

The Hetch Hetchy Controversy:

**An Analysis of the First Fight to Protect
America's Natural Resources and the
Ensuing Impact**

**Daniel Rickert
Senior
Paper**

The concept of setting aside land for future generations began to emerge in America during the 1800s. From the arrival of the first European settlers, success had been measured by conquering the vast landscape that would become the United States. Controlling nature was seen as progress. A transformation started when some Americans began to view nature as a quintessential part of their country's fabric. When Abraham Lincoln signed the Yosemite Land Grant in 1864, he could not have anticipated that Yosemite would later become the site of a crusade to further protect America's natural resources.¹ The land grant included two valleys: the well known Yosemite Valley and her sister, Hetchy Hetchy Valley, 20 miles to the Northwest.² While Yosemite Valley still exists today, Hetch Hetchy would pay the ultimate price to progress in the campaign for conservationism. In 1913, The House of Representatives finalized plans to dam the valley, making it into a reservoir.³ The fight to prevent the damming of Hetch Hetchy was innovative and altered the way America would protect land for future generations. The impact of damming Hetch Hetchy led to a renewed interest in the preservation of America's natural resources. Distraught over the loss of such a pristine valley, Americans realized a change was necessary to protect America's land; the National Park Service was created.

A series of events between 1856 and 1864 set the stage for America's initial interest in conservationism. While the Civil War ravaged America, Yosemite still managed to garner attention through descriptions, drawings, paintings, and photographs that drifted east. A renewed sense of pride in the wilderness which was uniquely American began to emerge.⁴ A novel by George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature* (1864), became popular in both Europe and America.⁵ Marsh stressed that nature creates a balance that promotes diversity and stability.⁶

Marsh's message was simple: "...people affect the environment and it affects us."⁷ Protecting natural resources became a source of national pride for many.

In February of 1864, Captain Israel Raymond, the California representative of the Central American Steamship Transit Company, wrote California Senator John Conness to express his concern that Yosemite be protected "from private exploitation."⁸ Raymond believed it would "be important to obtain the proprietorship soon, to prevent occupation..."⁹ His foresight would prove to be progressive. With the help of Conness, the Yosemite Land Grant was drafted and introduced to the floor of the Senate on March 28th.¹⁰ Conness used Raymond's letter as the template for an innovative bill that designated this land for public preservation. The bill, only two paragraphs in length, stipulated the land in Yosemite that would be set aside and that the state of California would preside over it.¹¹ In total, some sixty square miles were designated as unavailable for private use.¹² The bill, however, received little notice in the shadow of the American Civil War. Senator Lafayette Foster of Connecticut was one who noted the importance and commented, "It struck me as being a rather singular grant, unprecedented as far as my recollection goes."¹³ President Abraham Lincoln signed the Yosemite Land Grant into law on June 30, 1864.¹⁴

For the nearly thirty years before Yosemite became a national park in 1890, it gained a following that included John Muir, an early environmentalist, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, a transcendentalist author. Muir lived in and explored Yosemite for the majority of his adult life. When he first saw Yosemite Valley in 1869, he proclaimed, "Never before had I seen so glorious a landscape, so boundless an affluence of sublime mountain beauty."¹⁵ While Muir, like many visitors, enjoyed Yosemite Valley, he preferred the lesser known Hetch Hetchy Valley. He

studied the valleys fanatically and enthusiastically shared his knowledge. Emerson was among a group of Boston intellectuals who visited Yosemite and met the influential Muir in May 1871.¹⁶ Transcendentalism espoused, in part, that the universe is the property of every individual within it and needs to be protected.¹⁷ Muir had read Emerson's essays and felt that, "... of all men he [Emerson] would best interpret the sayings of these noble mountains and trees."¹⁸ Muir and Emerson formed an unlikely partnership; together they contributed to introducing Yosemite to America through Emerson's writing.¹⁹ The confluence of thoughts fueled by Emerson and Muir set the stage for the fight to protect America's land. Yosemite, specifically Hetch Hetchy Valley, would soon face a threat from "progress" in the West.

San Francisco, Yosemite's western neighbor, was experiencing difficulties that stemmed from their inability to provide consistent and affordable water. During the 1860s, the Spring Valley Water Company emerged as a dominant enterprise and a solution to San Francisco's water problems.²⁰ The California State Legislature granted Spring Valley a water franchise in 1858; they quickly established a monopoly on water sources on the peninsula. With so much corporate power, corruption was inevitable. Spring Valley soon developed into a civic problem. While Spring Valley had, at one time, in exchange for goodwill from city officials, been willing to provide San Francisco with free water for municipal use, they now insisted on charging the city.²¹ City officials felt that they had no choice but to look at establishing an alternate water source to reduce their dependency on Spring Valley. This opportunity arose in the aftermath of an earthquake and fire that destroyed much of San Francisco on April 18, 1906.²² Mayor Eugene Schmitz immediately created the Citizens Committee of Fifty; led by former mayor James

Phelan. The committee received \$10 million in relief funds.²³ Phelan saw the opportunity to rid San Francisco of Spring Valley's hold on the city.

Under Phelan's leadership, the City of San Francisco sought an alternate water source as reconstruction began. Phelan was convinced that Hetch Hetchy, with its steep granite walls and narrow outflow, would be an ideal reservoir. Phelan lobbied President Theodore Roosevelt for his support to build the dam. Roosevelt had spent time camping in Yosemite National Park with John Muir and was deeply conflicted on the issue. He deferred the decision to his Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Hitchcock, who denied requests for permission to create a reservoir three times between 1901 and 1905. After Hitchcock's resignation in March 1907, Roosevelt appointed James Garfield to the now vacant position.²⁴ Upon hearing this news, Gifford Pinchot, the first Chief of the United States Forest Service, saw the opportunity to receive permission to dam Hetch Hetchy Valley.

While typically viewed as a champion of conservationism, Pinchot did not support preservation for the sake of scenery. Pinchot wrote to his counterparts in San Francisco, "My advice to you is to assume that his [Garfield's] attitude will be favorable, and to make the necessary preparations to set the case before him."²⁵ On July 24, 1907, a meeting was held at the San Francisco Board of Supervisors' office to discuss re-petitioning for permission to dam Hetch Hetchy Valley.²⁶ A club camping trip prevented members of the famed conservationist society, the Sierra Club, from attending. Ironically, John Muir was camping in Hetch Hetchy Valley at the time.²⁷ Roosevelt, again, left the decision to Secretary of the Interior Garfield who approved Phelan's request in May 1908.²⁸ This became known as the Garfield Permit.²⁹

Garfield believed that the Right of Way Act, passed in February 1901, gave the City of San Francisco permission to create a reservoir in Hetch Hetchy.³⁰ According to author John Ise, “The [Right of Way] Act was in most respects perfectly tailored for looters of the parks...”³¹ In short, it stipulated that the State of California could build water projects within California’s state parks.³² The original intent of this bill was not to change the landscape of Yosemite in the way that damming Hetch Hetchy would. The supporters of the dam had found a legal loophole. Garfield acknowledged the conservationists by stipulating that the city set aside adjacent areas that would replace the land lost to the reservoir as well as develop Lake Eleanor as a preliminary water source.³³ While Lake Eleanor was still within Yosemite, conservationists were willing to cede it in order to protect Hetch Hetchy. Garfield’s permit would lead to the damming of Hetch Hetchy and create a national controversy. The loss of Hetch Hetchy would have an impact that even those most distraught by its destruction could not have anticipated. Never before had the issue of protecting the environment caught the public’s eye in the way that Hetch Hetchy did.

While the City of San Francisco had been granted permission to build the dam, the fight to prevent the destruction of Hetch Hetchy Valley was not over. The first organized resistance came from the Sierra Club, led by John Muir.³⁴ After receiving word of the possible reservoir, they created a committee to focus “on the Welfare and Improvement of the Yosemite National Park.”³⁵ Within a few weeks, the committee drafted a report and sent it to Garfield, this was the first official statement of the club’s position.³⁶ California and the City of San Francisco placed the Hetch Hetchy dam in Washington D.C’s political arena when Representative Kahn introduced House Joint Resolution 184.³⁷ Kahn wanted lands to be exchanged between federal

and city governments; the exchange would allow Hetch Hetchy Valley to fall under San Francisco's jurisdiction. The resolution went so far as to state, "The prime change will be that, instead of a beautiful but somewhat unusable 'meadow' floor, the valley will be a lake of rare beauty."³⁸ The house committee hearings began in December 1908. The Sierra Club sent descriptions written by Muir and photographs in an attempt to influence the decision.³⁹ The conservationists succeeded; the bill did not pass.

Not all members of the Sierra Club, however, were as dedicated to opposing the building of a reservoir in Hetch Hetchy Valley. This dissension led to the creation of a separate club, the Society for the Preservation of National Parks in April 1909.⁴⁰ They strived, "To preserve from destructive invasion our National Parks - Nature's Wonderlands. To enlist the support and cooperation of all organizations and individuals in such preservation and to publish and circulate information to accomplish these objects."⁴¹ The society distributed pamphlets titled "Save the Hetch Hetchy Valley," "Prevent the Destruction of the Yosemite Park," and "Let all the People Speak and Prevent the Destruction of the Yosemite National Park."⁴² In the midst of the resolution hearings, President Roosevelt was succeeded by William Howard Taft and a new Secretary of the Interior, Richard Ballinger. In October 1910, Taft and Ballinger toured Yosemite Valley (Taft's physical limitations prevented him from enjoying the less accessible Hetch Hetchy Valley) with Muir. Taft became convinced of the Valley's recreational potential and the need to preserve it.⁴³ The support of the president convinced Muir that the fight would end in victory. His optimism was premature.

Discussion in Washington began to focus on revoking the Garfield Permit and, by May 1910, Ballinger was prepared to save Hetch Hetchy.⁴⁴ The hearings quickly became heated with

accusations of bias. As both sides failed to reach a resolution, a fourth Secretary of the Interior, Walter Fisher, was appointed in 1911.⁴⁵ A new report by John Riley Freeman provided “definitive justification” to dam Hetch Hetchy. Freeman’s report looked to revoke the Garfield Permit. He felt that the cost effective solution would be to dam Hetch Hetchy and leave Lake Eleanor untouched.⁴⁶ Those looking to dam Hetch Hetchy Valley would receive another victory with the election of Woodrow Wilson in March 1913.⁴⁷ The Wilson administration supported San Francisco’s effort to build the dam. Wilson appointed another Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Lane.⁴⁸ Lane was the former San Francisco city attorney and had worked on the initial Hetch Hetchy proposal.⁴⁹ Congress approved the building of the dam at Hetch Hetchy Valley and President Wilson signed the bill on December 19, 1913, sealing the fate of the valley.⁵⁰ Upon signing the bill, Wilson issued a statement that read, in part, “I have signed this bill because it seemed to serve the pressing public needs of the region concerned better than they could be served in any other way and yet did not impair the usefulness or materially detract from the beauty of the public domain.”⁵¹ A New York Times editorial that appeared the next day summed up the environmental impact: “The only time to set aside national parks is before the bustling needs of civilization have crept up on them. Legal walls must be built about them for defense, for every park will be attacked. Men and municipalities who wish something for nothing will encroach upon them if permitted. The Hetch Hetchy Valley in the Yosemite National Park is an illustration of this universal struggle.”⁵²

The destruction of Hetch Hetchy Valley would have a significant impact on conservation in America. The focus placed on environmental issues was unprecedented and would lead to the development of the National Park Service. Woodrow Wilson and Secretary Lane recognized

the confusion created by having multiple departments responsible for the national parks. Responsibility belonged to the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, and War.⁵³ A centralized park system would end this confusion. Horace Albright, an assistant in Lane's office, wrote that Lane possibly, "Felt embarrassment at the role he played, shortly after taking office in 1913, in putting through the Hetch Hetchy Act."⁵⁴ The aftermath of the decision to dam Hetch Hetchy led some congressmen to believe in the need for a National Park System to prevent such disastrous management from occurring again. Bills to establish an organization had been proposed annually between 1911 and 1915.⁵⁵ It was not until after a dam at Hetch Hetchy was approved that this bill gained support. The National Park Service was founded on August 25, 1916 when President Wilson signed the National Park Service Act.⁵⁶ This was the first organization of its type in the world. The National Park Service Act intended to "promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations."⁵⁷ Politicians took responsibility to preserve our land for future generations. The budding National Park Service found strong leaders in Stephen Mather and Horace Albright. They had no blueprint for what they were designing, only a passion for conservation. Together, they established one of the most respected government agencies in the world. The National Park Service opened in 1916 with a budget of \$19,500, supported a handful of employees, and presided over sixteen parks.⁵⁸ Today the National Park Service has a budget of \$2.75 billion dollars, 28,000 employees, and 392 national parks. It has expanded to include national heritage areas, archeological sites, historic structures, and landmarks.⁵⁹

At an important crossroad in American history, a group of conservationists and politicians spearheaded an innovative movement to fight for the preservation of America's

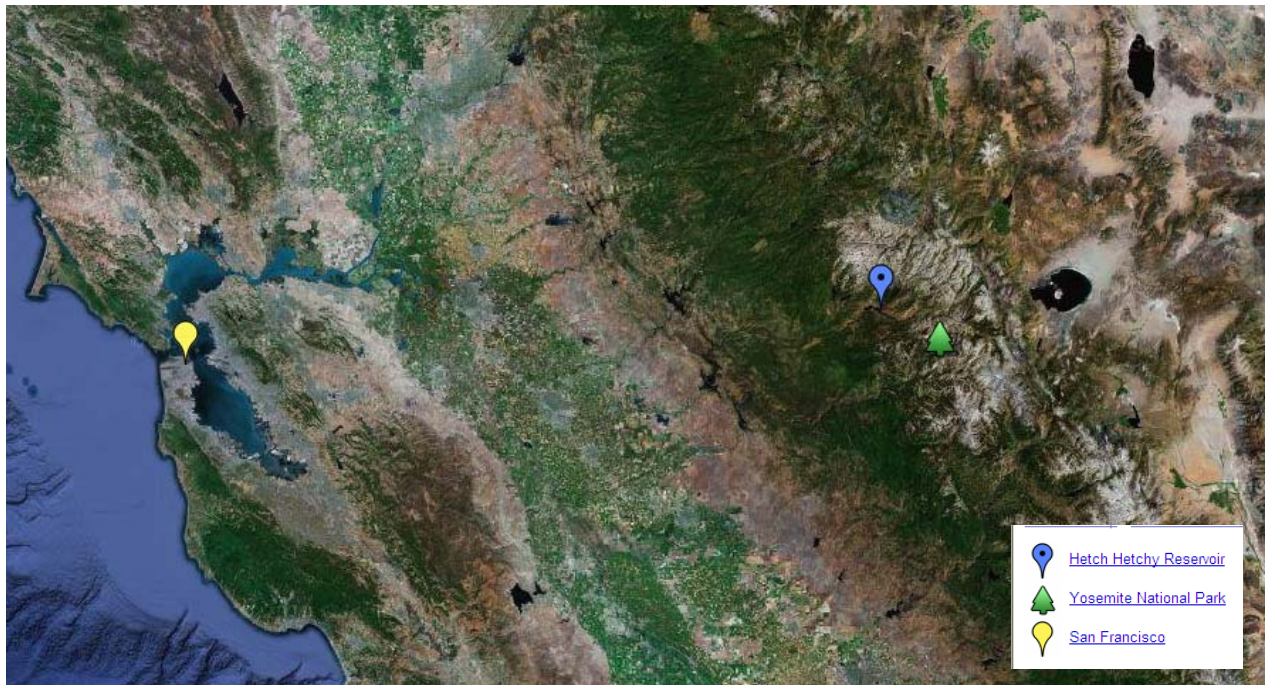
natural lands. While they lost their first significant battle at Hetch Hetchy Valley, the impact of that event is still felt today. Without the destruction of Hetch Hetchy Valley, many Americans would not have realized how vulnerable her lands were. This realization led to a change in the administration of these lands; the National Park Service was born.

Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir in Yosemite National Park- C. 1906



Courtesy of Library of Congress

San Francisco, Hetch Hetchy Valley, and Yosemite National Park



Hetch Hetchy Valley- Before and After



Courtesy of Library of Congress



Courtesy of Stanford University

Endnotes

¹Hollway Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite (San Francisco, California: Sierra Club, 1965), 25-26.

²John Muir, The Story of My Boyhood and Youth, My First Summer in the Sierra, The Mountains of California, Stickeen, Essays (New York: The Library of America, 1997), 694.

³U.S House of Representatives Hetch Hetchy Dam Site: Hearings Before the Committee on Public Lands (Washington D.C: The Government Printing Office, 1913), 3.

⁴ John Warfield Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks (New York: Pantheon Books, 2005), 16-17, 19.

⁵Stephen Fox, John Muir and his Legacy: The American Conservation Movement (Boston: Black Sparrow Press, 1981), 109.

⁶ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸Hans Huth, "Story of an Idea" www.yosemite.ca.us/library/yosemite_story_of_an_idea.html, Internet, Accessed 25 Dec 2009, n.p.

⁹*Ibid.*, n.p.

¹⁰ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 25.

¹¹Abraham Lincoln. United States. "Yosemite Land Grant of 1864" www.nps.gov/archive/YOSE/planning/documents/yoselandgrant.htm, Internet, Accessed 18 Dec 2009, n.p.

¹² Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 25.

¹³*Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴ Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite, 25-26.

¹⁵ Muir, The Story of My Boyhood and Youth, My First Summer in the Sierra, The Mountains of California, Stickeen, Essays, 219.

¹⁶John Muir, "A Selection from his Collected Work" The Wilderness World of John Muir (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 162.

¹⁷Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nature (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2004), 18.

¹⁸Muir, "A Selection from his Collected Work" The Wilderness World of John Muir, 162.

¹⁹Fox, John Muir and his Legacy: The American Conservation Movement, 4-7.

²⁰ Ray W. Taylor, Hetch Hetchy: The Story of San Francisco's Struggle to Provide a Water Supply for her Future Needs (San Francisco, California: Ricardo J. Orozco Publisher, 1926), 16-18.

²¹ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 101-102.

²² Ted Wurm, Hetch Hetchy and its Dam Railroad (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1973), 19.

²³ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 132, 136-137.

²⁴ Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite, 91-93.

²⁵ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 142.

²⁶ Taylor, Hetch Hetchy: The Story of San Francisco's Struggle to Provide a Water Supply for her Future Needs, 70-71.

²⁷ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 142.

²⁸ Taylor, Hetch Hetchy: The Story of San Francisco's Struggle to Provide a Water Supply for her Future Needs, 71.

²⁹ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 145.

³⁰ Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite, 89-90.

³¹ Ibid., 90.

³² Ibid., 90.

³³ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 145.

³⁴ Sally M. Miller and Daryl Morrison, John Muir: Family, Friends, and Adventures (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 179.

³⁵ Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite, 95.

³⁶Ibid., 97-98.

³⁷House of Representatives. United States. "House Joint Resolution 184 Part II" www.sfmuseum.org/hetch/hetchy2.html, Internet, Accessed 1 Jan 2010, n.p.

³⁸Ibid., n.p.

³⁹Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite, 100.

⁴⁰Sally M. Miller, John Muir in Historical Perspective (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999), 199.

⁴¹Jones, John Muir and the Sierra Club the Battle for Yosemite, 98.

⁴²Ibid., 98.

⁴³Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 153, 155.

⁴⁴Taylor, Hetch Hetchy: The Story of San Francisco's Struggle to Provide a Water Supply for her Future Needs, 103-104.

⁴⁵Wurm, Hetch Hetchy and its Dam Railroad, 25.

⁴⁶Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 157, 158.

⁴⁷Horace Albright and Marian Schenck, Creating the National Park Service The Missing Years (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 183.

⁴⁸Bob O'Brien, Our National Parks and the Search for Sustainability (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1999), 184

⁴⁹Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 125.

⁵⁰Michael M. O'Shaughnessy, Hetch Hetchy: Its Origin and History (San Francisco, California: The Recorder Printing and Publishing Company, 1934), 49-50.

⁵¹Ibid., 50.

⁵²Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 170.

⁵³O'Brien, Our National Parks and the Search for Sustainability, 25.

⁵⁴Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 298.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 299.

⁵⁶ Albright and Schenck, Creating the National Park Service The Missing Years, 148.

⁵⁷ Simpson, Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Parks, 300.

⁵⁸ O'Brien, Our National Parks and the Search for Sustainability, 26.

⁵⁹ National Park Service. United States. "About Us" www.nps.gov/aboutus/index.htm, Internet, Accessed 01 Jan 2010, n.p.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Albright, Horace and Schenck, Marian. Creating the National Park Service The Missing Years. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

This book was written by a founding member of the National Park Service during the last years of his life with the help of his granddaughter. It provided information on the early years of the National Park Service. I used its focus on 1916-1919 to better understand the people and personalities involved.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. Nature. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2004.

This book was not very helpful. I did use it as a reference to America's views on nature at the turn of the century. Emerson was a visitor to Yosemite and saw nature's wonders before many Americans.

Huth, Hans. California. "Story of an Idea." , 1948.

<http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/yosemite_story_of_an_idea.html>. Internet, Accessed 25 Dec 2009.

This source was valuable because this is where I found the Raymond letters. The quotes from Raymond's letters came from this source. The letters provided insight into how people first began to look at preservation of Yosemite Valley.

Lincoln, Abraham. United States. "Yosemite Land Grant of 1864."

<<http://www.nps.gov/archive/YOSE/planning/documents/yoselandgrant.htm>>. Internet, Accessed 18 Dec 2009

This was a transcription of Abraham Lincoln's original Yosemite Land Grant. While this occurred well before the dam controversy, it is important to acknowledge that it was the first document to designate land for preservation.

Muir, John. "The Story of My Boyhood and Youth, My First Summer in the Sierra, The Mountains of California, Stickeen, Essays." Muir: Nature Writings. Comp. William Cronon. New York: The Library of America, 1997.

Many of the essays proved irrelevant, but "My First Summer in the Sierra," was a helpful source. Muir provided a firsthand impressions of the Hetch Hetchy Valley before it was touched by man and the quote detailing his thoughts is from this book. Muir's passion for nature is evident throughout the essay.

Muir, John. "A Selection from his collected work." The Wilderness World of John Muir. Ed. Edwin Way Teale. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001.

Teale collected many of Muir's writings with a large focus on the geographic area that I covered in my essay. Of particular interest to me was Muir's essay on Emerson's visit to Yosemite and the quote that I included is from this essay.

O' Shaughnessy, Michael M. Hetch Hetchy: Its Origin and History. San Francisco, California: The Recorder Printing and Publishing Company, 1934.

The author was Chief of the City's [San Francisco's] Engineering Department from 1912-1932. He was the consulting engineer on the completion of Hetch Hetchy. This book was a unique firsthand account and at times read like a diary. It was surprisingly unbiased and was helpful.

Taylor, Ray W. Hetch Hetchy: The Story of San Francisco's Struggle to Provide a Water Supply for her Future Needs. San Francisco, California: Ricardo J. Orozco Publisher, 1926.

This was my most interesting find at the Cincinnati Public Library. It was given as a gift to the library by S. P. Eastman, the President of the Spring Valley Water Company. Its value comes from it being published only thirteen years after the dam was approved and before construction was completed. It includes many of the pivotal documents involved in the fight to approve the dam's construction. The author is surprisingly unbiased and acknowledges, in his dedication, that he needed the help of others to prevent bias.

United States. "H. R. 6281, 1913." <[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/consrvbib:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(amrv+vg15\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/consrvbib:@field(NUMBER+@band(amrv+vg15)))>. Internet, Accessed 20 December 2009

This internet source provided me with a transcription of the bill that transferred Yosemite from the federal government to the city of San Francisco. It was very helpful.

United States. "House Joint Resolution 184 Part II" . , 1908. <<http://www.sfmuseum.org/hetch/hetchy2.html>>. Internet, Accessed 1 Jan 2010.

This came from the Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco. It provided a transcription of the bill that gave the reservoir rights to San Francisco, making it a pivotal decision.

United States. "About Us." 2009. <<http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/index.htm>>. Internet, Accessed 1 Jan 2010.

This source came from the National Park Service website. It provided me with the most recent statistics on the current size of the National Park Service. Similar material was provided in some of the books I had, but none of them were as current.

United States. Hetch Hetchy Dam Site: Hearings Before the Committee on Public Lands. Washington D.C: Government Printing Office, 1913.

This source was particularly helpful because it was an actual transcription of the government document that would seal the fate of Hetch Hetchy Valley.

Secondary Sources

Callicott, Jay Baird, and Nelson, Michael P. The Great New Wilderness Debate. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998.

This was a collection of essays regarding nature and its personal meaning to the authors. Much of the book focused on a later time period. Essays by John Muir, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry David Thoreau proved relevant.

Duncan, Dayton, and Ken Burns. The National Parks: America's Best Idea. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009.

A by-product of the Ken Burns documentary about the National Parks, this book had fascinating photographs as well as in depth information about all of the National Parks from their founding to the present. It acknowledged the role that Hetch Hetchy played in the history of our National Parks.

Fox, Stephen. John Muir and his Legacy: The American Conservation Movement. Boston: Black Sparrow Press, 1981.

This book was a good secondary source about the life of Muir. The author focused on Muir's impact on the conservation movement making it a helpful source. The book made Muir's impact on the fight to preserve America's wilderness evident.

Jackson, Donald C. Building the Ultimate Dam: John S. Eastwood and the Control of Water in the West. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Press of Kansas, 1995.

This book proved to be very technical and focused on dam construction. Eastwood is considered a progressive engineer in dam design. The book was more technical regarding dam design than my paper allowed, but provided interesting dialogue between Eastwood and his counterparts.

Jones, Holway. John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite. San Francisco, California: Sierra Club, 1965.

This book gave me the Sierra Club's point of view. It was an annotated collection of documents mostly comprised of letters including the letter from John Ise that I quoted. The annotation provided a framework for each letter. Although somewhat biased in its view on the building of the dam, the documents were helpful when read separately.

McClelland, Linda Flint. Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service 1916 to 1942. Washington D.C: National Park Service, 1993.

This book focused on the early days of the National Park Service making it a helpful source. It discussed the Hetch Hetchy dam, but also included many other parks instrumental in forming the park system.

Miles, John C. Guardians of the Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association. Washington D.C: Taylor & Francis Publishers, 1995.

This book was published with the cooperation of the National Parks and Conservation Association. The book was helpful because it provided insight into the formative years of the National Park Conservation Association which was founded three years after the National Park Service.

Miller, Sally M. John Muir in Historical Perspective. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999.

John Muir was a pivotal figure in the quest to save Hetch Hetchy Valley. Miller's book was of some help in better understanding Muir. It included many excerpts from his journals and books.

Miller, Sally M., and Morrison, Daryl. John Muir: Family, Friends, and Adventures. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

This book about Muir focused on his personal relationships as well as some of his interesting trips. It was Muir's love of nature, particularly the Yosemite and Hetch Hetchy Valleys that made him an important person in the quest to save Yosemite and the later creation of the National Park System.

O'Brien, Bob. Our National Parks and the Search for Sustainability. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1999.

This book was of limited use because it focused on all of the National Parks and encompassed the years following the creation of the park system. However, a chapter was dedicated to the history of the National Park Service and provided information that I found to be helpful on Mather and Albright.

Righter, Robert. The Battle Over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2006.

Righter provided a refreshing view on the Hetch Hetchy controversy. Many authors presented the issue as proponents of either pro-dam or pro-conservationism. Righter presented a balanced view that I found to be helpful.

Simpson, John Warfield. Dam! Water, Power, Politics, and Preservation in Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite National Park. New York: Pantheon Books, 2005.

Simpson provided background on events that occurred prior to the building of the Hetch Hetchy dam. The quotes from George Perkins Marsh, Senator Foster, Gifford Pinchot, Horace Albright, and The New York Times came from this book. While Simpson clearly supported preserving Hetch Hetchy Valley, his information was presented clearly with a general lack of bias. I contacted Mr. Simpson and asked for his input. He was helpful in guiding me to additional resources.

Waterman, Laura and Guy. Wilderness Ethics: Preserving the Spirit of Wilderness. Woodstock, Vermont: The Country Man Press, 1993.

This book discussed the amount of management necessary to preserve nature without destroying it. This book did not provide historical context, which was the focus of my paper, but did raise interesting points regarding man's role in nature.

Wurm, Ted. Hetchy Hetchy and its Dam Railroad. Berkeley, California: Howell- North Books, 1973.

While the title provided a few laughs, the book focused on the railroad that was necessary during the twenty year dam construction project. The book was of very limited help, but had excellent maps and photographs of Hetch Hetchy Valley, the construction, and the dam.