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The woods are lovely, dark and deep,

But I have promises to keep,

And miles to go before I sleep,

And miles to go before I sleep.

Robert Frost, "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" (1923)

Muir-Pinchot to Taylor's Long Trail: America's Shift to Engaged Conservation

Robert Frost's stone cabin, where he composed "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening," lies roughly nine miles North-West¹ of the Long Trail. Thirteen years before Frost's publication, teams of volunteers from the Green Mountain Club started construction of America's first public hiking system. Coined the "Long Trail" and built under the watchful eye of James Paddock Taylor, the assistant headmaster at Vermont Academy for Boys at Saxtons River, the trail system traversed a total 273 miles spanning the longitudinal length of Vermont by 1930.² The innovative Long Trail exemplified a nation increasingly interested in hiking and the outdoors in the early years of the 20th Century and inspired the significantly longer Appalachian Trail. At the same time, other outdoor activities, such as fly-fishing, increased in popularity. Interest in nature-based activities was not limited to Vermont. Across the industrializing nation,

¹ Harmon Hill Trail Head, Bennington VT

² Green Mountain Club, *Vermont's Long Trail*, map (n.p.: GMC, 2015).

Americans traveled outside their urban homes to seek adventure in the great outdoors. The growing popularity of recreation in nature exemplified a change in the environmental movement in the early decades of the 20th Century. Based upon leisure activities in nature, this engaged conservation trend diverged from the original American environmental movement that started in the previous century. Nineteenth Century environmental attitudes towards the environment emphasized either the aesthetic preservation of natural monuments or the “wise use” of wilderness for civilization’s utilitarian needs. Early preservationists such as John Muir advocated for and created the iconic national parks such as Yosemite, while conservationists such as Gifford Pinchot, the first Chief Forester in the United States Forest Service, viewed the sustainable exploitation of nature’s resources, or the so-called wise use of nature, as the best strategy to both preserve wilderness and aid humanity.³ The 20th Century shift had its roots in the increased wealth that allowed Americans more time for leisure, in contrast to earlier generations’ subsistence farming and lack of disposable income. The creation of the Long Trail between the two World Wars also reflected a grass-roots approach to nature in contrast to earlier top-down federal and state park designations. This era, as exemplified by the Long Trail, marked a second wave of America’s conservation movement, fueled by an emerging leisure class that sought active engagement with their natural surroundings and a literary culture that popularized the wilderness, that expanded upon earlier generations’ narrower preservationist or utilitarian instincts. To explore this important shift in American environmentalism, Part I describes the creation and temporal significance of the Long Trail, while Part II places the Long Trail and interwar conservation into the broader sweep of environmental history.

³ Peter B. Levy, "Muir, John," in *Encyclopedia of American Environmental History* (n.p.: Facts On File, 2010), 1, <http://online.infobase.com/Auth/Index?aid=15454&itemid=WE52&articleId=210657>.

accessible and hikable to the Vermonter. At the time, Taylor believed, as a Vermont private school educator, that “education was incomplete without robust outdoor exercise.”⁷ To motivate his students, Taylor created special awards for completing various feats in the mountains. For example, “climbing Crystal Rock every day for a month” earned a boy special recognition.⁸ However, Taylor quickly realized that the number of mountains with hikeable trails and adequate shelters was limited.⁹ While most mountains had trails and footpaths to reach the summit, these rough paths were inadequately maintained and had few shelters that would permit overnight hikes. Taylor saw in the topography of Vermont that the Green Mountains bisected the state from North to South and separated the Lake Champlain Valley to the West from the Connecticut River Valley to the East. To some, these mountains were seen as barriers in Vermont and so a trail system would permit increased “communication within its borders.”¹⁰ Taylor figured that a maintained footpath traversing the length of Vermont from Massachusetts to Canada would connect all of the state’s mountains through an elegant trail.¹¹ Taylor’s conception that a strong mind needs a strong body reinforced his belief in the creation of a trail for Vermonters to physically improve themselves through hard work and exercise. In a speech given before the Western New England Chamber of Commerce in the spring of 1914, Taylor declaimed that the “principal physical training of us Western New England Highlanders ought to be in our

⁷ Laura Waterman and Guy Waterman, *Forest and Crag: A History of Hiking, Trail Blazing, and Adventure in the Northeast Mountains, Thirtieth Anniversary Edition* (Albany: Excelsior Editions, 2019), 353.

⁸ James Paddock Taylor, "Taylor Papers," 1906-1949, in *Green Mountain Club* (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Historical Society, n.d.). I personally visited the Vermont Historical Society to research the Taylor Papers.

⁹ Waterman and Waterman, *Forest and Crag*, 353.

¹⁰ John Sewell, "The Call of the Mountains," *The Churchmen* (VT), September 1919. (Included in the Taylor Papers).

¹¹ Waterman and Waterman, *Forest and Crag*, 354.

mountains.”¹² Indeed, Taylor continued in the same speech that “in the days when men soften and fatten as they are carried through beautiful valleys in their swift burden-bearing autos, glorifying easy comfort and half enjoying passive sight-seeing,” the access to a significant trail system took on greater importance.¹³ At the time, Taylor was not alone in his advocacy for physical conditioning. Physical toughness linked to manliness was pervasive in the early 1900s as a definer for character and grit. For example, one of the original purposes of the first conservation association in the United States was to “promote manly sport with rifle.”¹⁴ Yet, Taylor’s support for exercise was limited to one side of the population: men. Throughout his speeches and papers, Taylor seldom mentions women as beneficiaries of the Long Trail. Instead, Taylor envisioned the path as a space for the physical growth of boys and men. Partly emblematic of the age and perhaps influenced by Taylor’s experience as an educator at an all-boys school, nonetheless it remains a fact that the Long Trail was imagined by Taylor to be a male-centered area.

Taylor’s central focus for an area dedicated to strengthening men was perhaps a response to the conflicts of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Taylor witnessed the need for strong soldiers with tensions mounting in Europe in the soon-to-commence First World War and understood the Long Trail to be the perfect place to strengthen America’s but specifically Vermont’s boys. Taylor spelled out this idea in closing his same speech by stating that the Long Trail could

¹² Taylor, "Taylor Papers," in *Green Mountain*, 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, 2001 ed. (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 151. This organization was called the Boone and Crockett Club and was founded by prominent sportsmen like Theodore Roosevelt and predated the Sierra Club.

become a “field of operations for boy scouts and the State Militia.”¹⁵ While alluding to “historic Bennington,”¹⁶ Taylor emphasized that in the event of any conflict the United States “ought to be able to turn with absolute confidence to the men and boys of the Green Mountains.”¹⁷ Taylor’s advocacy for a hiking trail to strengthen America’s soldiers parallels Wellington’s famous statement that “the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.”¹⁸ Wellington’s statement and Taylor’s convictions hark to the view that sculpting both mind and body was necessary for preparing good soldiers.

Taylor also saw the Long Trail as benefiting conceptions of citizenship. In a 1914 speech before the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, Taylor surmised that it “may be that some day in the future no Vermont boy will be allowed to vote until he, open-eyed, hot-hearted, has followed the Long Trail from Massachusetts to Canada, peering into every nook and corner of Vermont, and thus inspecting as from a reviewing stand the realm in which he is to play his part as ruler.”¹⁹ In an article written the same year Taylor affirmed his convictions declaring that “it will be a trail which every Vermont boy ought to tramp before he is allowed to vote.”²⁰ In Taylor’s eyes, the Long Trail would function as an institution that would allow Vermonters to explore and better understand their state. In fact, hiking the trail would be a prerequisite to

¹⁵ Taylor, "Taylor Papers," in *Green Mountain*, 3.

¹⁶ The historic 1777 battle of the Revolutionary War in which the Green Mountain Boys defeated British Regulars.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Jasper Heinzen, "A Negotiated Truce: The Battle of Waterloo in European Memory since the Second World War," *History and Memory* 26, no. 1 (2014): 52, <https://doi.org/10.2979/histmemo.26.1.39>.

¹⁹ Taylor, "Taylor Papers," in *Green Mountain*, 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

voting, although this idea never came to pass. Related to this idea was Taylor's conception that the Long Trail would improve the accessibility of the state of Vermont and bind the state's population closer together. In the same article, Taylor stated that the trail would "make it possible eventually for the mountaineer to walk from Massachusetts to Canada by a series of easy trips."²¹ The Long Trail would serve as a connection between Vermont's East and West as the Green Mountain bisected the state and was thought to prevent Vermont from being more unified. Constructing the trail system would open up the state with more lines of communication in an era before the widespread use of automobiles.

Yet, before the Long Trail could be constructed, Taylor needed to create an organization of committed members to help with the building and maintenance of the new trail system. This organization took shape as the Green Mountain Club. On March 4, 1910, eighteen important Vermonters met to discuss Taylor's vision.²² By the time the meeting adjourned, the historic Green Mountain Club was established. The club's stated goal was to "make the Vermont Mountains play a larger part in the life of the people."²³ The trail was meant for the ordinary person as the introduction to the first guidebook declared that the Long Trail afforded "health and recreation at a reasonable expense."²⁴ The remarkable nature of the Green Mountain Club and the Long Trail was that it was "a completely new idea."²⁵ Indeed, Taylor's idea for the Long Trail

²¹ Ibid, 4.

²² Waterman and Waterman, *Forest and Crag*, 355.

²³ Taylor, "Taylor Papers," in *Green Mountain*, 5.

²⁴ Reidun D. Nuquist, *A Century of Long Trail Guidebooks: A Retrospective* (Waterbury Center, VT: Green Mountain Club, 2017), 9.

²⁵ Waterman and Waterman, *Forest and Crag*, 356.

predated by ten years Benton Mckaye's inspiration for the Appalachian Trail and a dozen years before the conception for the Northville-Placid Trail.²⁶ To build the trail, Taylor and Green Mountain Club members started by connecting Mansfield and Camel's Hump, one of the best-known mountains of the state, to "dramatize the scope" of their project.²⁷ In the summer of 1930, twenty years after Taylor's rainy day outlook upon Stratton, the Long Trail was completed at last and stretched from Massachusetts to the Canadian border.²⁸ However, soon after its completion, tensions mounted over plans for the proposed Green Mountain Parkway.

Ironically, Taylor's motivations for a revolutionary trail system did not expressly include preserving the wilderness. Unlike Muir and Pinchot, Taylor understood the responsible use of the great outdoors in the terms of physical strengthening and citizenship, not just for the preservation of nature's aesthetic beauty or resource extraction. Taylor was a lifetime outdoorsman²⁹ and proponent of nature but he ideologically diverged from the nation's earlier conservation leaders. This difference can be best understood through Taylor's later stance on the Green Mountain Parkway. Yet, even if Taylor's initial intentions were not exclusively for preservation, his impact certainly was. Taylor's vision of the Long Trail attracted devoted Americans who immersed themselves in the labor-intensive project of cutting trails, building bridges and huts and combating erosion across hundreds of miles of steep and often difficult-to-access terrain.

²⁶ Ibid. The Northville-Placid Trail traverses 138 miles through the Adirondack Park in northern New York State.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ James Gordon Hinds, *A 1931 Hike on Vermont's Long Trail*, ed. Reidun D. Nuquist (Westbury Center, VT: GMC Publications Committee, 2008), xiii.

²⁹ Taylor was a legendary outdoorsman. For example, in an undated letter to Mr. Charles Crane later in his life, Taylor wrote: "I must confess that I have not been a woddling and toddling through the valleys. How I would love to be, but I ain't. I was once, but no longer."

Taylor's Green Mountain Club and its numerous engaged members would later fundamentally disagree with Taylor's position over a proposed Green Mountain Parkway.³⁰ These organized volunteers swept Taylor and his Long Trail into the broader reach of America's conservation history.

The contentious dispute about the Green Mountain Parkway was a key moment in the environmental shift. In the midst of the Great Depression, Colonel Wilgus, an engineer, proposed the creation of the automobile route to be constructed along the Green Mountains traveling in tandem with the Long Trail. The chief argument in favor of the Parkway was its importance to the state's economic survival.³¹ Indeed, the project would create jobs and bring the needed economic relief of tourism, which would be highly desirable during the depths of the economic turmoil of the 1930s. However, the Green Mountain Club's board of trustees understood the Parkway differently and passed a resolution declaring that they were "unalterably opposed to the creation of such a highway."³² From the trustees viewpoint, the Parkway would deface the landscape and bring unwanted development.³³ An article from the Long Trail News in September of 1933 reported that the trustees, after meeting with Colonel Wilgus to hear his side of the story, stated that "solitude would vanish, the wilderness would be but a memory, and the heart of nature would be laid bare. The seeker for the unspoiled in nature, who wants to get away from

³⁰ It is difficult to obtain accurate information about the number of Green Mountain Club members at any one time. However, the 1917 *Guide Book of the Long Trail* stated that there were 700 members in that year (Included in the Taylor Papers).

³¹ Slayton, *A Century*, 50.

³² Ibid.

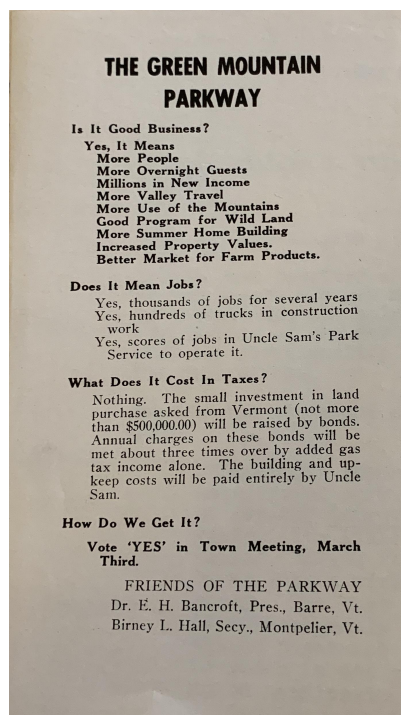
³³ Ibid.

civilization for a time, would perforce go elsewhere.”³⁴ In a break from opinion with the trustees, Taylor agreed with the Parkway’s construction citing it as progress needed to bring Vermont into the Twentieth Century.³⁵ John Muir, the archetypal preservationist, would never have countenanced the Parkway. However, neither Taylor nor the trustees had the final word on the Parkway; that right was reserved for the state’s voters. In the end, the Parkway’s defeat came in a March 3, 1936 town meeting day referendum across all of Vermont where it lost by twelve thousand votes.³⁶ It was a powerful display of democracy by engaged citizens of exactly the type Taylor hoped to foster 26 years earlier with the Long Trail. Importantly, the decision so important to the Long Trail was not decided by a government edict or by the leaders who established the trail; instead, the ultimate decision rested with those volunteers and ordinary citizens, many of whom built and benefited from the Long Trail. This vote constrained Taylor’s instinct to let economics outweigh conservation. Taylor’s legacy to conservation is best understood not through his personal views about the fraught relationship between wilderness and civilization but through his novel idea of a trail system which sparked the curiosity of ordinary Americans and invested in them the benefits of preservation that shifted a part of the environmental movement into the hands of more and more people.

³⁴ Taylor, "Taylor Papers," in *Green Mountain*.

³⁵ Slayton, *A Century*, 50.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 52.



Pamphlet extolling the benefits of the Green Mountain Parkway.³⁷

Part II: Long Trail and the Wider Environmental Movement

Two major themes before the early 1900s described the American environmental movement: preservation and wise use. A fierce champion of preserving the aesthetic beauty of the wilderness, John Muir led America's preservation movement in the late 1800s.³⁸ In contrast, Gifford Pinchot represented the nation's wise use movement by espousing the responsible exploitation of nature that preserved the wilderness but in a manner that did not hinder the progress of civilization.³⁹ These two camps fail to adequately explain the creation of the Long

³⁷ Source: Montpelier Historical Society

³⁸ Levy, "Muir, John," 1.

³⁹ Richard Panchyk, "Theodore Roosevelt, Environmental Views of," in *Encyclopedia of American Environmental History* (n.p.: Facts On File, 2010), 1, <http://online.infobase.com/Auth/Index?aid=15454&itemid=WE52&articleId=208716>.

Trail and the start of the trail system movement in the early decades of the 1900s, represented a shift in America's environmental movement. The Long Trail was a grass-roots project that emphasized that interaction with the wilderness could improve a citizen's mind and body. The trail systems like the Long Trail were not simply a preservation of wilderness nor a sustainable exploitation of resources. Rather, they were an attempt to use nature for recreation and the cultivation of American citizenry. The trails arose at a time when Americans were imbued with a culture that celebrated the outdoors and an economy that increasingly afforded them leisure time to explore nature.



Map of John Muir's proposed boundary of Yosemite National Park

Many of America's late 1800s preservationists coalesced around the shared goal of preserving the country's nature in its wildest form. John Muir, a philosopher and writer, publicized America's exigency for creating national parks to preserve wilderness aesthetic beauty against civilization's expanding needs.⁴⁰ Preservation's successes include the creation of

⁴⁰ Levy, "Muir, John," 1.

Yellowstone National Park and Yosemite State Parks in 1872 and 1890, respectively. The preservation movement had its roots in the earlier Transcendental movement. Transcendentalists believed that nature and its natural wilderness reflected God's higher truth.⁴¹ Both leaders of this mid-1800s philosophy, David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, generally argued that understanding God and escaping civilization's increasing attention to materialism was maximized by venturing into the wild.⁴² Preservationists saw the encroaching civilization, especially in the American West, as a threat to the wild spaces that so captivated the Transcendentalists. Moreover, the preservationists saw in the magnificence of the Western landscapes an aesthetic beauty that should be preserved for its own sake, even if never used. The majestic and evocative paintings of the West by Thomas Moran and Alfred Bierstadt powerfully captured the imagination of Easterners to embrace preservation.⁴³ Yet, pure preservation was not the only movement vying for national appeal. Other environmentalists argued that even the most beautiful natural spaces could coexist with human progress through the wise use of those spaces.

The tension between those two views came to the fore in the Hetch Hetchy Valley debates starting in 1907. This valley and its river were both near San Francisco which had growing needs for water and inside Yosemite National Park. City engineers realized that if Hetch Hetchy River's narrow terminus was dammed, it could function as a perfect reservoir.⁴⁴ This idea appealed to the growing wise-use movement that rejected the preservationist's philosophy that the wilderness

⁴¹ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 5th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 85.

⁴² *Ibid*, 86.

⁴³ For example, Moran's "Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone" (1872) and Bierstadt's "Valley of the Yosemite" (1864).

⁴⁴ Nash, *Wilderness and the American*, 161.

should be protected absolutely. The leading figure for this second conservation philosophy was Gifford Pinchot.⁴⁵ Pinchot understood the need for preservation but also argued that the utilitarian benefits nature provided by civilization favored extracting resources in a sustainable fashion.⁴⁶ Any construction in Hetch Hetchy would break its sanctity as part of a national park, but Pinchot supported its damming as the needs of citizens outweighed preserving nature. Muir fervently objected to any human tampering of the valley's wilderness beauty. With parallels to the Green Mountain Parkway, Hetch Hetchy marked the divisions within America's growing conservation movement and was John Muir's most bitter and final conservation fight.⁴⁷ Unlike the Parkway, Pinchot's wise-use viewpoint won out after a U.S. Congressional vote in 1913 affirmed that Hetch Hetchy's importance to San Francisco's development was greater than its aesthetic beauty. The same argument could have been made by the Parkway supporters. Indeed, Taylor himself subordinated the Long Trail to the Parkway on economic grounds. Yet, in the depths of the Great Depression, when economic concerns were perhaps of no greater importance, the Parkway lost while the Hetch Hetchy Dam had earlier won. One answer for the differing outcomes is that the grass-roots nature of the Long Trail created a large body of citizens invested in its preservation and their political power prevented it from being overtaken by commercial interests. Even the founder of the trail could not impose his will on the trail system he created

⁴⁵ Ibid, 139.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ John McPhee, *Encounters with the Archdruid* (New York, N.Y.: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 160. Fifty years after Hetch Hetchy, David Brower, the executive director of the Sierra Club that John Muir founded, referenced the Dam when he said, "I would like to see it taken down, and watch the process of recovery." The Hetch Hetchy Dam still exists today.

because he had earlier helped organize the large number of people who created, maintained and used it.

The Long Trail's grass-roots nature would likely not have been possible without a culture that celebrated the outdoors and an economy that permitted a growing middle class to have the leisure opportunities to spend time in nature. Until the 1900s, proponents of conservation were largely confined to a relatively small group of people with the economic means or the intellectual or spiritual background, such as the Transcendentalists, to want to devote their time to the issue. In the years leading up to and after 1900, the United States saw a rise of national interest in wilderness and nature.⁴⁸ One factor propelling that interest was the advance of industrialization and urbanization. With the growth of cities and machines, wilderness was viewed as an antidote to the "strains of modern living."⁴⁹ Wilderness preservationists believed that a "repressive civilization" was the culprit of America's modern tensions.⁵⁰ The nation's newfound interest in nature "coincided with the growth of an emerging middle class with leisure time and disposable income."⁵¹ As a result, organizations such as the Boone and Crockett Club and the Boy Scouts of America sought to remedy America's lack of wilderness leisure pursuits.⁵² Indeed, fly-fishing entered the national stage as Americans had more time and money to spend on pleasure

⁴⁸ Waterman and Waterman, *Forest and Crag*, 349.

⁴⁹ Nash, *Wilderness and the American*, 213.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 202.

⁵¹ Slayton, *A Century*, 30.

⁵² Nash, *Wilderness and the American*, 153.

activities.⁵³ Thousands of Americans devoted their increasing leisure time to catching trout with fly-rods popularized by Charles F. Orvis and his eponymous Vermont-based fly-fishing company.⁵⁴

In addition, the fascination with wilderness grew in American culture. From the earlier fiction of James Fennimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*, the late 19th Century and early 20th Century saw an explosion in books and magazines depicting and celebrating the wilderness and especially the American West. From dime novels with classic western stories to the more literary world of Jack London's *The Call of the Wild* and Edgar Burrough's *Tarzan of the Apes*, American culture was increasingly interested in wilderness. Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* suggested that the closing of the frontier in 1890 symbolized a change in American life, writing that "never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves."⁵⁵ Pointing out the diminishing wild areas of the United States resonated with many Americans. Many, if not most, of these writers would not classify themselves as environmentalists, but their literary output created fertile conditions for the love of nature in the American mind. In an increasingly urbanizing North-East, Americans escaped their constricted and urban lives by venturing or even reading about the wilderness. At the same time, the increasing middle class created by the economic gains of urbanization and factory innovation gave more Americans the wherewithal to pursue interests outside of work. This cultural and economic explosion and increased leisure time was a

⁵³ Fly Dreamers Editors, "Fly Fishing in North America," *Fly Dreamers*, 1, accessed October 24, 2021, <https://www.flydreamers.com/en/fly-fishing-in-north-america>.

⁵⁴ Tim Traver, *Fly Fishing and Conservation in Vermont: Stories of the Battenkill and beyond* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2020), 44.

⁵⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 37.

contributing factor in Taylor's ability to create the Long Trail as well as the later work to build the even longer Appalachian Trail. Both culturally and economically the timing of the Long Trail was perfect.

On one level, by the time of the Long Trail, one aspect of environmentalism could be said to have come full circle. When William Bradford landed in the New World he famously decried the land a "hideous and desolate wilderness."⁵⁶ Four centuries later public discord around nature changed from combative to protective. No longer was wilderness viewed exclusively as the enemy and something to be feared. Instead, some viewed humans as the aggressors ever encroaching on the sublime wilderness. Yet, preserving nature in itself was an act of self-restraint. Indeed, Taylor, Pinchot, and Muir's collective campaigns to preserve the wilderness in their different ways underscored the hope that humans are not simply greedy and mercenary. The Long Trail perhaps benefitted nature and Vermonters alike. In fact, man-made trails were often used by animals to traverse long distances while conserving energy by not having to cut through thick woods. But the Muir-Pinchot era was not completely the same type of environmentalism as the early decades of the 1900s. The concepts propounded by Muir and Pinchot continued to resonate in American environmental life, but now added to it was the democratizing use of nature for civic and personal improvement exemplified by Taylor's Long Trail. American environmentalism continued to focus on conservation by adding engagement with volunteers who built and maintained these trail systems and the hikers and other users of the trails. The growing numbers of these types of active citizens meant that American environmentalism played an increased role in conceptions of the proper treatment of the natural world. The grass-roots

⁵⁶ Nash, *Wilderness and the American*, 24.

defeat of the Green Mountain Parkway demonstrated the potential power of this larger movement that benefited from a population with increasing disposable income and a popular and literary culture that extolled the great outdoors. Indeed, Robert Frost's family were likely the first people to hike the Long Trail from end to end.⁵⁷ In 1922, Robert Frost along with his daughter Lesley, his son Carol, and a few family friends decided to hike the length of the Long Trail. Embarking on the expedition from Robert Frost's South Shaftsbury stone cabin, the party spent the first day bushwacking over the Bald Mountains before reaching the Long Trail at Hell Hollow Camp. Unfortunately, Robert Frost never completed the hike as his new hiking boots gave way to discomfort and pain. Yet, Lesley Frost and the rest of the party completed the hike on the seventeenth day after traversing 225 miles.⁵⁸ Robert Frost may not have completed the journey but perhaps he was alluding to the Long Trail when he wrote "*The woods are lovely, dark and deep.*"

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⁵⁷ Vic Henningsen, "The Road Partly Taken: On and off the Long Trail with Robert Frost," *Long Trail News*, Summer 2020, 1, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://www.greenmountainclub.org/the-road-partly-taken-on-and-off-the-long-trail-with-robert-frost/>.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

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This book provides a primary account of hiking the Long Trail. The book features a raw account of the hike describing a trail just recently created.

Levy, Peter B. "Muir, John." In *Encyclopedia of American Environmental History*. N.p.: Facts On File, 2010. <http://online.infobase.com/Auth/Index?aid=15454&itemid=WE52&articleId=210657>.

This piece establishes the life and impact John Muir had on the environmentalist and conservationist movements. This source will be important to my knowledge of the foundation of Yosemite National Park and other forms of conservation John Muir championed.

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The Taylor Papers are primary source accounts, clippings, and letters about the life and work of James Paddock Taylor. I will use the Taylor Papers to understand the context and reason for why Taylor decided to revolutionize the American outdoors and construct the Long Trail.

Traver, Tim. *Fly Fishing and Conservation in Vermont: Stories of the Battenkill and beyond*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2020.

This book furnishes a strong understanding of Fly Fishing's past and present role in conservation. This book will help me juxtapose past forms of conservation to that of modern Fly Fishing.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

Waterman, Laura, and Guy Waterman. *Forest and Crag: A History of Hiking, Trail Blazing, and Adventure in the Northeast Mountains, Thirtieth Anniversary Edition*. Albany: Excelsior Editions, 2019.

This book outlines the foundational history of hiking and trailblazing in the American Northeast. This secondary source will help provide greater context and background to my focus on the creation of the Long Trail.

Fly Dreamers Editors. "Fly Fishing in North America." *Fly Dreamers*. Accessed October 24, 2021. <https://www.flydreamers.com/en/fly-fishing-in-north-america>.

This historiographical work explains the role Charles F. Orvis and Ernest Hemingway played in popularizing fly fishing in the 1900s. This piece will help my understanding of fly fishing's 19th Century rise in prominence.