions with purported lower classes and ethnicities faded away in the later phase. In the early phase the focus of much anger and contempt was directed towards people who supported themselves in the wilderness independent of the service industry for mountaineering. The strong emotional expression were present in texts written by both men and women.[322] The Sierra Club member patronized these men, which in a way was a paradox as it was a rugged, capable, and psychically striking manhood Bederman posited they tried to emulate by going to the wild. The ethnically diverse (Portuguese, French, Basque and Irish) sheepherders took the brunt of the condescension. The perception of them overusing and misusing resources were depicted as unsatiable, unrestrained and irrational. It was stated they had already ruined the lands they came from, and would bring the same desolation to American lands if left unchecked. A core part of the construction of their undesirable presence as detrimental to wilderness was connected to their lack of respectable personal qualities as they were unenlightened, cowards, superstitious, violent, greedy, without self-control or expertise. However they submitted to a better man when challenged in a calm rational fashion. This contempt was in stark contrast to the direct interactions with sheepherders where sheepherders showed to be extremely generous and helpful with their material possessions and knowledge. There seemed to be no way for the

[322] This result is in opposition to the findings of Schrepfer which describes female rhetoric as less emotional than male and said it held less disdain for mountain inhabitants.

ethnic sheepherder to be forgiven and repent. The only solution was to remove them as the intruders they were on American wilderness.

The distain toward the sheepherder were no longer a common feature in the later texts. A rigid discourse analysis would interpret the result as ethnicity and class becoming less important over time or that a consensus made it uninteresting to include in texts. The method and material overall worked well to capture the intended purpose of this study, but the decrease of anger and contempt expressed towards purported lower classes and ethnicities in the later phase highlights faults with discourse analysis. The criticism and strong emotional perceptions of ethnicity disappeared as law enforcement in the form of the US army kept sheepherders and sheep out of the park. It cannot be discerned that the anger against sheepherding and the connection between the contempt and their ethnic origin would have disappeared if the sheepherders had not disappeared.

The fourth significant change was in the relationship to the federal government. This change was connected to the internal maturity of the organizational leadership of the Sierra Club. In the early phase external institutions such as the federal departments and agencies were depicted as unknowledgeable, greedy, and corrupt. Overall the strategy of the Sierra Club to construct external forces as less knowledgeable was based on two arguments which persisted across both earlier and later texts in the Bulletin. First of all, the knowledge of these external groups could be discredited as they had not anchored their knowledge in physical presence in wilderness. Second, the external groups were guided by greed. Thus they were immoral, corrupt, senseless and imprudent. The men in charge of external groups shared the same class and race as the Sierra Club members but had not lived up to values of the idealized mountaineer. However, unlike people of a purported different race or ethnicity these men of external groups could be enlightened to the secret of the wilderness. If they would only listen to the Sierra Club leadership. As mentioned as the Sierra Club matured they realized being on the outside and insulting powerful stakeholders was not productive. Their capacity to influence changed radically and the organization as a result became a political force in the later phase. The Sierra Club depended on collaboration, authority, support and funding from external institutions. In the later phase when the state of California did not supply what the Sierra Club wanted the leadership lobbied for a transfer to federal control. Thus the Sierra Club wanted the very eastern political institution that had been so despised in the early phase to take over but not take charge. The transfer did not mean the Sierra Club was ready to relinquish control over the

future of wilderness and Sierra Club leadership tried to influence the federal government by issuing unsolicited reports. This contributed to a substantial increase in content concerning science and legislative agendas. The reports also made it evident that the unique characteristics of the wilderness was not to be saved for their own intrinsic value or for those who lived in the region. Like the romantic past of the Native Americans botanical and zoological singularities of wilderness were be saved to create interest for wilderness, for the mountaineers and for the Sierra Club's work.

The Sierra Club published a long list of reasons why the Yosemite should transfer, but the underlying reason was access to more monetary funds. As the Sierra Club had been crucial to the transfer this tied the credibility of the Sierra Club leadership to the actions of the federal government in the park. As such it became important to feature the federal government in a positive light connected to wilderness. This more accommodating approach to the federal government can be seen in the argumentation made by the Sierra Club leadership in connection to Hetch Hetchy. The preservationist Sierra Club tried to placate and convince the conservationist federal leadership by adapting their argumentation to include monetary gains in the form of tourism. The very greed that had been so despised in both the earlier and later texts was now included as a positive attribute. That this correlated with the increased profitable outings for Sierra Club cannot be overlooked. Another important part of the shifting perception of eastern political men was due to the leadership of the federal government passing to Roosevelt and Pinchot. Their leadership was deemed insightful and knowledgeable. Roosevelt as a man of physical experience of the wild was an ally worthy of respect. The federal government was however again seen as unknowledgeable when the Sierra Club wrote Pinchot had approved Hetch Hetchy dam as he did not have the correct facts. However that Pinchot did not have the facts was the fault of local special interest and not the federal government itself, thus the imagery of the federal government as faultless was sustained.

This study has shown deconstructing and historizing the origin narrative of the American wilderness movement using the discourse of civilization and wilderness can create a deeper understanding of the complex and contradictory rationalizations which built and sustained the authority of the leadership of the movement. Previous studies aimed at widening the origin narrative had not used an intersectional perspective nor had they used organizational publications to capture a full internal debate. The result of this study shows it can be done successfully but also that there

are several ways to expand the research. First of all it could be of interest to see how the result are affected if the time period was extended to include World War I as it was a real world event with large consequences for the discourse of civilization. A second suggestion would be to focus on science and see how the internal debate was affected by twenty-first century technological advancement. A third suggestion would be to analyze how the establishment of National Park Service affected the Sierra Club's perceived ownership of knowledge of wilderness in relation to the federal government. As the first chairman of National Park Service was a Sierra Club member a study of any similarity or difference could interesting. A fourth suggestion is to include journals from other mountaineering clubs at the same time period to see if the idealized mountaineer was a local, national, or transnational norm and if the same adaptations were prompted by real world events in other contexts.

Conclusion

This study investigated if and how the Sierra Club adapted complex and contradictory rationalizations to legitimize their authority in wilderness and civilization. The study concludes that authority to claim guardianship over the past, present and future of wilderness in the internal debate in Sierra Club was anchored in a site-specific norm, the idealized mountaineer. This norm was produced and sustained by a variety of contradictory rationalizations which emanated from the movement of the white educated body of men and women in the wilderness who had the ability to extract knowledge due to their superior moral, intellectual and physical abilities. The Sierra Club being a collective of individuals who embodied the norm gained authority as a guardian of the Sierras and by extension an influential stakeholder in the preservation and conservation movement. The idealized mountaineer as a norm was developed, changed and contested over time and was manifested in with different contradictory rationalizations in the themes of legacy, science, expertise and emotions. The norm was based on male attributes demonstrated in heroic courage, rational decision-making, physical capabilities and scientific endeavors. The time spent in wilderness were transformative emotionally, intellectually and physically as each undertaking in the wild got the individual closer to the norm and identity of the idealized mountaineer. Importantly their actions were constructed as serving a higher purpose of science and discovery which be extension was a patriotic duty to American society. The deed of climbing a mountain was a conquest which radiated down into the forests and the meadows as the mountaineers and the Sierra Club claimed the wilderness as

under their guardianship. The wilderness was constructed as pristine, monumental and in need of saving from everyone but them. By safeguarding the wilderness by extension the mountaineers safeguarded their identity and authority.

The interaction between mountaineers strengthened and distilled the internal community while it simultaneously demarcated against others. As some women could embody the norm it indicated a site specific gender equality however certain maneuvers signaled how women were different. The praise for their achievements and domestic talents coupled with their struggle to pack without civilized comforts separated women without tainting the characteristics and acts of the idealized mountaineer which women customarily embodied just as well as men. The themes of legacy, science, expertise and emotions were likewise used to construct others as unworthy, unknowledgeable and uncivilized based on class, race and ethnicity to reject their claim to authority in wilderness. Native Americans were constructed as tragic and uncivilized with a lost romantic past. Chinese were constructed as capable workers with disagreeable personal traits. Both were constructed as racially incapable of embodying the norm but not a threat. In contrast sheepherders were a threat in two ways. First, as the knowledge of the sheepherder was based on their physical experience of wilderness it threatened to minimize and undermine the authority of the idealized mountaineer which emphasized the embodied knowledge to legitimize their authority educated white middle or upper class men and women with diverting opinion on the governance of wilderness. Second, as sheepherders' economic production was unlinked to mountaineering and they did not submit to the authority of mountaineers they were a threat to the type of experience the mountaineers sought after in the wilderness. As such sheepherders' knowledge and purpose in the wild needed to be discredited which was done by constructing them as greedy, unworthy and uncivilized with reference to their class and ethnicity. This enabled the mountaineers to call for their irrevocable removal from wilderness. Others were constructed as able to be enlightened and were allowed a reprieve to adapt to the authority of Sierra Club. For instance white workers in the service industry were constructed as senseless but not incorrigible under the right tutelage. External groups with educated men of the same class with divergent opinions on the future of the wilderness, like capitalist businessmen and the federal government, were constructed as greedy and corrupt to disqualify their knowledge and by extension authority. As such they were a threat to the wilderness but not incapable of being bettered.

The rationalizations in the internal debate changed as the Sierra Club developed into the commercial invasion their main purpose had been to keep out. The organized outings, increased infrastructure, successful expulsion of sheep, the transfer of Yosemite National Park to federal management and the elimination of unknown terrain in the Sierra Nevada meant that the Sierra Club in a few years had inadvertently civilized and tamed the wilderness of the Sierras. This entailed that the Sierra Club leadership had to adapt the expression of the norm of the idealized mountaineer to justify their authority but the fundamentals of the construction of rationalizations remained the same.

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