

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Caryn M. Davis for the degree of Master of Arts in English presented on June 4, 2013

Title: Wild Nature or the Garden: Conservation Themes in the Forests of *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland*

Abstract approved:

Peter J. Betjemann

At first glance, Edgar Rice Burroughs's wildly popular romantic fantasy novel, *Tarzan of the Apes* (1912), and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's feminist science fiction-utopian novel, *Herland* (1915), with its dystopian companion, *With Her in Ourland* (1916), may appear to have little in common. *Tarzan* celebrates the human connection with wild nature on a personal level and the freedom associated with a forest wilderness preserved in its natural state. *Herland* and *Ourland*, respectively, explore the benefits of the judicious but very intensive development of forests to meet human needs and the devastation that may ensue without careful land management, while emphasizing the importance of community and collective effort over individualism. Together, *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland* reflect the perspectives and concerns that characterized both the preservationist and utilitarian sides of the conservation movement during the Progressive Era. This paper examines how these two perspectives may be seen in the ways in which Burroughs and Gilman describe nature, forests, wilderness, and land use in *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland*; touches briefly on gender dynamics in the conservation movement; and explores in depth the ways in which characters and the societies they represent approach, interact with, and use forests.

©Copyright by Caryn M. Davis
June 4, 2013
All Rights Reserved

Wild Nature or the Garden: Conservation Themes in the
Forests of *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland*

by
Caryn M. Davis

A THESIS

submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of

Master of Arts

Presented June 4, 2013
Commencement June 2013

Master of Arts thesis of Caryn M. Davis presented on June 4, 2013.

APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing English

Director of the School of Writing, Literature, and Film

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Caryn M. Davis, Author

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am enormously grateful to my advisor, Peter Betjemann, for his commitment and patience, for encouraging me to challenge myself as a scholar and a writer, and most of all, for his exhilarating classes and infectious enthusiasm. My sincere appreciation goes to Tara Williams, Meghan Freeman, and William Husband for their willingness to serve on my thesis committee, their insights and perspectives, and their friendly encouragement. Thank you to those in the School of Writing, Literature, and Film who offered assistance and encouragement over the course of my program, and particularly to Richmond Barbour, Lisa Ede, and Steven Kunert for the welcoming environment of their classes. I also appreciate the support of the OSU Graduate School, especially Debra Ricciotti, for her assistance and her patience. Finally, I would like to thank William G. Robbins for his encouragement, insights, good humor, and occasional lunches at the Old World (next one's on me!) over these many years.

In the College of Forestry, I am thankful for the encouragement of many friends and colleagues, especially my boss, Roger Admiral, for his support throughout my program. *Et un grand merci à Gary Breed pour m'aider à apprendre le français!* I would also like to thank the Wisconsin State Historical Society and IWM London for the use of historic photos in my thesis.

I am especially grateful to my parents, Terry and Marietta Davis, for their loving support and encouragement and for passing on their lifelong passion for books and the outdoors. To my friends and family, near and far, thank you for listening patiently all these years and thank you more for creating diversions that reminded me that there was life outside of work and grad school. Thanks go to my niece and fellow student, Laniessa Sherman, for her support and late night popcorn deliveries, and to my great-nephew, Aiden, for always being willing to stop whatever I was doing for a study break. Much love and special thanks go to Brenda Miraglia, my sister and my friend, first for showing me how to climb to the highest perch in any tree, and then for her cheerful encouragement, care packages, and many thoughtful gestures.

Finally, I am so grateful for the love and support of my sons, Bryan and Logan Bernart, over all these years. Thank you for your unwavering encouragement and enthusiasm, especially during this last long and difficult stretch. Thank you for brainstorming with me, sharing your insights, and helping me find my direction again when I wandered off the research trail and got a little panicky. Thank you for sharing your time and your own busy lives, for asking and listening, for dog-walk breaks and movie-night breaks, and for taking me away from my computer long enough to help me regain my perspective and sense of humor. Thank you for believing in me and for so generously helping me to reach this goal. I truly could not have done it without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 1. Introduction: What Next for Conservation?	1
Chapter 2. Give me a wildness: <i>Tarzan of the Apes</i>	11
Hallmarks of Civilization.....	16
Adam and Eve and Their “Stuff”	18
Pioneers Search for a New Home	22
None so Blind.....	26
Natural Man	31
Clothes make the Man.....	36
Born Free.....	38
Where tigers belch and monkeys howl	41
A Patch of Green.....	45
Chapter 3. Taking hold of the problem: <i>Herland</i> and <i>Ourland</i>	50
Savage Dreams.....	54
Hunter and Hunted.....	58
Catch and Release	62
Tamed and Trained	66
Necessity is the Mother.....	70
As a Mere Wilderness	75
The Balancing Game.....	78
The Foresight Idea	82
A Far Green Country.....	83
Chapter 4. Conclusion: The Forest and the Trees.....	86
Into the Wild	86
Wonderland.....	91
Parallel and Paradox.....	93
Works Cited	96
Works Consulted.....	100

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1.1 Hetch Hetchy Valley, Yosemite National Park, California, c. 1900.....	2
2.1 Cover of <i>The All-Story</i> magazine, October 1912.....	12
2.2 Deforestation in northern Wisconsin, c. 1985.....	46
3.1 The first cover illustration of <i>The Forerunner</i> magazine.....	51
3.2 Members of the Women's Forestry Corps grinding an axe.....	60
4.1 Book cover, <i>Tarzan of the Apes</i> (1914)..	89
4.2 Book cover: <i>The Training of a Forester</i> (1914)..	90

Wild Nature or the Garden: Conservation Themes in the Forests of *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland*

Chapter 1. Introduction: What Next for Conservation?

When the Congress of the United States approves the municipal sandbagging of a national park in order to give some clamorous city a few dollars, against the protests of the press and the people, it is time for real conservationists to ask, *What next?*

— Editorial, *New York Times*, December 9, 1913

The legislation that begged the question of the *New York Times* was the Raker Act, which authorized the construction of the O’Shaughnessy Dam on the Tuolumne River and the subsequent flooding of Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park (Figure 1.1). By the time Congress passed the measure and sent it on to the president, the proposed project to provide drinking water and hydroelectric power for the city of San Francisco had generated nearly thirteen years of bitter controversy and had divided Progressive Era conservationists into two camps, a division that persisted and intensified over the decades. In his “Forest Stewardship” lecture, historian David Lowenthal describes the factions as the “Thoreau-Muir hands-off the wilderness aesthetes” and the “Marsh-Pinchot wise-resource users” (12); for this paper, they will be referred to as preservationists and utilitarians.

On the issue of Hetch Hetchy, the leader of the preservationists was the famed naturalist, explorer, geologist, botanist, lecturer, and writer John Muir. Muir, who was known as the “Father of National Parks,” was instrumental in the creation of Yosemite, Grand Canyon, Sequoia, Kings Canyon, and Mount Rainier National Parks, and ultimately, in the establishment of the National Parks Service in 1916 (NPS n.p.). Muir believed that the beauty of wild places should be preserved for people to enjoy. His nature writing inspired millions to become involved in a variety of conservation clubs and organizations such as the Sierra Club, which he co-founded, or simply to go outdoors, whether in gardens, parks, forests, or wilderness areas. Muir argued



Figure 1.1 Hetch Hetchy Valley, Yosemite National Park, California, c. 1900, by Isaiah West Taber (Sierra Club Bulletin, Vol. VI. No. 4, January, 1908, pg. 211).

eloquently for preserving scenic wilderness for its aesthetic values in an issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* in 1908:

It is impossible to overestimate the value of wild mountains and mountain temples as places for people to grow in, recreation grounds for soul and body.... everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where Nature may heal and cheer and give strength to body and soul....

Nevertheless, like everything else worth while, however sacred and precious and well-guarded, they have always been subject to attack, mostly by despoiling gainseekers, -- mischief-makers of every degree from Satan to supervisors, lumbermen, cattlemen, farmers, etc., eagerly trying to make everything dollarable, often thinly disguised in smiling philanthropy, calling pocket-filling plunder "Utilization of beneficent natural resources, that man and beast may be fed and the dear Nation grow great." (n.p.)

The leader of the utilitarians at the national level was Gifford Pinchot, the first professional forester in the United States and the first Chief of the United States Forest Service, established in 1905. Pinchot had greatly expanded the number and size of the national forests and had advocated for the restoration of devastated forestlands, the protection of water and soil, and the implementation of sound forest management. He believed in the sustainable stewardship of public lands, not only to avoid environmentally destructive practices, but to prevent waste of resources—either by over exploitation *or* by underuse—for the economic benefit of both current and future generations. Water, including for power generation, and timber were needed for the nation’s continued development, as Pinchot emphasized in *The Fight for Conservation* in 1910:

The first principle of conservation is development, the use of the natural resources now existing on this continent for the benefit of the people who live here now. There may be just as much waste in neglecting the development and use of certain natural resources as there is in their destruction. . . .

The first duty of the human race is to control the earth it lives upon. We are in a position more and more completely to say how far the waste and destruction of natural resources are to be allowed to go on and where they are to stop. (43–44)

Although the two conservationist leaders admired and respected one another’s work, had hiked and camped together, and were friends for a time (Righter 66–68), they could not find common ground on Hetch Hetchy, the most divisive conservation issue of the Progressive Era. It was a quandary: timber and water resources were needed to build cities and fuel economic expansion and industrialization—which created the additional need for the preservation of wilderness and the creation of parks and natural areas to serve as a respite from the pressures of urbanization and industrialization. Thus fears over a possible “timber famine” that would starve growth co-existed with concerns over the loss of wilderness (Miller “Forest Service” 91).

Furthermore, a better understanding of ecology, biodiversity, and natural systems had begun to emerge after the publication of George Perkins Marsh’s

watershed work, *Man and Nature: Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* in 1864; as a result, people became more aware of and concerned about the complexities of natural resources management. From the 1870s through the early 1900s, growing numbers of Americans joined women's conservation groups, hunting and fishing clubs, and organizations such as the American Forestry Association, notes historian Char Miller ("Forest Service"). These organizations "agitated for regulatory mechanisms to control resource exploitation," resulting in accomplishments such as the creation of the Division of Forestry and the passage of the Forest Reserve Act in 1891. In the next ten years, three successive presidents designated sizeable tracts of land as forest reserves, and President Theodore Roosevelt nearly tripled the amount of land in the National Forest System to about 200 million acres by 1908 (Rutkow 164; Miller, "Forest Service" 92).

With millions of acres of land thus reserved, the new questions were how to manage it and for what purpose. Utilitarians and preservationists alike understood the complexities of competing demands for and benefits of public lands, especially forestlands. As Lowenthal explains,

Both Marsh and Pinchot loved trees and delighted in nature; neither Thoreau nor Muir rejected forests' ecological and economic benefits. But for Marsh and Pinchot, as for the vast majority of their countrymen, human well-being required the sacrifice of most wild woodlands. (12)

But the sacrifice of wild woodlands generated concerns over the closing of the American frontier in 1890, which brought the realization that, for the most part, the "inexhaustible forests" and the "howling wilderness" were gone. Although many scholars from various perspectives have covered this well-traveled ground, one of the best summaries may be found in historian Roderick Nash's classic work, *Wilderness and the American Mind*:

With a considerable shock, Americans of the late nineteenth century realized that many of the forces which had shaped their national character were disappearing. ...The connection between living in the wilderness and the development of desirable American traits received dramatic statement after

1893 in the historical essays of Frederick Jackson Turner. His nominal subject, of course, was the “frontier,” but he made clear that the wildness of the country was its most basic ingredient and the essential formative influence on the national character. (145–146)

The fight over Hetch Hetchy was the fracture that revealed the fault line already running through the conservation movement. Until that point, conservationists from both sides had been coming to terms with the loss of wilderness and natural resources and the need to conserve and manage what was left. After Hetch Hetchy, however, the two groups pulled further apart. Susan Rimby argues in “Better Housekeeping” that the split in the conservationist movement generally fell along gender lines, with men more often favoring utilitarianism and the development of natural resources to aid industrialism and growth, while women generally favored the preservation of wilderness and the creation or restoration of parklands for their aesthetic values (Rimby 24, Merchant, *Eden* 134). Furthermore, women often approached conservation from a maternal perspective. Merchant (“Gender” 1117) cites feminist conservation writers in 1908 who railed against the “rapacious waste and complete exhaustion of the resources upon which depend the welfare of the home, the children, and the children’s children,” by “men whose souls are gang-saws,” and exhorted women to work toward restoring the land. Rimby details the vigorous protests by women’s clubs against Hetch Hetchy as a “well-known example of a gender gap in conservation” (although a man, John Muir, led the fight against the project). Whether these commonly held views of gender differences in the conservation movement, with women on the side of preservation and men favoring utilitarianism, emerge in *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland* will be explored in the discussion that follows.

Gender differences aside, the Hetch Hetchy temblor and the rift it caused in the conservation movement represented yet one more concern for an already anxious age, joining worries over technological and socioeconomic and demographic changes brought about by industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and modernization; over increasing geopolitical tensions, especially in Europe; over scientific discoveries such

as evolution and what they might mean in terms of human development and the human place in the natural order; over the perceived “softening” of the American fiber and the loss of the traditional American identity as a nation of pioneers and frontiersmen. If Muir and Pinchot, two former friends and leaders of the conservationist movement, could not find common ground in the wide, wild valley what were “the people who live here now,” *aka* ordinary Americans to make of the controversy over Hetch Hetchy and all it represented?

On December 19, 1913, ten days after the *New York Times* posed its question, the controversy was resolved for better or for worse when President Woodrow Wilson signed the Raker Act into law. Preliminary construction on Hetch Hetchy began in 1914, the year John Muir died and the year Europe exploded into the horrific conflict of World War I. As global tensions ratcheted up and the conflict began to pull and tear at the United States, perhaps ordinary people yearned to escape—into primeval wilderness with a fearless, high-flying hero, into a place where nature gave strength to body and mind. Or perhaps into a different world altogether—a peaceful, more rational world of order and beauty, where the seemingly unstoppable flow of modern problems had been channeled and resolved, a world where people worked together to manage their lovely garden land for the betterment of all.

Into this turbulent time swept Edgar Rice Burroughs’s romantic fantasy novel, *Tarzan of the Apes* in 1914,¹ followed by Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s feminist science fiction-utopian novel, *Herland* in 1915 and its dystopian companion, *With Her in Ourland*, in 1916. Although these works may at first appear nearly antithetical, like Muir and Pinchot on conservation, they share some common themes, such as an appreciation the outdoors and for physical culture/the strenuous life. Other common elements include a disdain for consumerism, a dislike of uncomfortable clothing, and the potential benefits of a less restrictive form of education. For the purpose of this paper, however, the most significant shared theme centers on forests: different types of

¹ *Tarzan of the Apes* was published in book form in 1914, after first being published in *The All-Story* magazine in 1912. Page numbers will refer to the book version.

forest settings and conditions, forest uses, and forest and human interactions. Although the treed landscapes in each of these novels may differ greatly in their conditions, origins, and uses, they are nevertheless all considered “forests” throughout this paper. “Forests” and their perceived conditions (e.g., natural, wilderness, and old-growth, as well as managed, artificial, and degraded) may be understood, described, and defined in a myriad of ways. The term “forest” has hundreds of different definitions, as a report on the state of the world’s forests in 2009 by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), and the United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF) emphasizes:

Defining what constitutes a forest is not easy. Forest types differ widely, determined by factors including latitude, temperature, rainfall patterns, soil composition and human activity. How a forest is defined also depends on who is doing the defining. People living in the British Isles or Scandinavia might identify forests differently from people in Africa or Asia. Similarly, a business person or economist might define and value a forest in a very different way from a forester, farmer or an ornithologist. A recent study of the various definitions of forests ... found that more than 800 different definitions for forests and wooded areas were in use round the world – with some countries adopting several such definitions at the same time! (UNEP, FAO and UNFF 6)

Additionally, the terms used to define and describe the conditions of forests are also quite complex and are very subjective (see Lund, “Degraded” 1–8; and Lund, “Definitions” n.p.). Therefore, in order to help provide context for the discussion that follows, the forests of *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland* are described briefly below and are discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

Both *Tarzan* and *Herland* begin with a tropical forest setting. The coastal forest wilderness of *Tarzan* is not inhabited by humans, however, whereas the “dark tangle” of jungle in *Herland* is home to forest-dwelling peoples.² Although it changes

² The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has defined several general categories of human-forest relationships: people who live inside forests (including hunter-gatherers) and derive their subsistence wholly from forests, those who live near forests where they can use forest resources to supplement their other resources, and those who derive income from the forest rather than direct

over time, the major forest of *Tarzan* may initially be considered an “ancient” forest in the tropical and sub-tropical moist broadleaf forest biome of Africa (Lund “Definitions” n.p.; UNEP, FAO, and UNFF 6). In this paper, it is referred to alternately as “forest wilderness,” “tropical forest,” and “jungle.” The Wisconsin forest at the conclusion of *Tarzan* falls in the temperate broadleaf and mixed forest biome in North America (UNEP, FAO, and UNFF 6). Although we know little about this forest from the text, it may have been cutover (large trees removed) and is likely a degraded remnant forest surrounded by forest lands that have been completely cut and converted to agriculture.

The initial forest in *Herland* is located in South America in the tropical and sub-tropical moist broadleaf forest biome (UNEP, FAO, and UNFF 6). Although inhabited, it is nevertheless described as dense, tangled, and “savage,” presumably meaning that it has been minimally impacted by human activities.³ The action in *Herland* quickly shifts from the lowland jungle to the forested country of Herland, located at a higher elevation in what may be the sub-tropical dry broadleaf forest biome (UNEP, FAO, and UNFF 6). All of the forests in the country of Herland have been created by humans and are considered “heavily managed” or “artificial” (Lund “Definitions” n.p.). The setting for *Herland’s* sequel, *Ourland*, moves from the artificial forests of Herland to forests in various locations around the world, which are described in their various conditions in the novel.

Contemporary readers would have been generally familiar with the tropical forest type of setting, thanks to stories such as Rudyard Kipling’s *The Jungle Book*, and travel narratives such as *Explorations in Africa* (about the Stanley-Livingstone Expedition in the Congo River Basin) and *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* (about

subsistence. These categories may overlap, but they provide a rough framework for discussion.

³ As environmental historian William Cronon (“Trouble”) and others have cautioned, the popular and pervasive notion of a vast forest “wilderness” untouched by humans is largely an artificial construct (see also Merchant *Environmental*, Kindle 1188–1208).

the Theodore Roosevelt-Cândido Rondon expedition up the 1,000-mile long “River of Doubt” in the Brazilian Amazon Basin). At the time *Tarzan*, *Herland*, and *Ourland* were published, there was a growing fascination with wilderness, whether jungle or otherwise, and its real and fancied dangers. This, layered with an interest in primitivism and evolution, including the popular (and often misinterpreted) concept of “survival of the fittest” (Taliaferro 91–92), had helped to prime the American imagination for adventure stories set in forests. As historian Gail Bederman explains,

Interest in camping, hunting, and fishing—seen as virile survival skills of primitive man—flourished as never before. Middle-class men began to read heroic adventure stories: Jack London’s novels, westerns like *The Virginian*, swashbucklers like *Graustark*. Primitive heroics so permeated popular literature that one genteel critic complained, “Must a man have slain his lion and his bear to be anointed king, and is there no virtue in being a simple shepherd? Are we so barbarous? (23).

Both Burroughs and Gilman incorporated some elements of popular expedition and adventure narratives into the settings of their works; however, Gilman reportedly loathed such literature. According to Christopher Wilson, she viewed it as “a masculinist distortion that was “brutal and misogynist” and “infested with the disease of exploit.” As Wilson explains,

American popular tastes in the Progressive era were dominated by “masculine” naturalists like Jack London, Frank Morris, and David Graham Phillips. In their own rebellion from the “feminized” ethos of mid-Victorianism, these writers moved to the national spotlight by emphasizing a prose style that was “vigorous” and topics that ostensibly appealed to “real men.” Popular editors in this period spoke of seeking out the “roast beef” of literature, and of favoring “manly” exhortation that was direct and to the point. (279)

As it turns out, neither Gilman nor Burroughs fills this hunger for “roast beef” in quite the expected way. Gilman instead turns the adventure expedition formula upside-down, making the tropical forest jungle at the beginning of *Herland* merely a wilderness landscape to pass through on the way to the main attraction, a meticulously managed plantation forest. Therein, the three male protagonists find not so much adventure as reeducation in a lovely garden-like setting. Such a twist may perhaps be

expected of Gilman, a brilliant scholar and outspoken feminist leader. But Burroughs, the pencil-sharpener salesman writing his third novel in a single year creates a story about a feral-child-turned-heroic-forest-god that has a surprising complexity and twists of its own: *Tarzan* celebrates the human connection with wild nature on a personal level and the freedom and benefits associated with time spent in a forest wilderness. *Herland* and *Ourland* emphasize the importance of community and collective effort over individualism; they also emphasize the benefits of the judicious but very intensive development of forests to meet human needs, as well as the devastation that may ensue without careful land management, the need for a balance of resource use against resource availability, and the necessity of careful stewardship of the land.

Together, these books—with their roots in pulp-fiction/popular culture and in feminist-socialist utopian literature—reflect the perspectives, as well as the concerns, that characterized both the preservationist and the utilitarian sides of the conservation movement during the Progressive Era. This paper examines how these two perspectives may be seen in the ways in which Burroughs and Gilman describe nature, forests, wilderness, and land use in *Tarzan* and *Herland/Ourland*; touches briefly on gender dynamics in the conservation movement; and explores in depth the ways in which characters and the societies they represent approach, interact with, and use different types of forests to meet varying human needs.

Chapter 2. Give me a wildness: *Tarzan of the Apes*

I wish to speak a word for Nature, for absolute freedom and wildness, as contrasted with a freedom and culture merely civil, -to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of Nature, rather than a member of society. I wish to make an extreme statement, if so I may make an emphatic one, for there are enough champions of civilization.... Give me a wildness whose glance no civilization can endure, - as if we lived on the marrow of koodoos devoured raw.

— Henry David Thoreau, “Walking”

Apart from the initial sea voyage, the primary setting for Edgar Rice Burroughs’s *Tarzan of the Apes* is a tropical forest wilderness. Conflicts occur as different groups of humans enter this landscape and interact with its non-human inhabitants and with each other over the course of the story, raising questions that still resonate today over the human place within the natural world, competing land uses, and the value of wilderness. The first humans in this landscape are the English couple, John Clayton, or “Lord Greystoke,” his wife, Lady Alice Rutherford Clayton, and their son, who is born in the wilderness. After both of his parents die on his first birthday, the baby is adopted by Kala, a young female of the anthropoid ape tribe who has just suffered the loss of her first biological child (23–25). She names him “Tarzan,” and he grows up within the forest as a member of the ape tribe; Tarzan does not meet other humans until he is a young man.

The illustration for “Tarzan of the Apes: A Romance of the Jungle” on the cover of the October 1912 *The All-Story* magazine features Tarzan locked in mortal combat with a lion (Figure 2.1). This striking image may lend weight to arguments that the novel’s central theme—and the reason for its popularity—is that of (white American) male dominance over wilderness/nature. As ecofeminist Jonna Higgins argues, the popularity of the primitivist movement and of *Tarzan of the Apes* reflected the need of early twentieth-century American men to “define their masculinity in terms of the wilderness/outdoors,” but through domination over it, rather than by a connection to it:

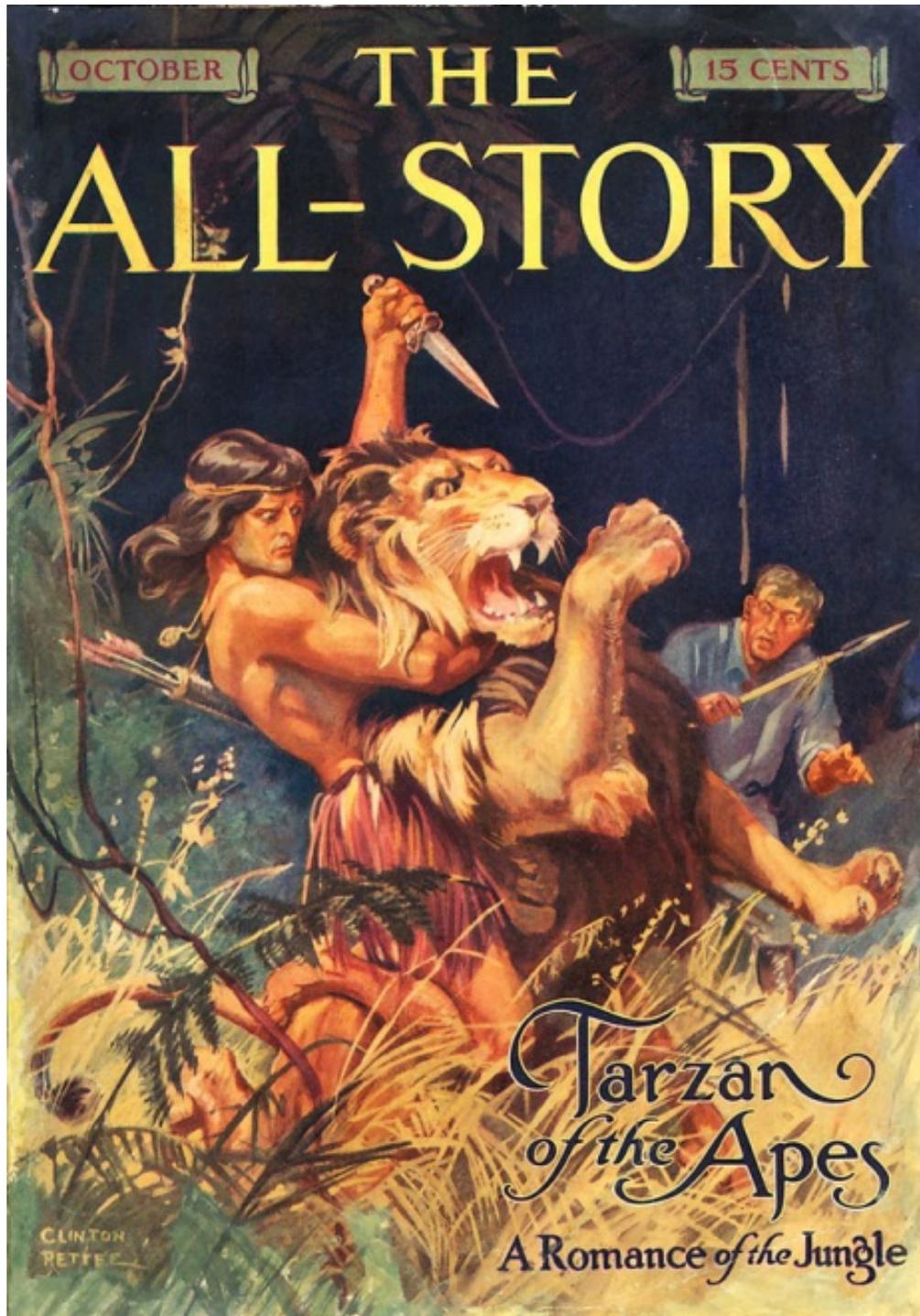


Figure 2.1 Cover of *The All-Story* magazine, October 1912.

At a time when men feared the feminization of their lives and natural forces no longer posed a constant threat to human survival, *Tarzan of the Apes* reinforced and celebrated men's preeminent position over women and nature." (16–17)

A close reading of *Tarzan* reveals different perspectives as well, however.

Although there are undoubtedly many readers who approach the story from this perspective, and although there are indeed human characters in *Tarzan* who view the forest as a source of materials to be exploited, Tarzan—lion killing aside—is not one of them. Unlike civilized humans who view themselves as separate from nature and who may seek to dominate or connect with it, Tarzan has no memory of ever being *dis*-connected from nature. Burroughs emphasizes this point in several instances where Tarzan, “in the face of human habitation,” finds it difficult to “overcome the timidity of the wild thing of the forest” (121, 139), just as civilized characters, as fully separated from nature, cannot overcome their fears when confronted with the forest. Wild nature forms the core of Tarzan's identity; it has shaped him physically and mentally, giving him strength and abilities far beyond those of civilized humans; and, finally, it is “synonymous with home.”⁴ Tarzan is so fully connected with nature—especially compared with humans who are so fully disconnected from it—that other human characters often have trouble seeing Tarzan as a human being. Tarzan himself sometimes struggles with the same difficulty, given that he grew up in a non-human family. Some of the many terms used to describe Tarzan as other than human

⁴ The concept of wilderness is “one of the most complex ideas in environmental and human history” argues Merchant (*Environmental* 34). Many scholars (Henry Nash Smith, Roderick Nash, William Cronon, Char Miller, to cite a few) have explored this shifting, variegated concept. For example, the same landscapes that were familiar and “synonymous with home for Indians” (Merchant *Environmental*) in the 1600s were a for Puritans a “howling wilderness” of dense, dark, seemingly impenetrable forests stretching thousands of miles, “Where none inhabited But hellish fiends, and brutish men That devils worshiped” (Smith 4). By the early 1900s in America, vast forests imagined to be “full of wild beasts and wild men” were no more, and thus, “What remained of nature that had not been used for economic purposes or settled was eulogized as wilderness” (Merchant, *Environmental* 36).

are demi-god of the forest;⁵ forest god; wood-god; beast; strange, half-savage creature; perfectly godlike creature; wild demi-god; uncanny thing; evil, disembodied, or malign spirit; and, simply, an unseen hand. Tarzan also sometimes appears to serve as a representative or perhaps envoy of nature—one who can introduce disconnected, civilized humans to the wild forest—as well as its sometimes agent and defender. Reading *Tarzan* through twenty-first century, green-tinted lenses may perhaps even reveal hints of the eco-warrior—although one with early twentieth-century sensibilities. A century after he first appeared, Tarzan has perhaps been restyled as what historian Luis Vivanco terms, “the consummate environmentally sensitive ecotourist: a cosmopolitan striving to live in harmony with nature, using appropriate technology, and helpful to the natives who cannot seem to solve their own problems” (16). But in 1912, Vivanco cautions, Tarzan “represented the consummate colonial-era adventurer: a white man whose noble civility enabled him to communicate with and control savage peoples and animals” (16). There are many thorough and varied criticisms of this widely disparaged yet unarguably influential novel, and from multiple perspectives. For just one example, Higgins further argues that Tarzan’s dominance over animals, interpreted as a negative characteristic, indicates his dominance over all of nature (18); whereas Vivanco speculates that it is Tarzan’s “solidarity and sympathy for animals,” combined with his authority, that is part of his appeal (11). Adding to this polarizing and phenomenally popular figure “the moral quandaries associated with efforts to protect threatened landscapes and species and the complex cultural, historical, and political processes and inequalities that frame West-meets-Rest relations” (Vivanco 11) makes for a daunting challenge. This essay will nevertheless rush in—green lenses firmly in place—to explore the possibilities of *Tarzan* as an embodiment of the preservationist argument for the protection of wilderness during the Progressive Era.

5 See Landa’s discussion of Tarzan as a Nietzschean hero “who, though a human being, is gifted with such physical prowess that make him a godlike figure” (126).

Through the course of the novel, there are a number of characters who have the opportunity to “see” and connect with nature the way Tarzan does. In *Tarzan*, wilderness offers a much-needed counter to civilization for both men and women. Those who would benefit from it must choose to let nature shape them, rather than the other way around, but most do not. A key theme of *Tarzan*, and one that will be explored in several ways, is not the message of domination over nature, but that nature—wilderness—offers benefits for civilized humans; therefore, we may infer, what is left should be preserved rather than developed under the utilitarian principles of conservation. Read in this way, *Tarzan* may be seen as an expression of support for the preservationist wing of the conservation movement. Sportsmen were some of the earliest advocates for wildlife conservation and for the protection and preservation of habitat, beginning as early as the 1870s, according to historian John Reiger (67). “Hunting and fishing for pleasure was nearly universal among early proponents of greater environmental appreciation United States For most, the pursuit of wildlife seems to have provided that crucial first contact with the natural world that spawned a commitment to its perpetuation” (Reiger 64–65). Although Burroughs himself was not an avid hunter, he was a great admirer of well-known big-game enthusiast Theodore Roosevelt. In *Tarzan*, Burroughs emphasizes the negative impact of human habitation on wildlife and, by extension, the need to preserve “undefiled” wilderness areas that will provide habitat for animals as well as wild lands for hunting and fishing.

Tarzan of the Apes is set mainly in a tropical forest wilderness. Over and over, Burroughs draws contrasts between wilderness and civilization by bringing people and their “baggage” (sometimes literally, sometimes figuratively) into the wilderness.⁶ Like an early episode of the television show, “Survivor,” the newcomers confront challenges and opportunities and react in various ways, many of which feel familiar. The characters make different choices in how they approach, utilize, and interact with nature and how they behave in the wilderness. In the course of the story, Burroughs

⁶ In this, Burroughs draws upon familiar Shakespearean plot devices.

creates a number of situations through which we can compare the influences of civilization and the benefits of wild nature on humans, physically, mentally, and emotionally, and in some cases, explore the effects of humans on the environment as well. In short, this reading of *Tarzan* centers on two key questions: what does civilization do *to* people? And, what does nature do *for* them—and, by extension, why do we need wilderness?

The first three approaches to these questions involve the English couple, Clayton and Alice; an African king named Mbonga and several hundred of his people; and a party of American treasure seekers accompanied by William Cecil Clayton, Tarzan's cousin. These three sets of characters and their stories embody and illustrate some of the effects of modern civilization: it traps people, whether individuals, villages, or nations, in old and destructive ways of utilizing nature; its materialism, consumerism, and attachment to “stuff” ties people to work and the constant quest for money and social status; it weakens people and blinds them to what is important in life and can prevent them from seeing where their true happiness lies. The central example is Tarzan himself: first as a vibrant testimonial to the ways nature strengthens people physically, mentally, and emotionally; and then as a cautionary tale showing that even a “forest god” can succumb, albeit briefly, to the allure of material possessions and the glister of civilization. The final example is the French Lieutenant Paul D'Arnot—a character whose story arc reveals what wilderness/nature can do for “regular people”: after civilization has beaten them down, nature can restore and heal them, if they open themselves up to it.

Hallmarks of Civilization

Civilization in *Tarzan* is characterized by the exploitation of forests, whether on a large scale (Leopold II in the Congo Free State) or on a small scale (cutting trees for wood products, clearing the forest for agriculture), violence, materialism, anxiety, physical weakness—and by knowledge, not from a tree in the Garden of Eden, but from books in a cabin in an Edenic setting. The connections between civilization and

natural resource destruction and violence are drawn in the first sequence of events that set the story in motion. Clayton and the newly pregnant Alice are travelling onboard the ship *Fuwalda* to Africa in 1888. Clayton is posing as a diplomat assigned to the British Colonial Office in West Africa, but is actually on a secret mission to spy on the activities of the supposedly “friendly European power” that has been forcing African British colonial subjects to assist with the collection of rubber and ivory. The procurement of these products, needed to fuel industrialization and the new consumerism, respectively, resulted in the deaths of millions of people, the destruction of vast areas of tropical forest, and the slaughter of many thousands of elephants, killed for ivory to make consumer goods, especially pianos (see Peiss; McGerr 61). Readers would have been familiar with the ongoing geopolitical situation in the region, which had prompted outrage and a flood of stories, essays, and reports such as Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, Mark Twain’s “King Leopold’s Soliloquy,” and Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Crime of the Congo*.

On a small or local scale, the voyage itself turns deadly violent when the *Fuwalda* has a “short and grisly” mutiny in which the British officers and crew battle each other viciously with guns, “boat hooks, axes, hatchets and crowbars” (*Tarzan* 8). Although the victorious mutineers want to kill Clayton and Alice and toss their bodies overboard, their leader allows the couple to be marooned at the first habitable land they reach: a primeval forest wilderness untouched by humans.

The dense tropical forest where most of the story takes place is a jungle landscape on the western coast of Africa. It is geographically isolated: “high hills shut it off on three sides, the ocean on the fourth,” and there is no major river to provide access to or from the interior. The location seems to be somewhere near Gabon in the former French Equatorial Africa, but presumably reachable by foot from the Congo Free State.⁷ The setting, which Clayton and Alice examine while waiting to disembark, is described as “a beautiful wooded shore opposite the mouth of what

⁷ The French Congo and Gabon become territories of French Equatorial Africa in 1910, and the Congo Free State becomes the Belgian Congo in 1908.

appeared to be a land-locked harbor.” The *Fuwalda* rests like a baby on “the bosom of the still, mirror-like surface” of the water. “The surrounding shores were beautiful with semitropical verdure, while in the distance the country rose from the ocean in hill and tableland, almost uniformly clothed by primeval forest” (*Tarzan* 10-11). Although there are sounds of animals, none are seen, so we do not know whether they are truly a danger. We do know that this lovely forest will not only support human life, but support it *easily*:

No signs of habitation were visible, but that the land might easily support human life was evidenced by the abundant bird and animal life of which the watchers on the *Fuwalda's* deck caught occasional glimpses, as well as by the shimmer of a little river which emptied into the harbor, insuring fresh water in plenitude.

Burroughs thus draws the first strong contrast between civilization and wilderness: civilization, in the form of the ship, represents certain death (we also know that the *Fuwalda* will soon be lost at sea) and wilderness represents a leafy green lifeline. Yet the couple begs to remain on the ship rather than “upon an unknown shore to be left to the mercies of savage beasts, and, possibly, still more savage men” (*Tarzan* 10-11). Clayton and Alice *have been and still are* at the mercy of savage men. But, as Burroughs shows, these modern humans are so disconnected from the natural world that they cannot see where their salvation lies.

Adam and Eve and Their “Stuff”

As true representatives of the Gilded Age, Clayton and Alice go into the wilderness not with a breadsack, like John Muir (Teale xii) but with “a great quantity and variety of stuff,” including “many luxuries” (*Tarzan* 13). Throughout *Tarzan*, materialism (represented by “stuff”) and the acquisition of wealth (“treasure seeking”) needed to sustain a materialistic lifestyle generally carry negative connotations and are connected to unhappiness, anxiety, and negative actions, on a small and large scale, which sometimes have deadly consequences. Stuff and treasure, which may be viewed as emblematic of civilization, serve as the motivation for action by nearly all of the

major characters at some point, either explicitly, for example, as we will see with Tarzan himself, or implicitly, as with the Congolese villagers. The ongoing theme of materialism and its burdens, as connected with civilization, is contrasted with the freedom found in nature, which is linked to health, satisfaction, and happiness.

In addition to their possessions, Clayton and Alice are “armed with ages of superior knowledge” and “the means of protection, defense, and sustenance which science has given [them].” Clayton reassures his wife that between their stuff and their superior knowledge—the best of the modern era—they should be able to manage at least as well as early humans “hundreds of thousands of years ago,” who perhaps inhabited these same primeval forests. Burroughs has fashioned a sort of primitivist survivalist challenge as well as posing the question over what is the best way to approach nature, which the couple and other people will also have to answer.⁸

The couple initially takes shelter within the trees, building a “nest” made from branches and supported by living trees within the forest. While they live in the nest like forest creatures, they are safe and comfortable. Although arboreal apes and other animals in the vicinity presumably could reach it, they do not bother the nest or its occupants. Things change rapidly, however, when Clayton begins cutting down trees to build a permanent, wooden cabin on the beach. This seemingly sensible, utilitarian process eventually brings danger instead of safety, however, and ultimately costs the couple their lives. At first, however, the cozy, comfortable-sounding cabin—which symbolizes civilization, conventionality, and familiarity—seems reassuring for the reader. It is far easier to imagine ourselves safe within its solid log walls enjoying its “stuff” and luxuries than it is to imagine living in the forest, albeit free from the demands of civilization. We will quickly learn, however, that the seeming security and safety of civilized, modern, conventional life, represented here by the cabin with its stuff and luxuries, has a high price tag.

⁸ “Naked Joe” Knowles was a national celebrity after spending eight weeks in the Maine woods as part of a wilderness survivor challenge/stunt (Donahue n.p.).

The cabin is a major focal point of the story that comes to mean different things to different characters, both human and non-human alike. It marks the divide between the human-built world and the natural world, reflecting the separation of urbanized, modern humans with the natural environment and thereby setting up one of numerous “polar” themes in *Tarzan* (Holtsmark 13). Unlike the apes and other creatures that live within the forest, the Claytons live in the cabin *near* the forest where they can access its products.⁹ The couple does not explore their natural environment, apparently regarding the forest *only* as a source of resources or danger.¹⁰ Furthermore, rather than reveling in their newfound freedom away from the pressures and expectations of civilization, the Claytons instead recreate the responsibilities and pressures of civilization in the wilderness by means of the cabin. First, Clayton builds a cabin out of logs cut from the forest and plasters it with clay. When he finishes the comfortable and sturdy cabin, Clayton cannot rest and enjoy it; instead, he immediately begins an expansion, planning to add several more rooms. Drawing on Shakespeare but sounding more like an American Puritan than a member of the English leisure class, Clayton says:

“There is but one thing to do, Alice,” and he spoke as quietly as though they were sitting in their snug living room at home, “and that is work. Work must be our salvation. We must not give ourselves time to think, for in that direction lies madness. We must work and wait. I am sure that relief will come, and come quickly.” (13)

Although this solid structure is designed to “effectually [bar] the jungle life from them” (17), ironically, it becomes an attractive nuisance. Because it is out in the open on the beach and plainly visible, the cabin and the activities of its occupants draw attention and can easily be watched—which they often are.

⁹ By contrast, Burroughs has created the advanced “anthropoid apes” as hunter-gatherers who are a forest-dwelling tribe.

¹⁰ Foster argues that in Shakespearean forests, artificial “physical structures distract man from the primal wisdom of nature. Nature is a place of tranquility, danger, and humility where people find beauty and peace as well as respect and perspective” (n.p.).

The major dramatic conflict of the first section of *Tarzan* evokes the polarity of the human-built versus the natural world, as well as the larger question of forest preservation versus utilization, and the theme of materialism. Significantly, the conflict occurs after Burroughs arms Clayton with an ax and sends him out to chop down a tree. The ax may be seen as the symbol of forest destruction as well as the legendary symbol of the lumberjack, an iconic figure that was perhaps best known and most popular at around the same time *Tarzan* was published. The lumberjack had already prevailed in the northwoods of the Midwest—a setting Burroughs will visit later in the novel—but in the still-intact wilderness of *Tarzan*, nature fights back. One of the apes attacks Clayton while he is chopping down the tree and Clayton's ax is of no use as a weapon: "The powerful brute seized it in those terrible hands, and tearing it from Clayton's grasp hurled it far to one side" (18). Although Alice shoots the ape with a rifle, thereby saving her husband, the ape springs at her before it dies. She is unhurt, but the shock sends her into labor with their son, and she suffers a mental breakdown (19). This weakens Alice to the point where she is unable to leave the cabin for a full year—the last year of her short life.

Finally, Clayton's motivation in chopping down the tree in the first place has nothing to do with necessity. Instead, he wants the "particularly perfect tree for his building operations." Clayton's "building operations" consist of adding more rooms to the cabin, which we know is already comfortable and meets the couple's needs. Here we see how the materialistic desire for a needlessly larger home comes at a high cost—in this case not financial, but in terms of health. Alice's health is ruined and she ends up confined to the cabin for the remaining year of her short life. Her health declines to the point where she dies in her sleep a year later. On the day she dies, Kerchak, the leader of the apes, traps Clayton inside the cabin, barring his escape and killing him easily (25). The cabin—symbolizing civilization, the pull of materialism, and the separation of humans from nature—becomes first a figurative trap from which the Claytons have been unwilling or unable to free themselves, and then a physical trap, wherein they both die. The underlying message may be interpreted as a negative

commentary on the materialistic forces of modern life that continued to drive Americans to work harder, at the expense of their health, in order to acquire ever-larger homes filled with more stuff. Finally, the cabin, built of dead trees, comes to mean death for Clayton and Alice. This connection of wood products—dead trees (i.e., forest utilization rather than preservation)—with death, will also recur later in *Tarzan*, as will be noted.

Pioneers Search for a New Home

Burroughs revisits the theme of materialism from a different angle and again explores the themes of the human-built versus the natural world and the conflict over different land uses in when more people enter the forest. The next arrivals into this wilderness carve out a large space in order to reestablish familiar methods of forest utilization and traditional agricultural land use practices carried forward from their previous lives. In so doing, they also eventually bring danger upon themselves. This group consists of several hundred villagers, presumably Congolese, led by a king named Mbonga, who have come westward overland into the isolated region.¹¹

Like Alice and Clayton with their great quantity of stuff, Mbonga's people have hauled "great burdens" of stuff (54) with them through the jungle. Burroughs's use of the word "burden" here is significant: material possessions are a burden, and even more so in a paradise that we know can support human life easily without much effort. Unlike Alice and Clayton, the villagers have willingly fled to the wilderness to seek freedom after being forced to labor to produce rubber and ivory (54).¹² Thus, they

¹¹ Burroughs describes them as having filed teeth and tattoos (p. 59), similar to some pygmy peoples of Central Africa. This information may have known to Burroughs because of Ota Benga, a Congolese man who was freed from slavers and brought to the United States, where he was featured in several controversial exhibitions during the early 1900s. Benga's family was murdered by troops serving the infamous King Leopold II of Belgium.

¹² Burroughs bases this on the shockingly horrific events that occurred under Leopold II, who presided over the enslavement, torture, and murder of millions of people, while extracting a fortune in raw materials from the Congo region.

are refugees who are themselves victims of materialism, specifically the modern world's insatiable demand for natural resources in order to produce consumer goods—in other words, more great piles and burdens of stuff.

In this land of freedom and plenty, where, as Burroughs emphasizes, humans can “exist indefinitely on the wild fruit and nuts which abound in the jungle” (120), Mbonga's people, like Clayton and Alice, instead work hard to recreate “their old life in their new home” (54). They make “a great clearing” in the forest and convert it to farmland, where they plant fields of plantains, yams, and maize.¹³ They build huts and streets within a palisade of stakes and there is a guarded gate. The villagers supplement their crops by hunting in the forest, and, as cannibals, with occasional human victims. This traditional practice, which they continue in their new home, together with their land-use practices that degrade and destroy the forest, ultimately lead them into conflict with Tarzan and the ape tribe.

Just like the cabin on the beach, the wooden structures of the village are made from forest trees that have been cut down, i.e., killed. The village, like the cabin, is meant to protect humans, and, like the cabin, it also symbolizes their separation from nature. Furthermore, the wooden structures the villagers build for safety against the dangers of the forest first draw “nature” to them in the form of Tarzan (who becomes the living symbol of the forest), and later become a physical trap, just as the cabin did for Alice and Clayton. Furthering the connection of “dead” wood products with death, the villagers bring with them lethal new weapons made of wood: spears, bows, and arrows, the latter dipped in poison. Like the wooden palisade, these weapons do not help keep them safe. Instead, all of these weapons fall into Tarzan's capable hands.

Mbonga's people are the first humans in the forest in the twenty years since Tarzan was born (53). They first become Tarzan's mortal enemy when Mbonga's son,

¹³ The type of agriculture the villagers practice is not clear, although it may be a form of shifting cultivation. There were concerns over the loss of “primeval forest” to shifting cultivation in Africa at the time *Tarzan* was published. However, as Ickowitz points out, this type of agriculture can take many forms and produce different effects, depending on location; these effects are not well documented.

Kulonga, kills Tarzan's mother Kala. After killing Kulonga in revenge, Tarzan returns to spend hours hidden in the living trees watching the village out of curiosity, as Kerchak did with the cabin on the beach. The villagers hunt Tarzan's ape tribe for food and they destroy the safety of the forest for its natural inhabitants:

More often was the tribe of Tarzan disturbed by these wandering huntsmen. Now was the quiet, fierce solitude of the primeval forest broken by new, strange cries. No longer was there safety for bird or beast. Man had come. (73)

Tarzan begins a campaign to drive the villagers away. He harasses them, steals their weapons and food, and occasionally kills warriors. The village defenses are no barrier to Tarzan, who comes and goes stealthily through the living trees near the village. The villagers are terrified of the "unseen and unearthly evil power [lurking] in the forest about their village" (69). The villagers connect the forest, realm of Tarzan, with death; however, it is their easy accessibility and visibility in the village and its vicinity that makes them especially vulnerable.

Mbonga eventually abandons the original village site and moves his people farther west toward the ocean—bringing them directly into anthropoid ape territory. There, the villagers once again begin cutting down trees, clearing new fields for crops, and building their homes, but this time near the ape tribe's traditional watering place and not far from the cabin. Their presence greatly disrupts the ecological balance and many animals flee:

When [man] comes many of the larger animals instinctively leave the district entirely, seldom if ever to return; and thus it has always been with the great anthropoids. They flee man as man flees a pestilence (73).

For the safety and well-being of his tribe, Tarzan is forced to move the tribe inland, into the wilderness "to a spot as yet undefiled by the foot of a human being" (74).

The new location of Mbonga's village brings the people into conflict with French naval officers, who have landed in the harbor. When Lieutenant Paul D'Arnot, Lieutenant Charpentier, and twenty French sailors, along with Professor Porter, and William Cecil Clayton (referred to as Cecil) all go to rescue Jane from an anthropoid

ape (not knowing that she has already been rescued by Tarzan), Mbonga's warriors mistake them for pursuing Belgians and attack them, setting up the most horrific sequence of events in the book. The warriors kill four sailors, wound a dozen more, and take D'Arnot captive (143–44). Not knowing that Tarzan has already rescued D'Arnot, the French assemble a large force and surround the Mbonga's village, trapping the people within their wooden palisade. In this sequence, Burroughs closely links the wooden structures of the village with death. The people are unable to flee to the safety of the living forest and are trapped within the palisade, where most are slaughtered. Finding no trace of D'Arnot and assuming he has been killed, the French depart, leaving the survivors of "weeping and moaning, but with roofs to cover them" and "*a palisade for refuge from the beasts of the jungle*" (153, italics mine).

Ironically, the wooden palisade, which symbolizes the separation of humans from nature, did not protect the villagers from the greatest danger, which, for these refugee people has never come from nature but instead from civilization. Once again, wood products (i.e., the wooden palisade, made of dead trees), are strongly linked with death, as is the utilization of the forest rather than its preservation. Mbonga's people cut trees, build wooden structures, plant crops, drive away game, and defile the water; Alice and Clayton cut trees, build a wooden structure, and shoot and drive away game. Both groups suffer tragic fates. From this perspective, *Tarzan* may be read as a commentary against the development and utilization of the wilderness and may be read as an argument in support of the preservation of wild lands.

Additionally, *Tarzan* offers some perspectives on *why* such wilderness is beneficial for humans. To do so, Burroughs contrasts civilized characters caught up in the struggle for wealth and social status¹⁴ with Tarzan, who is free—although even Tarzan himself is tempted by the trappings of civilization and must make difficult choices. Finally, we also see how nature can restore and heal those open their eyes to

¹⁴ Burroughs, the not-very-successful businessman who had spent a great deal of time in western wilderness areas in his youth, was all-too-familiar familiar with socioeconomic pressures and wrote to escape the constraints of his office job.

it and who see and understand its value. This perspective closely echoes John Muir's writings on the necessity of preserving wilderness and of its healing effects for "nerve-shaken, over-civilized people" (Muir, *National Parks* 1).

None so Blind

About twenty years after the Claytons are marooned in the wilderness, more people are abandoned on the same shore. Their ship, the *Arrow*, also has a murderous, mutinous crew. This time, the newcomers to the wilderness are treasure seekers seeking actual gold treasure, not "treasure" in the form of natural resources. These treasure seekers are not motivated by the spirit of romantic adventure; neither do they need money in order to provide for basic needs and comforts. Instead, they need it in order to maintain an ostentatious, decadent lifestyle—a hallmark of civilization during the Gilded Age. As McGerr explains, there was a general loosening of frugality among all social classes in the late nineteenth century and more people began to stretch (or exceed) their budgets for leisure activities, luxury items, and ever more consumer goods (61–63). In *Tarzan*, the group of treasure seekers represents the pressures of civilization in terms of the desire for wealth and prestige and the sacrifices people make to acquire them; thus, here again is the theme of materialism.

With the introduction of the treasure seekers, Burroughs again emphasizes the theme of materialism, connecting it this time with the quest for social status in the civilized world. Furthermore, we see how materialism can hamper one's vision, in contrast with nature, which can help restore it. The motif of eyes/seeing/vision is important throughout the novel, but is most significant in the passages involving the treasure seekers. There are eyes *everywhere* in *Tarzan*: wondering, yellow-green, red, horror-stricken, protruding, wide, tired, terrified, gleaming, keen, close-set, wicked, blood-shot pig-eyed, tear-blurred, opening, closing, closed, half-closed, frank, brave, laughing, pleading, mild, hopeless, bewildered, even hideous—as the young Tarzan finds his own: "a brown spot, a gray circle and then blank whiteness! Frightful! Not even the snakes had such hideous eyes as he" (31). Additionally, there are many

references to seeing, watching, and observing, as well as an ongoing emphasis on who is watching and who is being watched and from where; what is seen versus what is hidden or not seen; and what is imagined versus what is real.

Significantly, all of the treasure seekers have impediments that blur, block, or alter their sight. With the minor characters, Burroughs sometimes exploits this deficiency for comic effect. There is the ludicrously top-hatted and frock-coated Professor Archimedes Q. Porter, an “erudite pedant”; his fussy, “Mr. Magoo”-like assistant, Samuel T. Philander; and the exaggerated “mammy,” Esmeralda, all of whom miss visual clues involving lions. The near-sighted Philander, who also suffers from “all the assurance that deductive reasoning from a wrong premise induces in one” and Professor Porter mistakes the forest for a zoological garden with an escaped lion (102). Esmeralda faints to avoid seeing anything frightening; but when a lion is coming through the window, she first hides her eyes in a cabinet and *then* faints (140).

The Porters are mired in materialism and they struggle with the financial difficulties caused by Jane’s materialistic lifestyle, which they cannot afford. This lifestyle also necessitates maintaining the appearance of wealth as well as social status. For example, the Porters, who are white American Southerners, bring a black domestic servant (essentially a lady’s maid) with them, emphasizing the ridiculous degree to which they are keeping up appearances, while also calling to mind the not-too-distant past and slavery.¹⁵ Furthermore, Professor Porter and Mr. Philander have represented themselves as members of the academic elite for so many years that they have “forgotten how to be human” (104). This changes when nature, in the form of a lion, reminds them of it. For a moment, the two even drop their pretentious manner of

¹⁵ Edgar’s father, Major George Tyler Burroughs, was a Civil War veteran who enlisted and served in the NY State Militia as a private, including fighting in the battle of Bull Run. After being discharged, he reenlisted and was commissioned as an officer with the 43rd New York Volunteer Infantry and served during the rest of the conflict. The experiences and events of the war were often told in the household; Edgar’s mother, Mary Evaline Burroughs, even published a book called *Memoirs of a War Bride* in 1914.

speaking, exposing both their humble origins and their love for each other, before the brief moment of clarity, authenticity, and affection passes, and they are returned to “civilization” at the cabin. The Porters’ materialistic lifestyle and the choices they make in order to maintain it, as well as the conflict these choices create, constitute a major element of the plot.

The need for Jane to “live as her associations demand” has driven her father into debt; he is therefore “selling” her—with her full consent—in marriage to a wealthy but odious man, Robert Canler. In a convoluted twist, Jane’s other suitor is Cecil, who is not only rich but a member of British nobility. With the introduction of Cecil, genetically similar to Tarzan, Burroughs has set up a direct comparison between the effects of civilization and wilderness on human beings. Burroughs has previously invited comparisons between Tarzan’s life in the forest and his uncle’s life in civilization:

And then Lord Greystoke wiped his greasy fingers upon his naked thighs and took up the trail of Kulonga, the son of Mbonga, the king; while in far-off London another Lord Greystoke, the younger brother of the real Lord Greystoke’s father, sent back his chops to the club’s CHEF because they were underdone, and when he had finished his repast he dipped his finger-ends into a silver bowl of scented water and dried them upon a piece of snowy damask (58).

But by bringing the two together, first in the wilderness and eventually in civilization, we have the opportunity to compare them directly to see who performs and behaves most capably and even honorably. Cecil and Tarzan share bloodlines, but Cecil has had every advantage of civilization without the influence of nature, and Tarzan has had every advantage of nature, without the constraints of civilization.

Cecil sees Tarzan’s true nature—if not his identity—clearly when he is in the wilderness. Back in the cabin, however, “unreasoning jealousy” blinds him to it and provokes the normally “generous and chivalrous” gentleman into behaving rather badly (151). Just a few months later, Cecil does not recognize Tarzan when they meet again in Wisconsin (193–194, 199). The unforgettably handsome, immensely strong, black-haired giant has saved his life twice in Africa—the second time from a lion, in a

scene so dramatic that it is “burned forever into [Clayton’s] brain” (91). After that rescue, Tarzan carried Clayton on his back through the treetops, a ride that “the young Englishman never forgot” (97):

High into bending and swaying branches he was borne with what seemed to him incredible swiftness.... From one lofty branch the agile creature swung with Clayton through a dizzy arc to a neighboring tree; then for a hundred yards maybe the sure feet threaded a maze of interwoven limbs, balancing like a tightrope walker high above the black depths of verdure beneath. (97)

Cecil may not have forgotten the rescue, but once in civilization, his vision is so clouded he cannot see the man who was his savior.

Although Jane, who catches a glimpse of her own happiness while in the wilderness with Tarzan, she ultimately closes her eyes to it, choosing instead the life of materialism and social status. Throughout her encounters with Tarzan, Jane’s eyes reveal her inner conflict as she alternately looks at him with half-closed eyes (128, 132, 134) or buries her face in her hands or turns her head (128, 197, 204)—when what she sees doesn’t mesh with what she wants or chooses to believe at a given moment. In the key sequence when Tarzan fights Terkoz the ape to save Jane, Jane’s changing eyes reveal her changing state of mind. First, she presses herself against a great tree, “her eyes wide with mingled horror, fascination, fear, and admiration— [and] watched the primordial ape battle with the primeval man for possession of a woman—for her. (127-128). Then, after Tarzan kills Terkoz, Jane leaps into his arms and they kiss passionately: “she lay there with half-closed eyes. For a moment—the first in her young life—she knew the meaning of love” (128). After this clear revelation, however, “the veil ... dropped again,” and the “mortified woman thrust Tarzan of the Apes from her and buried her face in her hands” (128). In the next moment, she has her eyes open, but when Tarzan looks into her eyes and smiles, “the girl [has] to close her own to shut out the vision of that handsome, winning face” (133). When Tarzan takes her up into the treetops, “deeper and deeper into the savage fastness of the untamed forest,” Jane feels more secure than she has ever felt before (133). But then, as her feelings fluctuate, she first closes then opens her eyes:

When, with closed eyes, she commenced to speculate upon the future, and terrifying fears were conjured by a vivid imagination, she had but to raise her lids and look upon that noble face so close to hers to dissipate the last remnant of apprehension. (133)

Once Tarzan returns her to the cabin and she thinks back on their time together, Jane remembers “laughing and [being] happy beside a godlike creature of the forest, eating delicious fruits and looking with eyes of love into answering eyes” (150). Then she tries to sort out her feelings by “seeing” Tarzan in different situations:

She tried to imagine her wood-god by her side in the saloon of an ocean liner. She saw him eating with his hands, tearing his food like a beast of prey, and wiping his greasy fingers upon his thighs. She shuddered. She saw him as she introduced him to her friends—uncouth, illiterate—a boor; and the girl winced. (151)

Finally, she looks at his locket “with tear-blurred eyes” before kissing it and swearing that she belongs to him (152); although soon she will promise to marry two different men in order to keep up her lifestyle. Although in the forest, Jane is temporarily transformed into a “nature lover”—literally, because she loves Tarzan, and Tarzan is closely connected with nature—this is ephemeral. Unlike the true nature lovers of her era, such as John Muir, Jane has no apparent connection with the natural world apart from the time she spends with Tarzan. Blinded by conventions of civilized society, by expectations, and by her materialistic desires, Jane cannot see clearly where her own happiness lies. Although she cares greatly for appearances, Jane does not perceive what is truly valuable. She is willing to sacrifice personal happiness and even personal freedom in order to achieve material success and status. Jane represents the urban, modernized American who desperately needs to retreat to the wilderness in order to regain her vision, refocus her perspective, and find clarity and insight. There, she may be able to awaken (i.e., open her eyes) from the “deadly apathy of luxury,” as Muir puts it, “rejoicing in deep, long-drawn breaths of pure wildness” (*National Parks* 1).

Natural Man

Tarzan embodies the beneficial effects of nature and wilderness on an individual human's physical, mental, and emotional health. His sense of belonging, his confidence and identity, and his authenticity are rooted in his strong connection to the natural world of the forest wilderness and to his freedom there. He knows who he is (even if he does not know who his biological parents are) and he is truly comfortable in his own skin (even if his own skin is *all* he is in). As we know, Tarzan is born in the Claytons' cabin—an outpost of civilization—as “John Clayton” but is orphaned on his first birthday. After “nature” in the form of Kala saves him, Tarzan grows up as a member of the ape tribe.¹⁶ He is essentially a creature of the forest like any other animal.¹⁷ The tribe consists of about 60 or 70 of the gorilla-like apes, a “huge, fierce, terrible beast of a species” indigenous only to the *Tarzan* tales. They are “closely allied to the gorilla, yet more intelligent; which, with the strength of their cousin, [make them] the most fearsome of those awe-inspiring progenitors of man” (24).¹⁸ In

¹⁶ Feral children thought to have been raised by animals have provoked interest throughout history, including in Burroughs's time and continuing in our own, as evidenced by a new book about Marina Chapman. She reportedly lived for 5 years with a colony of capuchin monkeys in the jungles of Colombia as a child. Burroughs himself stated for the record that he did not believe a human child would grow and thrive as Tarzan did, he thought the reverse would happen. Just as he did with his first two novels, Burroughs created Tarzan as a fantasy character, more in keeping with the classical heroes of ancient mythology than with a real person.

¹⁷ In this, Tarzan evokes Rousseau's natural man, “not bound by social norms, morals, obligations, and duties. Having no moral relationship or obligation to other men and no subjugated inequality, natural man is better for himself and society.”

¹⁸ By creating an ape species with advanced language abilities, a system of government, and even ceremonial practices, Burroughs, like other contemporary authors such as Arthur Conan Doyle (see, e.g., discussion in Lampadius, 68–97) seems to be exploring evolutionary ideas and perhaps giving shape to excitement as well as anxieties over the possibility of a “missing link” between humans and apes. Burroughs goes much further along these lines in the *Return of Tarzan*. This sequel to *Tarzan* includes a visit to the lost civilization of Opar, which is populated by the hybrid descendants of white humans and great apes, with their “thick, matted hair” growing “low over their receding brows” (*Return* 171).

their diet, these meat-eating apes are closer to chimpanzees¹⁹ than to gorillas, however, and their forest usage and needs may perhaps more closely approximate those of forest-dwelling peoples or hunter-gatherers.

For Tarzan, the forest provides a loving and caring mother in the form of Kala, and a stimulating natural playground for exploration, growth, and learning, comparable in some ways to the playgrounds of Gilman's *Herland* (see chapter 3). It also provides companionship through the ape tribe; an education in terms of survival skills and training; food and exercise, resulting in excellent physical fitness and health (apart from injuries in battle). The forest offers freedom and excitement, especially given that the "untouched mazes of matted jungle" that Tarzan knows as home are alive with all kinds of wild creatures, including panthers,²⁰ leopards, elephants, and a near-constant stream of lions—animals more commonly found on the African savanna. Except for the occasional tropical thunderstorm or tribal squabble—both of which flair up briefly and violently, but pass quickly—life in the forest is very good and he is happy. There are no chores apart from the daily search for food, which the forest readily supplies. The apes forage and hunt as they move from place to place each day in their "leisurely search for food," consisting of "cabbage palm and gray plum, pisang and scitamine ... with wild pineapple, and occasionally small mammals, birds, eggs, reptiles, and insects. The nuts they [crack] between their powerful jaws, or, if too hard, [break] by pounding between stones" (49).

¹⁹ That chimpanzees hunt and eat meat was not known until Jane Goodall's research on the chimpanzees of Gombe National Park, Tanzania, in the 1960s. Coincidentally, Goodall's interest in studying African primates was sparked by her readings of the *Tarzan* series as a child.

²⁰ After including tigers in the first version of *Tarzan* and being mocked for it, Burroughs corrected the African species for 1914. As Taliaferro (90) notes, other explorers in Africa also refer to tigers, and Burroughs may have used their books as references. He later writes a joke about his error into another *Tarzan* novel.

As he grows in his forest home, Tarzan develops incredible strength and unmatched physical fitness and agility, as we see from this description of him as “still but a half-grown boy”:

He could spring twenty feet across space at the dizzy heights of the forest top, and grasp with unerring precision, and without apparent jar, a limb waving wildly in the path of an approaching tornado.

He could drop twenty feet at a stretch from limb to limb in rapid descent to the ground, or he could gain the utmost pinnacle of the loftiest tropical giant with the ease and swiftness of a squirrel.

Though but ten years old he was fully as strong as the average man of thirty, and far more agile than the most practiced athlete ever becomes. And day by day his strength was increasing. (30).

Tarzan grows up to be an incredibly handsome, deeply tanned, black-haired giant, and is intelligent, loyal, and good natured, creating in Tarzan a heroic figure that captured the public imagination like no other. As historian John Taliaferro notes, the end of the nineteenth century brought a fascination with “physical culture” and the “strenuous life,” launching physical fitness crazes and contributing to the growing popularity of sports and physicality, which were also associated with wholesomeness. At the same time, as previously noted, there was a growing interest in conservation and in back-to-nature camps and clubs for both adults and children. As George Evans wrote in *The Overland Monthly: An Illustrated Magazine of the West* in 1904,

Whenever the light of civilization falls upon you with a blighting power . . . go to the wilderness. . . . The wilderness will take hold of you. It will give you good red blood; it will turn you from a weakling into a man. (Evans 33)

These two movements, interest in primitivism and physical fitness, came together to help create both the inspiration for and the wild popularity of *Tarzan* (Taliaferro 90–93). Also as noted, *Tarzan*’s immediate popularity has also been linked to the popularity of primitivism and the fascination with the concept of wilderness, which was in turn a response to changing American lifestyles in response to technological developments and industrialization:

As a result of this sense of discontent with civilization, which was no less uncomfortable because of its vagueness, *fin-de-siècle* America was ripe for the widespread appeal of the uncivilized.... [T]here was a growing tendency to associate wilderness with America's frontier and pioneer past that was believed responsible for many unique and desirable national characteristics. Wilderness also acquired importance as a source of virility, toughness, and savagery—qualities that defined fitness in Darwinian terms. (Nash 145)

Tarzan's prodigious strength and unique skills in hunting effectually elevate him to the level of a top predator in the forest ecosystem, along with other formidable species. He is able to kill large animals by means of a rope, which he fashions himself, and a knife, which he finds at the cabin on the beach. Eventually, he also uses a bow and poisoned arrows, taken from the villagers. Unlike other hunters, Tarzan kills large predators—including a prodigious number of lions—as often as other types of animals, such as wild boar. In most ecosystems, the removal of so many apex predators would soon have a detrimental impact. Fortunately, however, this fantastical forest is well stocked with great beasts—at least while Tarzan is the only human in the forest. That Tarzan enjoys the hunt and the fight to the death with animals that can kill him is not the reason for the act. And, if Tarzan's penchant for lion hunting may appear to border on big game hunting for entertainment, Burroughs makes the point that Tarzan kills game only for food or in self-defense.

The only exception comes late in the novel as Tarzan is assimilating to civilization before leaving Africa to pursue Jane. He is challenged to a lion hunt by an assortment of Europeans over dinner. Tarzan initially declines to participate because he is "not hungry" (183), but then later agrees—in order to win a bet and earn 10,000 francs. This money becomes "a very important item to Tarzan," who is rapidly realizing the symbolism of "the little pieces of metal and paper which always changed hands when human beings rode, or ate, or slept, or clothed themselves, or drank, or worked, or played, or sheltered themselves from the rain or cold or sun." In civilization, at least, "it had become evident to Tarzan that without money one must die" (185). The unusual turn of events not only marks the character's adaptation to the requirements of civilization in terms of his own survival, but also helps set up later

tension and conflict when Jane decides whether to pursue financial security or love and when Tarzan chooses whether to reveal his newly discovered identity and accept his considerable inheritance or return to the jungle alone. For such choices to be meaningful and carry an emotional impact in terms of the story, Tarzan must first understand how money works—what it can buy, how one acquires it, and how important it can be to civilized humans—in order to appreciate something about what it means to give it up.

As will be later discussed, this same lion hunt also serves to remind Tarzan of what he is giving up by leaving the wilderness for civilization. Tarzan relishes the physical challenges and dangers of the forest. He does not perceive these as dangers in the same way that the other humans in the story do; the challenges are simply inherent elements of his world—which add enjoyment and spice:

To him life was never monotonous or stale. There was always Pisah, the fish, to be caught in the many streams and the little lakes, and Sabor, with her ferocious cousins to keep one ever on the alert and give zest to every instant that one spent upon the ground. Often they hunted him, and more often he hunted them, but though they never quite reached him with those cruel, sharp claws of theirs... Quick was Sabor, the lioness, and quick were Numa and Sheeta, but Tarzan of the Apes was lightning. (53)

Jack London, whom Burroughs greatly admired, created stories such as *Call of the Wild* (1903) and *White Fang* (1906) that include the point of view of animals to explore themes such as civilization versus wilderness and the ability of humans and animals to adapt to either. Burroughs also includes animals' points of view in *Tarzan*, except that one of the “animals” is a human being. Although biologically human, Tarzan consistently views the forest environment from the perspective of an anthropoid ape or as one who is fully a part of it. This makes for a unique and fresh perspective on the forest and its workings as well as on human beings, when the time comes; and it poses a contrast between the way the other humans will approach the forest and the way Tarzan, the ape, views it. For him, it is simply home, and it is a home that easily provides for his needs, including the need for solitude and freedom. He has time to pursue his hobbies, few restrictions or responsibilities, no schedule, no

religion, no restrictive clothing, and with enough excitement to keep things interesting and enough food to feed his hunger. Finally, his lifestyle has made him physically and mentally fit and emotionally sound, a giant of a man, a “forest god.”

Clothes make the Man

Tarzan’s upbringing away from civilization and as a part of nature has imbued him with a strong sense of place as well as personal confidence founded on his abilities, rather than on artificial advantages such as wealth or birth. He also has developed a unique set of ethics that are originally based on what he has learned in his tribe (“the law of the jungle”), but that evolve into a kind of hybrid, when as Burroughs suggests, his natural-born character—written in his DNA and unspoiled by civilization—begins to assert itself. But for a time, Tarzan himself is tempted by the pull of possessions, even briefly allowing them to cloud his normally sharp vision.

This begins when Tarzan claims the cabin on the beach, emblem of civilization and a powerful space of knowledge—after he figures out how to open the door, something only humans can do. There he learns to read and write, and he learns that he is, physically at least, a “MAN” instead of an ape—and that men wear clothing and adornments. Tarzan wants clothing so he can show it off to his tribe as evidence of his superiority, and he wants to show off his smooth skin for the same reason. In this he is aping civilized human behavior in acquiring and showing off beauty, fine clothes, and adornments as evidence of superiority, as Jane does in maintaining a certain lifestyle and as Professor Porter does in his pretensions as an academic. Tarzan concludes that

CLOTHES therefore, must be truly a badge of greatness; the insignia of the superiority of MAN over all other animals, for surely there could be no other reason for wearing the hideous things....now he was proud of his sleek skin for it betokened his descent from a mighty race, and the conflicting desires to go naked in prideful proof of his ancestry, or to conform to the customs of his own kind and wear hideous and uncomfortable apparel found first one and then the other in the ascendancy. (49–50)

As Tarzan falls under the spell of clothing, he must figure out how to acquire it. To build a wardrobe of sorts, he kills people from the village to steal their

decorative ornaments and weapons, which represent “a distinguishing badge of manhood” (79). This is uncharacteristic, because Tarzan normally does not kill except for food or in defense. The desire for possessions temporarily drives him to behave differently than he normally does. This desire also leads to an extremely rare instance in which Tarzan, the wary forest creature, is so distracted by his own appearance that he becomes careless. He adorns himself with a diamond locket from the cabin and with all of the ornaments he has taken from his human victims, along with a full complement of weapons. Tarzan looks magnificent in his full regalia, personifying both “the primitive man, the hunter, the warrior” *and* “some demigod of a wild and warlike bygone people of his ancient forest” who has “the fire of life and intelligence in those fine, clear eyes” (79). Fine and clear Tarzan’s eyes may be, but his vanity has clouded his judgment. Quite uncharacteristically, Tarzan, bedecked in his finery, is strolling “carelessly” along a trail like a dandy on Michigan Avenue hoping to be noticed “instead of making his progress through the trees,” as he usually does. Suddenly, he *is* seen: he comes face to face with Mirando, a warrior from Mbonga’s village, and two other warriors. Fortunately, for Tarzan at least, the men are startled and run for the village. Tarzan kills Mirando and steals his clothing—a deerskin breechclout, which completes his ensemble. “Now indeed was he dressed as a man should be. None there was who could now doubt his high origin.” Tarzan is still longing to be seen by his people, the apes: “How he should have liked to have returned to the tribe to parade before their envious gaze this wondrous finery” (81). His fine clothes are wasted without an audience.

Tarzan also learns about the anxieties that go with the possession of things, such as “the little cabin and the sun-kissed sea” with “the never-ending wonders of the many books.” Like any modern vacation property owner who is too busy to visit his property, Tarzan hates “the thought of leaving the treasured contents of the little cabin,” and lives “in constant dread” that someone will “discover and despoil his treasure” while he is gone. Fortunately, when the actual treasure seekers take shelter in the cabin, they are not interested in Tarzan’s possessions. He is nevertheless

concerned enough to post a notice on the door, warning “DO NOT HARM THE THINGS WHICH ARE TARZAN’S. TARZAN WATCHES” (85). Through a series of misunderstandings the newcomers come to think that Tarzan is two people: the “forest god” who brings them game and saves them from wild animals and “Tarzan of the Apes,” their landlord, who owns the cabin they stay in and who leaves them notes written in English. Tarzan himself soon realizes that they believe he is two separate people; but when his attempt to clear up the misunderstanding fails, he is too shy to try again (121). At this point, Tarzan *is* two people: this duality reflects how he is torn by the pull of civilization, i.e., the pretty Jane Porter, with whom he has fallen in love, and the freedom of the forest.

As contemporary readers knew, Jane represents marriage, a home, a job, children, and responsibilities. Tarzan, who chafed at the very minor responsibilities demanded of him during his short stint as king of the apes, does not understand the freedom he would be giving up for the love of Jane. Tarzan eventually will have to discover for himself what the wilderness means to him and what civilization means and then there will come a time when he must decide between the two.

Born Free

While performing the duties of his job, D’Arnot ends up tied to a post, beaten down and shattered, in danger of losing parts of himself, and with his life bleeding away. Although all of this is literally happening to D’Arnot at the great post in Mbonga’s village, it also describes the way many people feel when they are caught up in the constant pressures of modern life. In the nick of time, however, D’Arnot opens his eyes and lets nature save him; and he is healed and restored to full health, vitality, and *joie de vivre*, essentially reborn in the wilderness. D’Arnot is the only human character (other than Tarzan) who is fully receptive to and fully benefits from his experience in nature, which brings him not only a much needed leave from work, but an extended jaunt in the wilderness and the camaraderie of “Brother Men.”

This comes about through the tragic sequence of events previously noted, when D'Arnot is captured by Mbonga's warriors. In the village, the people beat him because he is a reminder "of still crueler barbarities practiced upon them and theirs by the white officers of that arch hypocrite, Leopold II of Belgium, because of whose atrocities they had fled the Congo Free State" (144–145).²¹ Finally, D'Arnot is tied to a great wooden post, the site of suffering and death for other unfortunate humans before him. The great post is what remains after a great forest tree has been killed, stripped of its bark and branches, and taken from the jungle—making it both an example of natural resource utilization and a symbol of death.²² It is night, and the post is in the center of the village, illuminated by fires so all may see and participate in what is vividly described as a grotesque and hellish scene.

In the meantime, Tarzan is rushing through the living forest to the rescue. Burroughs chooses this moment to emphasize the extreme contrast between civilization, represented by the village with its lurid scene, and nature with a brief and somewhat incongruous snapshot of the forest through which Tarzan is traveling. Instead of the dark and terrifying place we might imagine it to be, it is lovely:

Night had fallen and he traveled high along the upper terrace where the gorgeous tropic moon lighted the dizzy pathway through the gently undulating branches of the tree tops. (146)

After he is stripped naked, beaten, and tortured, D'Arnot waits for death, watching through half-closed eyes (147). When Tarzan arrives to save him, D'Arnot is unsure of what will happen, but he opens his eyes to the possibilities:

His eyes never left the face of the advancing man. Nor did the other's frank, clear eyes waver beneath D'Arnot's fixed gaze. D'Arnot was reassured, but still without much hope, though he felt that that face could not mask a cruel

²¹ Mbonga himself wears a necklace of dried human hands, the symbol of the bloody legacy of Leopold II (63).

²² In contrast is Jane's suggestion that the only way to keep her father safe is to "chain him to a tree" (87)—presumably a living tree. As will be further discussed, living trees provide safety and refuge; dead trees, i.e., forest products, do not.

heart. Without a word Tarzan of the Apes cut the bonds which held the Frenchman. Weak from suffering and loss of blood, he would have fallen but for the strong arm that caught him. He felt himself lifted from the ground. There was a sensation as of flying, and then he lost consciousness. (148)

D'Arnot's wordless visual exchange with Tarzan touches on the ongoing motif of seeing/vision/eyes in the forest.

When D'Arnot awakens—is born again—he is within the beautiful green sanctuary of the natural amphitheater in the forest. Tarzan has rescued D'Arnot from civilization, has brought him into the wilderness, and is caring for him the way Kala rescued and cared for Tarzan himself as an infant. And D'Arnot is like a newborn baby: at first he cannot even lift his head, he is too weak and vulnerable to do anything for himself, and he cannot be left alone. All he can do is lie “on a bed of soft ferns and grasses” and look out at “a green sward” and “the dense wall of jungle and forest” beyond, drifting in and out of sleep, while around him, like a gentle lullaby,

the incessant hum of the jungle—the rustling of millions of leaves—the buzz of insects—the voices of the birds and monkeys seemed blended into a strangely soothing purr, as though he lay apart, far from the myriad life whose sounds came to him only as a blurred echo. (157).

Tarzan nurses D'Arnot back to health as carefully and vigilantly as his mother Kala did, first as D'Arnot recovers from his injuries and then after he contracts a fever. Tarzan brings D'Arnot water and fruit, washes him, and eventually, helps him begin to walk again. Like a wobbly toddler, D'Arnot “totter[s] about the amphitheater, Tarzan's strong arm about him to keep him from falling” (160).

The natural amphitheater in the forest is protected by an impenetrable tangle of vines and vegetation and is accessible only from the treetops.²³ In this rich green space, their relationship grows into a solid and genuine friendship based on mutual respect and trust. From the very first moment, D'Arnot has seen Tarzan more clearly

²³ This is the same green space where Tarzan brings Jane and where they spend a romantic, if chaste, twenty-four hours together. Although she sees more clearly and feels the powerful pull of nature and freedom from her complicated life in this space, Jane ultimately is not yet ready to break free.

than does anyone else in the novel. To him, Tarzan is never a forest god, wood-god, beast, strange half-savage creature, godlike creature of the forest, wild demi-god, or uncanny thing, but a man—if the handsomest man D’Arnot has ever seen (157).

The friendship takes root as the two begin to converse in English written on tree bark, a medium Tarzan uses for marking caches in the forest as well as for practicing his writing (59, 157–59). During a conversation “beneath the shade of a great tree” D’Arnot asks, “What can I do to repay you for all that you have done for me? And Tarzan, in reply: Teach me to speak the language of men” (160). Within a few days, Tarzan has learned rudimentary French. These language lessons will enable Tarzan and D’Arnot to chat more easily when they launch out into their “buddy adventure” in the jungle.

Where tigers belch and monkeys howl

For D’Arnot, who was shattered and broken, time spent in the wilderness with Tarzan has restored his health. Tarzan has introduced D’Arnot to nature, his home, as a place of nurture and healing. Once he is fully recovered, D’Arnot is ready for a wilderness adventure, during which he will enjoy and experience the forest as Tarzan does: freely, joyfully, and unencumbered—except for cooking utensils and cutlery (he is a Frenchman after all). The two set out as though anticipating Edward Abbey’s advice some eighty years later:

So get out there and hunt and fish and mess around with your friends, ramble out yonder and explore the forests, climb the mountains, bag the peaks, run the rivers, breathe deep of that yet sweet and lucid air, sit quietly for a while and contemplate the precious stillness, the lovely, mysterious, and awesome space.
(xii)

As Burroughs repeatedly emphasizes in *Tarzan*, wilderness is a place where men—and women—can get away from civilization and all of its pressures and entanglements. This theme also appears in other romance/adventure novels of the time, such as *Call of the Wild* (London 1903), which ends with Buck, the formerly

domesticated dog, escaping the bonds of civilization, even the bond of love, permanently reverting to his true primitive nature, and presumably finding joy.

Although Tarzan is not fleeing to the wilderness—because he is already of it—there are some similarities between Tarzan and the mountain man tradition in literature and mythology of the American West. As historian Henry Nash Smith explains, the mountain man “is impatient of the formalities and the galling restrictions of well-organized society, and prefers the latitude and liberty of a life in the woods” (84). Civilization holds no attraction for him and he “rejects civilized life deliberately because he despises its dull uniformity and monotony,” has no use for its laws, routines, or even traditional creature comforts, desiring only an adventurous life in the outdoors (83). We see the similarity when Tarzan re-enters the jungle after a time in civilization:

It was with a feeling of exultant freedom that he swung once more through the forest branches. This was life! Ah, how he loved it! Civilization held nothing like this in its narrow and circumscribed sphere, hemmed in by restrictions and conventionalities. Even clothes were a hindrance and a nuisance. (*Tarzan* 183–184).

Mountain men necessarily relied on their own considerable physical abilities, as Smith notes: their “warlike skills, practical cunning, and sheer ferocity are developed to the highest degree,” and they kill rivals with “a real fiendish joy” (84). Tarzan of course has the requisite strength, skills, and ferocity, and “he kill[s] with a joyous laugh upon his handsome lips,” but it “betokened no innate cruelty.” Instead, Tarzan’s “strange life had left him neither morose nor bloodthirsty” (*Tarzan* 61).

The mountain man stereotype can be divided into two character types: one is more virtuous and has “at least a rudimentary ethical nobility,” compared with the rest (Smith 84). Such is Tarzan, who is both noble by birth (as is his cousin Cecil, who does not always behave nobly), but has an innate ethical nobility of character (*Tarzan* 60, 131, 161). Thus, if *Tarzan* has a precursor in nineteenth-century archetypes, it is the mountain man, rather than the archetypal pioneer of manifest destiny, who is

pious, responsible, and the bringer of civilization, laws, communities, farms, and churches.

Tarzan relishes adventure, although he does not have to seek it out; it is a part of his life in the wilderness. But many Americans were seeking adventure in 1912 when Burroughs penned *Tarzan* and two other novels.²⁴ Adventure could be found vicariously, through romantic literature such as *Tarzan*, or through expeditions in the wilderness and wilderness recreation. Adventure seeking, which Jackson Lears in *Rebirth of a Nation* terms “the religion of experience” or the “recovery of the real,”

epitomized popular longings for escape from the constraints of routine and normality but also from a subtler dis-ease, a feeling that one had somehow lost contact with “real life.” In turn-of-the-century American culture, cravings for intense experience animated everything. . . . Never before had so many people thought that reality was throbbing with vitality, pulsating with excitement, and always just out of reach. (232–233)

If the adventure-in-the-wilderness-as-a-way-to-connect-with-self-and-nature has been criticized as insufficient on its own to enable one “to make authoritative claims on behalf of nature,” as historian Luis Vivanco notes, environmental writers from Muir, to Aldo Leopold, to Gary Snyder might argue that “at the heart of modern environmental degradation and social anomie is the denial of the human connection to the wild.” Therefore, “a necessary precondition for the healing and redemption of both nature and humanity is opening oneself to the wild’s transcendental powers through what we might think of as an experience of adventure” (Vivanco 10–11), just as D’Arnot has both with his friendship with Tarzan and their adventure.

²⁴ Burroughs’s science fiction adventure novel, “Under the Moons of Mars” was published in *The All-Story* magazine in 1912 and later in book form as *A Princess of Mars* (1917); “The Outlaw of Torn,” a historical novel about a medieval English knight was written in 1912 after “Under the Moons of Mars,” but was not published until 1914 in serial form in *New Story Magazine*, and 1927 as a book. “Tarzan of the Apes,” written after “Torn” appeared in full in *The All-Story* magazine in October 1912, then as the book, *Tarzan of the Apes*, in 1914.

Although they sometimes [find] food in plenty and again [go] hungry for days, their month-long ramble out yonder is “a miracle of ease” (*Tarzan* 174); and one in which they learn much about each other. Burroughs uses the adventure as a way to enable the men to directly discuss the merits of civilization versus the benefits of nature. As for civilization, Tarzan has thus far been unimpressed:

“When I see how helpless you are, D’Arnot, I often wonder how the human race has escaped annihilation all these ages which you tell me about. Why, Sabor, single handed, could exterminate a thousand of you.”

D’Arnot laughed. “You will think more highly of your genus when you have seen its armies and navies, its great cities, and its mighty engineering works. Then you will realize that it is mind, and not muscle, that makes the human animal greater than the mighty beasts of your jungle. (175)

When he visits a large portside city, however, it is Tarzan’s turn to be intimidated, or “filled with the timidity of the wild thing by the sight of many men”—just as his parents were intimidated when unexpectedly thrust into the wilderness. But Tarzan, demonstrating again the way his upbringing has fitted him for any challenge, adapts much more readily to civilization than his parents did to wilderness. He becomes “accustomed to the strange noises and the odd ways of civilization,” so much so that no one would ever guess that “this handsome Frenchman in immaculate white ducks, who laughed and chatted with the gayest of them, had been swinging naked through primeval forests to pounce upon some unwary victim, which, raw, was to fill his savage belly” just two months before (181).

At the end of the men’s experience together in Africa, and before Tarzan leaves to pursue Jane, there is a pivotal moment. Through it, Burroughs reminds the reader—and Tarzan himself—of how without even being aware of it, we can let the demands and conventions of civilization entrap us. This passage, which, as previous noted, emphasizes the exultant freedom found in wild nature and its necessity as a counter to modern civilization, also contains an underlying message that constitutes a more subtle argument for the preservation of wilderness.

After European gentlemen goad him into a solitary lion hunt in the dark of night as part of a wager, we feel Tarzan's exuberance as he strips off his civilized persona along with his uncomfortable clothes:

Tarzan laughed, and in another moment the jungle had swallowed him... Tarzan had no sooner entered the jungle than he took to the trees, and it was with a feeling of exultant freedom that he swung once more through the forest branches.

This was life! Ah, how he loved it! Civilization held nothing like this in its narrow and circumscribed sphere, hemmed in by restrictions and conventionalities. Even clothes were a hindrance and a nuisance. At last he was free. *He had not realized what a prisoner he had been.* (183-184)

When he has killed the lion and sounded his victory cry, Tarzan is temporarily "swayed by conflicting emotions of loyalty to D'Arnot and a mighty lust for the freedom of his own jungle" (184). Finally, Tarzan's "vision of a beautiful face, and the memory of warm lips crushed to his dissolved the fascinating picture he had been drawing of his old life," prompting him to shoulder the lion carcass and return to D'Arnot to win the bet and they continue on their journey (183-84).

That Tarzan "sees" a vision that destroys the "fascinating picture he had been drawing" is significant here. As previously noted, civilization clouds one's vision; wilderness helps one see clearly. The "fascinating picture" Tarzan has been drawing of his old life in nature *is* real; whereas the "vision" of Jane's beautiful face and everything it seems to promise, i.e., love and happiness in civilization, is false, as we learn in the conclusion to the novel.

A Patch of Green

In an unexpected twist, Burroughs finishes the novel not in the African wilderness, but in "prosaic" northern Wisconsin. Although we learn very little about the Wisconsin farm-and-forest setting from *Tarzan*, we know from history that the "primeval" forests of early nineteenth-century Wisconsin were long gone by the early twentieth century. They had first been cut over to remove the large, valuable pine, and then clear cut for the hardwoods that remained. Not only the white pine ecosystems,

but whole landscapes had been altered to meet human needs: wetlands drained, prairies plowed under, rivers dammed. The large wild animals—wolves, cougar, wolverine, bison, caribou, elk, and moose—were gone, leaving only an overabundance of white-tailed deer, coyotes, and, in the far north, a few black bear. By 1910, the lumberjacks had mostly moved on, replaced by European immigrants who were trying hard to convert the vast tracts of stumps into usable farmland (Figure 2.2), along with and urbanites from Chicago and Milwaukee, who had begun heading “up north” in droves to vacation at their own rustic cabins or at the many lakeside resorts springing up like seedlings after a fire.²⁵ By the time *Tarzan* moves to northern Wisconsin, it



Figure 2.2 Deforestation in northern Wisconsin, c. 1905. Clearing stumps with a stump machine on the farm of Christopher Paustenbach, three miles east of Medford, Taylor County, Wisconsin (photo courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society).

²⁵ There were no requirements for replanting after cutting and no conservation or restoration efforts yet in place at this time. Seedlings and saplings were slowly returning and the young forests were heavily used for deer hunting and recreation. Perry et al. 2008; Wisconsin DNR 2012.

would have been prosaic indeed, with remaining forests likely tamed, domesticated, surrounded by farmland, and stripped of big trees, big predators, and big game. Whether contemporary readers would recognize “prosaic Wisconsin” as characteristic of a degraded forest landscape is not clear; Midwestern readers may have been familiar with the danger of wildfire in this region, however, given that wildfires caused by loggers did regularly blaze through what was left of the north woods. Burroughs’s use of a wildfire in the dramatic finale to *Tarzan* is therefore not as farfetched as it may at first seem.²⁶ We do know that the little farmhouse in Wisconsin is not a happy place, given the way Burroughs describes Professor Porter, Mr. Philander, Esmeralda, Jane, Cecil, and Canler, as “inmates” for “a tense, uneventful, but uncomfortable week,” while Jane dithers about when to marry Canler, and Cecil nurses uncharacteristically murderous thoughts (192–193). Each is held there for different reasons: financial obligations, love, and desire. It takes a wildfire—and Tarzan—to resolve the situation.

In the conclusion, Burroughs again evokes seeing/vision themes for Jane, who has gone for a walk in the woods to clear her mind. But these heavily used forests are being destroyed; they cannot bring clarity. Erling Holtmark connects the wildfire to human passions, calling it a “veritable *tour de force* of erotic symbolism” (140). Given that Tarzan’s realm is the forest, another perspective may be that Tarzan

²⁶ Wisconsin was the location of the single worst wildfire in U.S. history in terms of both size and loss of life: the apocalyptic Peshtigo Fire. It is thought to have begun in a logging camp, sparked by lumberjacks’ cooking fires. The date was October 8, 1871, the same date as the infamous Great Chicago Fire—which was a significant event in Burroughs family history. Burroughs’s parents, Major George Tyler Burroughs and his wife Mary, watched the Chicago Fire burn from the rooftop of their apartment building. The fire burned 2,000 acres (3.3 square miles), killed 300 people, and left 100,000 homeless, and was apparently traumatic enough to dissuade the elder Burroughs from ever owning property (Taliaferro 24–25). By comparison, the little-known Peshtigo Fire burned 3.8 million acres (5,938 square miles), killed more than 2,000 people and was so massive that it spawned fire tornadoes, actually boiled rivers, and jumped a 10-mile stretch of Lake Michigan to continue burning on the Door Peninsula.

himself is being destroyed, like the living trees, the longer he remains in civilization—held there by his love for Jane, who is in turn held captive by her materialist desires. When Tarzan calls her name as he comes to rescue her, Jane cannot see him through the smoke and does not recognize him until she opens her eyes as he is carrying her through the trees (*Tarzan* 195). Jane’s open-eyed state does not last long, however; she soon rejects Tarzan and agrees to marry his cousin Cecil.

Tarzan has walked away from his beloved forest, willing to give up his own happiness and freedom for the sake of the woman he loves—who we can see clearly is not worthy of this sacrifice. Wisely, Burroughs does not allow this to happen, however. Instead, he allows the normally clear-eyed Tarzan one poignant moment of fantasy and yearning, when he imagines what might have been:

The others were entering the room now and Tarzan turned toward the little window. But he saw nothing outside—within he saw a patch of greensward surrounded by a matted mass of gorgeous tropical plants and flowers, and, above, the waving foliage of mighty trees, and, over all, the blue of an equatorial sky.

In the center of the greensward a young woman sat upon a little mound of earth, and beside her sat a young giant. They ate pleasant fruit and looked into each other’s eyes and smiled. They were very happy, and they were all alone. (205)

Then, Tarzan turns his back on prosaic Wisconsin, his title as Lord Greystoke and all of his wealth, which he could use to secure Jane if he so chose, and thus on Jane herself, who is not yet a fit partner. Instead, in the final lines of the book, Tarzan reclaims his connection to the wilderness as he responds to Cecil’s question:

“If it’s any of my business, how the devil did you ever get into that bally jungle?”

“I was born there,” said Tarzan, quietly. “My mother was an Ape, and of course she couldn’t tell me much about it. I never knew who my father was.” (205)

In the end, *Tarzan of the Apes* adds up to a rejection of civilization and its emphasis on wealth, status, and materialism. It can also be read as a rejection both of

the exploitation and domination of nature and of the classic pioneer model where people repeatedly move into the wilderness and repeat the cycle of the extraction and utilization of resources. Instead, *Tarzan* can be interpreted as an argument for the preservation of wilderness, and a celebration of the freedom and benefits it can provide, as well as an invitation to civilized, urbanized, modern individuals to venture into and become in some way part and parcel of it.

Chapter 3. Taking hold of the problem: *Herland* and *Ourland*

It seems to me that of all the movements which have been inaugurated to give power to the conservation idea, the foresight idea, there is none more helpful than that the women of the United States are taking hold of the problem.

We must make all the people see that now and in the future the resources are to be developed and employed, yet at the same time guarded and protected against waste—not for small groups of men who will control them for their own purposes, but for all the people through all time.

—Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation*

Apart from the initial river voyage, Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland*—like *Tarzan of the Apes*—is a narrated tale that begins and ends in forests, one wild and one heavily managed. In *Tarzan*, however, the forest wilderness represents freedom from the stifling, weakening constraints of civilization. In the utopian *Herland*, the forests—plantations that are intensively managed to provide the greatest good for the greatest number in their collective society over the longest time²⁷—are a fully integrated and beloved part of their civilization. Rather than representing freedom from civilization, they may be seen as representing freedom from want, from hunger, and from the inequities and oppression inherent in most civilizations. In the bleak sequel, *With Her in Ourland*, however, all of these socioeconomic ills are on display in the real world, alongside the waste of natural resources, environmental degradation, and deforestation. Both novels appeared initially in *The Forerunner* magazine, which Gilman edited and in which many of her works were published (Figure 3.1).

Like Burroughs, Gilman also challenges our perceptions of the human place within nature, specifically forests, with a radical vision of forests as the support system for the physical needs of an entire utopian nation, a system that also simultaneously provides beauty, serenity, solitude—and a safe amount of freedom. In so doing, Gilman also challenges the notion of wilderness/nature as feminine and its would-be

²⁷ Gifford Pinchot, *Fight*.



Figure 3.1 The first cover illustration of *The Forerunner* showing a globe and an idealized family. The couple is embracing the globe and also each other, forming a strong support for the baby, who represents the future of humanity. The baby is balanced on top of the world; the theme of balance is significant in *Herland*. “*Herland*” (1915) and “*With Her in Ourland*” (1916) both appeared first in this

magazine.

masters and conquerors as masculine, a perspective that is well ahead of its time.²⁸

Instead, in the nation of Herland, it is women who have mastered (or “mistressed”) savage nature and have remade it to suit their needs. The theme of utilitarian conservation, especially as related to forests, runs throughout *Herland* and *Ourland* and is a major underlying message in both books. Gilman’s pragmatic, utopian vision closely tracks with Gifford Pinchot’s early model of conservation; it runs counter to the views of John Muir and the preservationists, who saw wilderness as a place for individuals to escape from the pressures of civilization, enjoy the beauty of nature, and renew and restore themselves in body and spirit. One does not go into the forests of *Herland* to get away from the pressures of civilization because there are no pressures of that kind. Furthermore, forests and civilization are intrinsically connected and carefully controlled and managed. Thus, although one may find solitude, there is no actual escape through the forests of Herland—as the men who visit will soon discover.

In the tradition of the day, the three male protagonists, Americans Terry O. Nicholson, Jeff Margrave, and Vandyck “Van” Jennings are traveling by boat through *Herland*’s vast forest wilderness in search of adventure (as discussed in Chapter 2; see also Lears 232–233). As noted in Chapter 1, Gilman teases the romantic adventure novel in the first few pages of *Herland*, but then turns the genre on its head when the country of Herland turns out to be more like “an everlasting parlor and nursery” or “a perpetual Sunday school,” as the exasperated Terry complains (100).

Part of the adventure Terry, Jeff, and Van seek involves mastering and dominating the wilderness—not in terms of its material wealth, but in terms of mapping its rivers, documenting its people, and learning its secrets. Their first trip is as part of “a big scientific expedition . . . up among the thousand tributaries and enormous hinterland of a great river, up where the maps had to be made, savage

²⁸ More than a half century later, feminist literary critic Annette Kolodny examines this concept in depth through several influential works, including *The Lay of the Land* and *The Land Before Her*; others continue to explore the theme of the land as “a virgin, fallen, or fruitful Eve” (Merchant, *Eden* 135; see also Murphy).

dialects studied, and all manner of strange flora and fauna expected (*Herland* 2). In this sense, Terry, Van, and Jeff may be viewed as examples of men who, initially at least, appear to seek domination over the “feminine” wilderness, rather than a connection to it (see Higgins 17). If the men do harbor such desires, they are sure to be disappointed in Herland where, instead of the thrill of domination, they experience the indignity of submission.

As it happens, the wilderness, which is presumably located somewhere in South America,²⁹ does conceal a surprising secret: it forms a protective barrier against the discovery of “Herland”—a futuristic, civilized country cut off from the rest of the world by a cataclysmic geological event 2,000 years ago and populated only by women. Van, the narrator, tells us that the “dark tangle of rivers, lakes, morasses, and dense forests” below and around Herland is inhabited by “dangerous savages.” The nature of the danger these “occupants of those dim forests” represent is initially unclear because they seem to offer no physical threats or hostility, and indeed they serve as able guides for the expeditions up the river. We learn surprisingly little about these indigenous peoples from Van, a sociologist, who later expresses rather startling (and disturbing on multiple levels) goals for a sociologist:

We planned greatly about coming back, about establishing a connecting route by water; about penetrating those vast forests and civilizing--or exterminating--the dangerous savages. That is, we men talked of that last--not with the women. They had a definite aversion to killing things. (143)

These are the same indigenous peoples who tell the men about Herland. It is difficult to discern the nature of the threat the “savages” are presumed to pose. They do know about the existence of the “strange and terrible Woman Land in the high distance” (2–3) and could potentially reveal its location, however, which the narrator tells us must remain a secret from the rest of the world. Terry, Van, and Jeff learn about “Woman Land” from one of the guides on that last day before the expedition turns back. “A

²⁹ Later in *Herland*, there is a reference to a llama (49), which provides a clue to the general location in South America.

rather superior fellow with quick, bright eyes” leads Van, Terry, and Jeff right to it, through “a desperate tangle of wood and water and a swampy patch” that they could not have negotiated alone. He shows them deposits of fabric dye in a river below a waterfall, corroborates their discovery of a piece of red cloth with one of his own, and explains where the fabric samples and dye come from (5): “Come down,” he said, pointing to the cataract. “Woman Country—up there.”... He could tell us only what the others had—a land of women—no men—babies, but all girls. No place for men—dangerous. Some had gone to see—none had come back” (presumably except the person who lived to tell the tale). Thus, the secret is out—the barrier provided by the “endless thick-forested plains” below “Herland” has been breached: Terry, Van, and Jeff vow to return with the equipment necessary to enter Herland.

The men do return by boat, which they leave on the lake “like a gray cocoon on the flat pale sheet of water” when they take to the air in their bi-plane. The gray cocoon represents powerful and ominous imagery for the forested Herland, which has two potentially deadly enemies: the obernut moth—which emerges from an actual cocoon and can damage or destroy one of the key food crops of Herland, and thereby threaten its survival; and a figurative cocoon, such as the boat, which might contain dangerous representatives from the rest of the world who— if not caught or tamed— could threaten the survival of Herland (*Herland* 41).

Savage Dreams

The bi-plane rises above the tangled, “dark green sea of crowding forest” jungle and into the elevated valley or tableland, where the men get their first glimpse of Herland. Expecting to find a primitive society with “primeval customs” (8), they instead see not just a civilized country, but “a land in a state of perfect cultivation, where even the forests looked as if they were cared for; a land that looked like an enormous park, only it was even more evidently an enormous garden” (Herland 11–12). These forests are a very far cry indeed from the “hideous and desolate wilderness full of wild beasts and wild men” that William Bradford, described in *The History of*

*Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647.*³⁰ Taking no chances just the same, the men hide their plane, and, guns in hand, creep cautiously through the forest:

Terry studied it as we progressed. “Talk of civilization,” he cried softly in restrained enthusiasm. “I never saw a forest so petted, even in Germany. Look, there’s not a dead bough--the vines are trained—actually! And see here”—he stopped and looked about him, calling Jeff’s attention to the kinds of trees.

They left me for a landmark and made a limited excursion on either side.

“Food-bearing, practically all of them,” they announced returning. “The rest, splendid hardwood. Call this a forest? It’s a truck farm!” ... These towering trees were under as careful cultivation as so many cabbages. (14–15).

As the men immediately observe, the most striking feature of Herland (besides the all-female population, which the men have not yet discovered at this point) consists of the meticulously managed forests, which sharply contrast with the dark, tangled jungle wilderness below.

Emphasizing the importance of the forests to Herland as well as to the story, Gilman lets the men “meet” the forests first. The forests together with the entire landscape of Herland are a testimonial to this human-centered utopian society’s values. They also may be viewed as an illustration of Gifford Pinchot’s three principles of utilitarian conservation, just as the contemporary forests and lands of the real world, as described in *Ourland* (1916), often appear as illustrations of what happens when these principles have been ignored or serve as examples where these principles should be applied.

Pinchot’s three principles are (1) the development and use of natural resources, (2) the prevention of waste, and (3) the use of natural resources to benefit the many, not for the profit [or benefit] of the few (Pinchot, *Fight*). As historian David Lowenthal explains, despite the pride early foresters may have felt in the “grand, huge American trees,” compared with what grew elsewhere, “they did their best to eliminate wild woods and make their forests more European, more efficient (12). For

³⁰ As quoted in Merchant (*Environmental* 1003).

Pinchot, turning riotous old growth into a regulated crop was not merely an economic but a moral crusade against the virgin forest's useless decadence" Herland's forests are anything but decadent, and are closer to serving as a model of Pinchot's utilitarian principles put into action; the application or need for such as a theme in both of Gilman's texts, will be explored below.

The forests and lands of Herland have been deliberately and methodically developed to their fullest productive capacity for humans, in keeping with the needs and desires of the people of Herland. In the process, Herlanders have greatly affected the biodiversity and health of the ecological systems in their country by deliberately eliminating countless species in favor of the orchards and plantations that feed and house the population. Environmental historian Jana Knittel points out that "despite the utopian nature of the book, the ecology of Herland reveals not a feminist utopia, but ecological dystopia," and that "by extension, the mistreatment of the land by the women of Herland actually reinforces the mistreatment of women in turn-of-the-century American society" (49). Under Pinchot's guiding vision for utilitarian conservation, however, "the first duty of the human race is to control the earth it lives upon," and there is no question that the Herlanders have done just that (Pinchot, *Fight* 44).

Because they have completely extirpated all "wild beasts" from the forests, there is obviously no big game for recreational hunting. Gilman may have been making a point here about the perception of utilitarian conservation as more egalitarian compared with wilderness preservation. Very early preservationist efforts were initiated by sportsmen who valued wilderness for hunting and fishing and saw forests as traditionally male bastions (Reiger 65). Pinchot's third principle of conservation stipulates that natural resources should benefit the many, not the few. A criticism sometimes lobbed at preservationists was that their efforts, either directly or indirectly, tended to promote the use of wilderness by certain groups (middle and upper classes) while disallowing others, particularly minorities and poorer people (Rimby). For example, the locations and expense of visiting national parks often put

them out of reach for many people, who therefore gained no benefits from them. Finally, “preservation and reclamation policies also displaced rural residents,” Rimby explains, as local people who had previously used lands for hunting were sometimes crowded or pushed out to make room for recreational hunters and other pleasure seekers. None of these problems exist in the game-free but equal-access forests of Herland. The only forms of wildlife in the “petted” and tightly controlled stands are birds, as Van observes:

All we found moving in those woods, as we started through them, were birds, some gorgeous, some musical, all so tame that it seemed almost to contradict our theory of cultivation--at least until we came upon occasional little glades, where carved stone seats and tables stood in the shade beside clear fountains, with shallow bird baths always added.

Because the birds are so tame and because there are birdbaths, Terry assumes that there are no cats. If all the cats have been killed, he concludes, there must be men among the inhabitants, given men’s then-historic preference for dogs over cats.³¹ He is wrong on both counts.

Except for cats, the all-female inhabitants of Herland keep no domestic animals, including farm animals.³² In so doing, they have greatly reduced waste—Pinchot’s second principle of conservation—involved with the food supply by avoiding the high costs of meat production, an inefficient method of obtaining protein in terms of resources used, as well as environmental damage from grazing, water pollution, and waste disposal. As the men later learn from Somel, one of their tutors, Herlanders originally practiced traditional animal husbandry, but this changed as the population grew:

³¹ In a double layer of meaning, dogs were originally domesticated to assist prehistoric humans who were hunters, whereas cats were not domesticated but “domesticated themselves” in the agrarian societies of Middle East’s Fertile Crescent, where they killed vermin that threatened the food supply (Zax n.p.).

³² In *Moving the Mountain*, the first volume of Gilman’s trilogy (74), Americans eat mostly vegetarian food, except for small amounts of meat from humanely raised animals. There are no animals in the cities except for birds.

“Have you no cattle—sheep—horses?” [Van] drew some rough outlines of these beasts and showed them to her.

“We had, in the very old days, these,” said Somel, and sketched with swift sure touches a sort of sheep or llama,” and these”—dogs, of two or three kinds, “that that”—pointing to [Van’s] absurd but recognizable horse.

“What became of them?” asked Jeff.

“We do not want them anymore. They took up too much room—we need all our land to feed our people. It is such a little country, you know.” (*Herland* 48–49)

But the companionable cats of Herland are as petted and carefully managed as the forests, and are “healthy and happy and friendly.” They have been “rigorously bred to destroy mice and moles and all such enemies of the food supply” except birds (which surely eat seeds, nuts, and fruit). Thus the cats of Herland are still allowed to hunt, but it is carefully controlled and the cats have “ceased to kill birds” (50). Furthermore, through the rigorous breeding program—which allows but one mating season per year—they have also been rendered nearly voiceless:

The most those poor dumb brutes could do was to make a kind of squeak when they were hungry or wanted the door open, and, of course, to purr, and make the various mother-noises to their kittens. (50).

With the last remaining natural bird predator effectively gagged and neutered, but purportedly “living happily in walled gardens” until needed for mating or mousing, and with the forests purged of wild beasts, the many birds of Herland, are “numerous and safe” (50, 52)—until what appears at first to be a new kind of predator comes creeping through the woods.

Hunter and Hunted

Gilman plays with predator/prey and bird/cat imagery in various places within the novel: for example, Terry, Van, and Jeff enter Herland through the forest, with guns at the ready, as if hunting. The first women they see, Celis, Ellador, and Alima, are up in a tree, from where they have been watching the men. When the men climb after them, the women climb even higher, until they sit “lightly as so many big bright

birds on their precarious perches.... ‘Girls!’ whispered Jeff, under his breath, as if they might fly if he spoke aloud” (16). To Terry, the women appear not as birds, but as ripe, edible fruit: “‘Peaches!... Peacherinos—apricot-nectarines!’” (16).

To Van, they appear “as bright and smooth as parrots” and so comfortable in the treetops that Van assumes they actually *live* in the trees. He classes the people of Herland as “civilized and still arboreal—peculiar people.” Although they do not live in the trees, the entire civilization does live closely with and from the forest, as we eventually learn.

We also learn that Celis, Ellador, and Alima are foresters by occupation. This proves to be another of Gilman’s particularly farsighted choices, and one that perhaps is meant as a deliberate commentary on the lack of opportunities for women in forestry in the United States. Women in the utopian Herland can serve as field foresters—as can women in wartime Great Britain when *Herland* was published (Figure 3.2). In the United States, however, where forestry was still a relatively new occupation, it would be a half century before women were allowed to work for the U.S. Forest Service as foresters in the field.³³ Women were even prohibited from enrolling in the emerging forestry degree programs at American colleges and universities.³⁴ This exclusion followed after women made major contributions to early forestry efforts, serving as key drivers of the conservation movement in the United States. Millions of women participated in conservation and forestry clubs, planted trees, taught natural sciences, or took leadership roles in key organizations and

³³ For example, Pauline Barto Sandoz earned a forestry degree in 1945 at Oregon State College during the unique circumstances of World War II. It would be 30 years before more women could enroll in forestry at OSU—although at least one slipped in by registering under a man’s name (Bernart, “Trail” 7; see also *Focus on Forestry* n.p.).

³⁴ There were a few exceptions: Eloise B. Gerry, hired as a scientist in 1910; Hallie M. Daggett, hired as a lookout on Klamath Peak in the Siskiyou Mountains in 1913; Helen McCormick, who worked on the Willamette Forest as a patrolwoman during the World War I; and several hundred women in the Pacific Northwest who served as lookouts during World War II. The first female forester was hired in 1957, but women were not regularly hired for active field work in the United States until the 1970s.



Figure 3.2 Members of the Women's Forestry Corps grinding an axe, c. 1916, Great Britain, by Nicholls Horace. © IWM (Q 30720).

<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205087776>

campaigns; furthermore, many had been trained various aspects of forestry (Rimby 14; Merchant “Gender” 1118–19). Gifford Pinchot acknowledged as much in 1910, praising the substantial contributions made by women and citing specific examples, including “the conservation committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution (chaired by his mother), the Pennsylvania Forestry Association, ‘founded by ladies,’ which carried out some of the earliest work done in that state, the National Forests preserved by Minnesota women, and the Calaveras Big Trees set aside by the women of California after a nine year fight” (Merchant “Progressive” 153; Rimby; Miller “Forest Service”). After the establishment of the Forest Service in 1905, however, women were crowded out, except for being allowed to work as office clerks. In utopian Herland, of course, women may serve as “agile foresters” or in any other profession they choose (64).

When the men meet Celis, Ellador, and Alima, the men are initially uncertain about their gender because the women are dressed simply and casually, “with short hair, hatless, loose, and shining; a suit of some light firm stuff, the closest of tunics and kneebreeches, met by trim gaiters” (16), a description that looks much like the photos of the Women’s Forestry Corps in Great Britain in 1916 (Figure 3.2). The Herlanders are agile, strong, fast, and extremely fit, putting them in step with the “physical culture” trend. As historian Michael McGerr explains, the “cult of fitness” was enormously popular during the early twentieth century. Women and men alike took up cycling, weight training, and various forms of exercise. If men had *Tarzan* and other such fantastical heroes who developed their prodigious strength through a strenuous life in the wilderness, women had the “Gibson girl.” McGerr describes the Gibson girl as “lithe, tall, strong, athletic, and dignified,” noting that she became a new model of female beauty (McGerr 63). The Gibson girl—without her elaborate hairstyle, swan-bill corset, and voluminous skirts—seems to represent at least part of the inspiration for the women of Herland. Gilman herself had high praise for these “new women,” noting that in their manner as well as their appearance, they were “a different sort” from heroines of a previous era:

Not only do they look differently, they behave differently. The false sentimentality, the false delicacy, the false modesty, the utter falseness of elaborate compliment and servile gallantry which went with the other falsehoods, —all these are disappearing. Women are growing honester, braver, stronger, more healthful and skilful and able and free, more human in all ways.” (Stetson 1898, 148-149)

The same might be said for the women of Herland, who are not only honest, brave, healthful, skillful and strong, but attractive enough to tempt the predatory Terry, to whom “pretty women were just so much game and homely ones not worth considering” (10). As if tempting a bird with a shiny object, Terry attempts to lure Alima close with a sparkling necklace, in order to grab her. After she outsmarts him, all three women “drop from the ends of the big boughs to those below, fairly pouring themselves off the tree” and flee like “wild antelopes” (17–18). The men give chase, but like big cats that are powerful, but have no endurance, they are soon spent. Nevertheless, they continue in the same direction as the women, walking “unharmd” through a landscape of “quiet potency,” under “the pleasant shade of those endless rows of trees ... [with] the placid silence broken only by the birds” (19).

Catch and Release

When the men enter the nearest town, they find themselves surrounded by a close-massed multitude of women. When the women press them toward a heavy-walled grey building, the men resist, hoping to be allowed to return to the safety of the forest: “We began to explain, to make signs pointing away toward the big forest—indicating that we would go back to it—at once” (21–22). Now the men wish to flee to the safety of the forest, where they can climb back into their plane and fly away. As will be discussed, the forests are not the traditional refuge for men that the men assume them to be. Although they don’t realize it at the time, Terry, Van, and Jeff are watched and tracked through the forest from the moment they arrive. The forests of Herland are not wilderness and, as such, are not the traditional realm of men or a place to go for escape as well as adventure.

Although Gilman initially sets up the more traditional premise of the men as predators and the women as prey, we eventually learn that the reverse has been true all along. Alima, Ellador, and Celis have been watching and tracking the men from the moment they arrived on the lake, and had even staked their claims to the men:

They had seen us first of all, far down in the lake below, and flashed the tidings across the land even before our first exploring flight. They had watched our landing, flitted through the forest with us, hidden in that tree . . . They felt a special claim on us—called us “their men.” (91–92)

The women’s news initiates the launch of a national operation—presumably already in place, given the Herlanders’ penchant for strategic long-term planning—to “catch and tame” potentially suitable male specimens. Thus, as the men make their historic first flight high above Herland, the news is transmitted throughout the country:

“From another country. Probably men. Evidently highly civilized. Doubtless possessed of much valuable knowledge. May be dangerous. Catch them if possible; tame and train them if necessary. This may be a chance to re-establish a bi-sexual state for our people.” (88–89)

Terry, Van, and Jeff in their technologically advanced flying machine must appear to be good candidates, certainly better for the women’s purposes than the “savages” from the forest below, including those who reportedly made the climb into Herland, but never came back.

After a brief struggle, the men are captured, anesthetized, and then like helpless babies, they are bathed, dressed in unisex garments, and put to sleep in comfortable beds in a lovely, locked room. When they awaken to their new state, Terry observes, “we’ve had a fine long sleep—we’ve had a good bath—we’re clothed and in our right minds, though feeling like a lot of neuters” (28).

The men have plenty of good food, however, and a lovely room, and—they are allowed to spend time in a large, walled garden. They are watched by stern guards, with whom they cannot communicate because they cannot speak the language. Terry, Jeff, and Van do have tutors—Moadine, Zava, and Somel, respectively—who eventually become their special friends. Thus, for all practical purposes, the men here

are like the tomcats of Herland: comfortable, well fed, and mute, in a fully controlled environment, with no foreseeable opportunities to try to catch the lovely birds of Herland.

They therefore make plans to escape, intending to make for the forests where they believe they can hide. The men should know better, given that they entered Herland through the forests and that the first women they met were so comfortable in their forest environment that they appeared to be an arboreal people. Nevertheless, Terry, Van, and Jeff see or interpret the forests as a place of freedom and refuge *from* the women of Herland. The men fail to recognize that they themselves do not know this environment. The women of Herland know every inch of the landscape intimately, every tree and vine. They will surely be able to follow the men's movements as easily as Tarzan can follow the spoor of visitors within his forest.

Not being seen is the hardest part, notes Van. "One or another pair of eyes is on us every minute except at night." To which Terry replies, "Therefore we must do it at night ... That's easy." They make ropes out of their bedding and climb down into the garden. From there, trees, shrubs, and vines are the key to their escape. The men, "taking advantage of the shadow of every bush and tree" in the garden, then go up and over the wall by means of a "tough, fair-sized shrub" for the rope's anchorage to secure the rope, and a conveniently located vine. Terry goes first, with Van and Jeff watching anxiously. Like Tarzan being swallowed by the jungle, Terry disappears into the mass of foliage below, and then sends up the signal for the others to follow. Also like Tarzan, the men experience "a joyous sense of recovered freedom" (*Tarzan* 183)—which is of course an illusion (*Herland* 37). The mass of foliage belongs to the vine, "a thick-leaved, wide-spreading thing, a little like *Amphelopsis*," which saves the men from falling off of the slanting ledge below and breaking their necks. From there, the men slip and slide down the rest of the slope to a wooded streambed, along which they travel until dawn (38). Finding "friendly nut-trees" water, and sheltering foliage (38–39), they eat and rest. At nightfall, they travel again,

keeping always in the rough forested belt of land which we knew bordered the whole country. At night we had our marathon-obstacle race; we “stayed not for brake and we stopped not for stone,” and swam whatever water was too deep to wade and could not be got around; but that was only necessary twice. By day, sleep, sound and sweet.

As previously noted, forests have long been regarded places for men to “test their maleness, strength, and virility... and to restore the frontier ruggedness lost to the soft, civilized, city life also gendered as female” (Merchant, *Eden* 134) by engaging in pursuits such as hunting and fishing (Reiger 65). As such, forests may be viewed as a refuge for men away from the pressures of civilization (i.e., women). This tradition in literature hearkens to the savage, sometimes misanthropic mountain man, a darker and more complex figure lurking in the shadows of the American frontier myth of the pioneer, bringer of civilization, schools, churches, and gardens to the wilderness. As historian Henry Nash Smith explains (81), the mountain man, often a fur trapper, was a fictional American Wild West hero that emerged in literature of the 1830s—even before the first wagon trains full of pioneers began to roll across the western plains. A symbol of “anarchic freedom,” the mountain man had “fled from the restraints of civilization” to range the wilderness. Mountain men enjoyed the “absolute freedom of wilderness life,” which was “alternately indolent and laborious, full and fasting, occupied in hunting, fighting, feasting, amours ...” (82).

In the tradition of mountain men, Terry, Van, and Jeff have fled from the constraints of society to the freedom of the forest, believing they are traveling unseen and undetected. Instead, these tamed forests are also the realm of women. Herlanders have been tracking them since their escape was announced, passing the task along from woman to woman until it falls to Alima, Celis, and Ellador, who even stealthily accompany the men, “follow[ing] along-side for a day or two” (91–92). Jeff, with his interest in botany, is the only one who begins to connect the dots, deducing that forests that produce and supply such a constant abundance of edible foodstuffs, such that the forager need only extend a hand to acquire food whenever he is near a tree, surely require constant tending. Van and Terry consider it lucky that even the “margin of

forest seemed rich in foodstuffs,” enabling them to “live off the country.” But Jeff cautions, “that very thing [shows] how careful [they] have to be, as [they] might run into some stalwart group of gardeners or foresters or nut-gatherers at any minute” (40).

Jeff’s fears seem unfounded, because the men do not encounter anyone. Instead, “after stealing along among the rocks and trees like so many creeping savages” the men finally find their plane. This seems a stroke of “unbelievable good fortune”; it indeed turns out to be too good to be true. First they discover that the plane has been swaddled like a baby, sewn up in a fabric cover so tough and tight that they cannot open it (43).³⁵ As they struggle to release their machine, they hear giggles: Ellador, Alima, and Celis, who have been watching them from a short distance, make their presence known. After a pleasant interlude during which the six play a game, the men attempt to overpower the women to get their knives. The trio escapes, again outrunning the men. And then, once again, the men are surrounded by a large group of Herlanders, and are taken without “even the satisfaction of hitting anybody,” as Terry complains. In Herland, there are no real adventures “because there [is] nothing to fight” (50).

Tamed and Trained

Although Van finds it amusing, Terry is mortified to discover that the men had been under surveillance throughout their escape. The “friendly forests” of Herland may have provided food for the men, but not cover. Instead, they enabled the women of Herland to track and monitor the men, as Van recounts:

³⁵ Ironically, in *Ourland*, the sequel to *Herland*, although the men discover a few scratches on the cover of their boat, which has been floating on the lake, it is otherwise fine and has not been opened. They presume that the “savages” —who work as guides—have avoided tampering it because of superstitions about its “deadly witch-work,” instead of either being unable to open it, or possibly leaving it alone because it does not belong to them (p. 62).

They knew well we would make for our machine, and also that there was no other way of getting down--alive. So our flight had troubled no one; all they did was to call the inhabitants to keep an eye on our movements all along the edge of the forest between the two points. It appeared that many of those nights we had been seen, by careful ladies sitting snugly in big trees by the riverbed, or up among the rocks.

Terry looked immensely disgusted, but it struck me as extremely funny. Here we had been risking our lives, hiding and prowling like outlaws, living on nuts and fruit, getting wet and cold at night, and dry and hot by day, and all the while these estimable women had just been waiting for us to come out. (44–45).

The fact that the men in *Herland* cling so long to their original notion of the forest as a place of manly adventure—despite clear evidence to the contrary—brings to mind Ellador’s teasing question to her husband in *Ourland*:

“What makes their minds so—so impervious. It can’t be because they’re men, surely. Men are not duller than women, are they, dear?” (*Ourland* 91)

Being allowed to “rough it” in a park like Cub Scouts whose mothers are watching from a discreet distance is not the expedition into the savage wilderness that Terry, Jeff, and Van had in mind. When he later learns more about Herland’s unique history, Van wistfully laments that in Herland, “the years of pioneering lay far behind them. Theirs was a civilization in which the initial difficulties had long since been overcome” (*Herland* 100)—a refrain that echoes popular sentiments over the vanishing American wilderness and the closing of the frontier (see Merchant, *Environmental* 146–149 and *Eden* 134; Smith; Nash). Not only is there no wilderness, no frontier, and no rugged adventure, there are no challenges at all, as Terry complains,

“I like Something Doing. Here it’s all done.... “Life is a struggle, has to be,” he insisted. “If there is no struggle, there is no life—that’s all....

“I tell you the higher grades of life are reached only through struggle--combat.” (*Herland* 100-101)”

In Herland, there is not even a struggle to reach the higher levels of the trees. The trees have already been pruned to give everyone safe access up into the treetops, as Terry discovers:

There was a very large and beautiful tree in the glade we had just entered, with thick wide-spreading branches that sloped out in lapping fans like a beech or pine. It was trimmed underneath some twenty feet up, and stood there like a huge umbrella, with circling seats beneath.

“Look,” he pursued. “There are short stumps of branches left to climb on. There’s someone up that tree, I believe.” (Herland 15)

The men cautiously creep closer. Van, perhaps forgetting that he’s not in Tarzan’s jungle, warns, “Look out for a poisoned arrow in your eye,” before they all climb up by way of the convenient branch stumps (15). These foot- and handholds up into the trees indicate that perhaps the forests are not simply a place of aesthetic beauty or a provider of foodstuffs, but also a place where adults as well as children can interact playfully with the forest (*Herland* 16, 17, 41).

After their misadventure, the women bring Terry, Van, and Jeff back to the city, where they are received with lenience and even compassion, as though they are young boys who merely played hooky on a lovely day:

Of course we looked for punishment—a closer imprisonment, solitary confinement maybe—but nothing of the kind happened. They treated us as truants only, and as if they quite understood our truancy. (43)

The men are restored to their former quarters, where they discover that their real education and their reeducation is about to begin. Like Tarzan and D’Arnot over their pieces of bark, the men must learn to read and write the language of Herland so they can communicate on a more sophisticated level, hence this plot twist. Here is where Gilman sets up the classroom for the reader as well. The three tutors, Zava, Moadine, and Somel, will teach the history and customs of Herland (while surreptitiously gleaning every bit of information they can from the men about the outside world).

Here, the men will also learn the most important lessons of Herland's history, which center on the critical balance that underlies the entire civilization, as well as on population dynamics and the carrying capacity of a landscape, environmental degradation and restoration, the sustainable use of natural resources to meet the needs of Herland's society, and more. As previously noted, this critical balance rests on Pinchot's three principles of utilitarian conservation: Herlanders have (1) sustainably developed and utilized their natural resources to the maximum extent possible (2) without wasting or degrading the natural resource base³⁶ in order to (3) equitably provide for all of their citizens. This careful environmental balance maintains the soil, which maintains the forests—which are the foundation of the food supply—as well as the water supply in perpetuity, thus providing for the greatest good for the greatest number (a population size that has been carefully calibrated) over the longest time frame.

Along with their education, the men are being “tamed and trained to a degree [the women consider] safe”—just as the land itself has been tamed and trained until it is safe and productive. Gilman repeats the phrase “tame and train” three times in *Herland*, including in two consecutive sentences, one ending a chapter and one beginning the next (72, 73, 89). After the taming and training, the tutors promise the men that they will be able to go “all about the land” and meet the people for themselves (45). This will later bring Jeff, Terry, and Van back into contact with their future wives, Celis, Alima, and Ellador, respectively, the lovely and agile foresters.

Christopher Wilson points out that Gilman objected to the convention in literature wherein the female characters were “eventually ‘tamed’ or domesticated, enclosed in a fiction (as often in life) by the conventional resolution of a marriage

³⁶ As previously noted, we know that the biodiversity of Herland's ecosystems has been severely impacted by the Herlanders' land management; however, biodiversity is not a value of this society. Herlanders have created a human-centered model of sustainable, careful stewardship that meets the particular goals of their society. However, the Herlanders have shown a willingness to consider the reintroduction of males into their closed system, which would create genetic diversity.

scene ...because it implied that women, once possessed, were no longer on the stage of human action” (Wilson 280). In *Herland*, Gilman visits this same convention on the male characters, adding even more constraints. The men are first removed from the stage of action and are enclosed in a detention facility, where they are to be tamed and trained/domesticated, just as Herlanders have tamed and domesticated the land.

After their release, the men will again be enclosed in “the conventional resolution of a marriage scene” (times three!), after which they are essentially removed from the action once again because they have nothing to do. Like bored housewives, or like the male cats of Herland, they have no duties except for fathering children (if and when the time comes) and serving as companions for their wives. Chafing under these constraints, Terry grows increasingly unhappy, volatile, aggressive, and angry. He eventually is finally expelled from “paradise” after his attempted rape of Alima; this violent action and its consequences will set up the premise for the sequel, *With Her in Ourland*, which is discussed further below.

Necessity is the Mother

After they master the language Terry, Van, and Jeff learn how the forests sustain and support the entire civilization of Herland and are crucially important to its survival. The history of Herland includes the catastrophic seismological events that isolated the land mass—which has an area of about ten to twelve thousand square miles³⁷—after which there was an uprising in which all the remaining men were killed, followed by a precipitous decline in the population. At last, the miracle of parthenogenesis occurred and a girl was born, followed by four more, all from one mother. These girls were able to conceive and bear children, as were their offspring; thus Herland was repopulated. Eventually, Herlanders developed what Van romantically describes as “a sort of Maternal Pantheism”:

³⁷ The size places Herland somewhere between Massachusetts and Maryland, or like Holland, as Gilman puts it (77).

Here was Mother Earth, bearing fruit. All that they ate was fruit of motherhood, from seed or egg or their product. By motherhood they were born and by motherhood they lived—life was, to them, just the long cycle of motherhood. (*Herland* 60)

This Mother-Earth food system may have been adequate at first, but would not have been able to sustain a fast-growing population for long. Without the possibilities of importing resources or expanding to neighboring lands, Herlanders solved their resource problem by learning to live within their natural resource limits. Their utilitarian conservation plan involved determining the most efficient, least wasteful strategy (Pinchot's second principle of conservation):

They had early decided that trees were the best food plants, requiring far less labor in tilling the soil, and bearing a larger amount of food for the same ground space; also doing much to preserve and enrich the soil. (*Herland* 79)

Then they set out to remake the entire landscape, including replanting the forests with tree species that would meet the needs of the human population for food, forest products, and recreation, while evidently also providing habitat for the bird species that were allowed to remain (which may be used for eggs, although this is not clear):

Now every tree bore fruit—edible fruit, that is.

Due regard had been paid to seasonable crops, and their fruit and nuts, grains and berries, kept on almost the year through.

On the higher part of the country, near the backing wall of mountains, they had a real winter with snow. Toward the south-eastern point, where there was a large valley with a lake whose outlet was subterranean, the climate was like that of California, and citrus fruits, figs, and olives grew abundantly. (*Herland* 79)

Thus, all of the forests in the whole country are essentially orchards, other than the “fir-dark valleys” in the upper elevations and some hardwoods maintained for lumber. The Herlanders have therefore developed their land to the maximum extent possible (Pinchot's first principle of conservation), producing the greatest yield for the most people over the longest term.

And the women of Herland do mean *long term*, an outlook that is perhaps not surprising, given that forests and forestry make up the foundation of their society.³⁸ Herlanders “habitually considered and carried out plans for improvement which might cover centuries,” including a breeding effort for the obernut tree that took 900 years. With projects of such duration, many individual women over dozens of generations contributed to the collective success of the project effort while knowing they would not live to see the results. The huge scale and long time frame of their efforts are astonishing to Van:

I had never seen, had scarcely imagined, human beings undertaking such a work as the deliberate replanting of an entire forest area with different kinds of trees. Yet this seemed to them the simplest common sense, like a man's plowing up an inferior lawn and reseeding it. (*Herland* 79)

Herland's fruit- and nut-tree-based agroforestry system is based on ancient practices that were still common around the world when *Herland* was published in 1915, although they were quickly being replaced by “advanced methods” of large-scale, mechanized agriculture in North America and Europe.³⁹

Although Van expresses surprise at the scale of environmental change in Herland, remaking the land at this scale is hardly unprecedented in the United States at the time of *Herland's* publication. Some 300 million acres of forest alone were converted to agriculture and other uses in the United States in the nineteenth century.

³⁸ Long-term forest science and carbon dynamics research projects spanning decades or even centuries are ongoing at Long-Term Ecological Research (LTER) sites such as the H.J. Andrews Experimental Forest in Oregon; writers and artists have now joined through the LTER Ecological Reflections program (see Goodrich 2013). In northern Spain, the *Monte el Viejo*, a Mediterranean coppiced-oak forest near Palencia in the autonomous region of Castilla y León, has been sustainably and intensively managed for over a thousand years to meet the needs of the local people for wood products, while also providing for other uses such as wildlife habitat and recreation (see Bernart 2011).

³⁹ In yet another example of Gilman's foresight, such systems are now being reintroduced in response to the same types of problems that Herland faced—food scarcity in the face of population pressures, degraded soil and water resources, deforestation, erosion—along with the modern addition of climate change.

By the early twentieth century, less than 1% of the original eastern hardwood forests remained, the great pine northwoods of the Lake States were gone, and timber companies had shifted their focus to the West. Perhaps what is most surprising in Herland is that the citizens brought about this land large-scale transformation in order to equitably meet the needs of the population, and accomplished it presumably without negatively impacting one group in favor of another. Outside of carefully managed, utopian Herland, such large-scale changes in the land—whether brought about by rampant greed and the exploitation of natural resources or as a result of good intentions that then produce unexpected negative environmental consequences⁴⁰—have sometimes resulted in large-scale environmental degradation that results not only in waste but in poverty, suffering, or even conflict.

In *Ourland*, Ellador learns (and we are reminded) that the Herlanders' careful management and long-term planning, which consider the needs of the many above the profits of the few, is far from the norm in the rest of the world. Both *Herland* (1915) and *Ourland* (1916) were published as World War I raged on in Europe, while conflict over potential U.S. involvement simmered at home. Ellador's probing but measured questions during the "Journey of Inspection" call attention to the role of natural resources in wars, as well as to the potential for a utilitarian approach as a possible cure—issues that Gilman, a sociologist and economist, was evidently wrestling with during this time. Herlanders, with their communal emphasis, combined with careful methods, dedicated scientists, extreme diligence, and emphasis on very long-term planning on national and local scales, have created a stable, rich, and peaceful land with a sustainable food supply and economy.

As Van explains, in the rest of the world, some people "skimmed the cream" of the land—extracted or exhausted the available natural resources, while the rest were

⁴⁰ For example, planting millions of kudzu seedlings in the U.S. Southeast for erosion control; draining and filling wetlands on the Gulf Coast; and the unintentional mismanagement of millions of acres of western forests, resulting in countless standing dead trees (killed by bark beetles) that now are at risk of catastrophic wildfires.

“reduced to an annual struggle for life” (*Herland* 79). The waste and destruction of natural resources to benefit the few, and the inefficient development of natural resources, combined with over-population all can lead to warfare:

[Ellador] saw at once how, when most of the earth’s surface was unoccupied, people moved freely about in search of the best hunting or pasturage; how in an agricultural system they settled and spread, widening with the increase of population; how ever since they met and touched, each nation limited by its neighbors, there had been the double result of over-crowding inside the national limits, and warfare in the interest of “expansion.”

As long warfare was the relief, nations continually boiled over upon one another; gaining more land by the simple process of killing off the previous owners and having to repeat the process indefinitely as soon as the population again pressed against its limits. (*Ourland* 98–99)

By fully developing their available resources, eliminating waste, and sharing equally in the benefits of their combined labor (Pinchot’s three principles of conservation), Herlanders have broken this cycle, however. As the men learn, it was not an easy process, but a struggle for survival by a civilization that foresaw the finite limit to its natural resources and its own imminent collapse—and fought to solve its environmental crisis by completely reshaping its resource base before it was too late. Herland’s unique circumstances created a series of almost overwhelming natural resource challenges for its citizens over the course of its long history. The fight not only to survive, but to live peacefully together within the lands they had available meant many difficult choices, years of experimentation, countless hours of hard labor, personal sacrifice, and “living on rations before [they] worked it out” (*Herland* 70).

The way the women have managed to “work it out” through forestry impresses all three men. As Van recalls,

The most conspicuous feature of the whole land was the perfection of its food supply. We had begun to notice from that very first walk in the forest, the first partial view from our 'plane. Now we were taken to see this mighty garden, and shown its methods of culture. (*Herland* 77)

As a Mere Wilderness

After Terry's violent crime results in his expulsion from Herland, Ellador leaves with Van and Terry in the bi-plane in order to conduct a "Journey of Inspection" around the world. Her purpose, as a representative of her nation, is to learn all she can about "Ourland" in order to gauge whether Herland should establish communications and relationships with the outside world. As Ellador sees our world for the first time, we are invited to see it with her and through fresh eyes.

As a forester, Ellador is naturally very interested in seeing the "mighty gardens" of the outside world. She is disappointed and even devastated to observe that forests are often neglected or destroyed, and that natural resources are either not being fully developed or are being managed wastefully, for example, by not choosing fruit or nut trees and by using a less efficient irrigation system:

Being by profession a forester, it was inevitable that she should notice trees-, and in Europe she found much to admire, though lamenting the scarcity of food-bearing varieties. In Northern Africa she had noted the value of the palm, the olive, and others, and had readily understood the whole system of irrigation and its enormous benefits. What she did not easily grasp was its disuse, and the immeasurable futility of the fellaheen, still using the shadoof⁴¹ after all these ages of progress. (*Ourland* 91)

These are small quibbles, however, compared with the extreme environmental degradation she and Van see in China. There, the horrendous conditions of the land, the destruction of the forests, and the poverty of the people graphically illustrate the desperate need for conservation. She is "shocked beyond words at the vast area of dead country; skeleton country, deforested, deshrubbed, degrassed, wasted to the bone, lying there to burn in the sun and drown in the rain, feeding no one" (*Ourland* 92).

⁴¹ *Shaduf* is a simple, traditional technology for lifting water from a river or well consisting of a hand-operated lever and a pole on a pivot with a bucket at one end and a counterweight at the other. This ancient mechanism was part of a sustainable water-use system for millennia, but has been replaced by diesel or other pumps. Ironically, it is now seen as a more environmentally friendly option for irrigation because it is easily hand-operated by one person and requires no additional energy input.

That the denuded, degraded landscape is juxtaposed against the “intelligence, intellect, [and] high cultural development” of the civilization baffles Ellador:

“They are old, very old, surely old enough to have learned more than any other people. And yet here is proof that they have never mastered the simple and obvious facts of how to take care of the land on which they live....They live on it like swarming fleas on an emaciated kitten, rather than careful farmers on a well-cultivated ground....”

The “horrible instance of a misused devastated land” Ellador sees in China embodies the complete opposite of the principles of conservation. She deduces that the people “have never mastered the simple and obvious facts” of how to sustainably develop the land so that it provides for their needs. The land is “wasted to the bone,” deforested and degraded on an enormous scale, and with a “vast area of dead country” feeding no one. Finally, the country has a wide gap between the rich with their luxurious homes and gardens, who presumably have exploited the natural resources to their own benefit, and the poor, living on a “ghastly minimum” of land, “like swarming fleas on an emaciated kitten.” Ellador’s assessment is blindingly simplistic (which also provides a glimpse into Gilman’s racist views) and overlooks the many complex variables contributing to environmental conditions in China at the time of the visit. Without minimizing the ignorance of this assessment on China, Ellador’s overall message of the need for sound conservation practices in order to restore forests, soil, and water resources and improve the food supply—based on the success Herlanders have seen in their own country—remains a valid criticism for Gilman’s time and ours.

Despite her passionate references to “the trees—the precious trees” and her admiration for John Muir—whom she read “with rapture,” exclaiming, “How I should have loved him!”—Ellador is clearly not a preservationist (*Ourland* 91, 108). She worriedly questions Van over whether “the world has learned how to save its trees—its soil—its beauty—its fertility, hasn’t it?” And Van reassures her that yes, Americans are “taking steps to preserve our own forests, though, so far, they are so extensive that we rather forgot there was any end of them” (*Ourland* 93).

In California, Ellador enjoys Yosemite National Park, the “Big Trees,” and the cedars of Monterey, pouring out “constant praises of the boundless loveliness of the land, the air, the sunshine, even the rain. Rain did not depress Ellador—she was a forester” (108). Indeed, as a true forester of a certain generation, even while she is admiring the old-growth forests, Ellador is formulating an idea of how they can be improved and what they need—and it is *not* preservation, as she explains to Van.

“As to the land—neglect, waste, awful, glaring waste,” she answered promptly. “It makes me sick. It makes me want to cry. As a mere wilderness, of course, it would be interesting, but as a wilderness with a hundred million people in it, and such able people, I don’t know whether it is more laughable or horrible. As to the water, neglect and waste again, and hideous, suicidal defilement. (*Ourland* 145)

Thus, if the key problems in China were waste and inequity, in the United States they are lack of development and waste. The forests should be developed for the benefit of the country’s 100 million people. Ellador’s casual dismissal of “mere wilderness” tracks with the utilitarian forestry views of the time, which were founded on European forestry school of thought and practices. Heavily managed, “artificial woods” that have been selectively planted and regularly pruned were preferred over “primitive” old growth forest for aesthetic and economic reasons (Lowenthal 12). Knittel adds that Gilman’s views of nature are also “typical of women writers of the 1800s,” who tended to value “the completely cultivated, park-like landscape” (56). “So Gilman writes in an era in which wilderness gains status. . . . A change toward valuing nature for more than its immediate economic benefits to humans evidently was taking place during Gilman’s lifetime” (Knittel 57).

Nevertheless, the perception of old-growth timber as “decadent” was common until the end of the twentieth century and still persists in some circles today. David Lowenthal’s explanation helps shed light on this point of view in during the period in which Gilman’s works appeared, in the early days of American forestry:

Even as old-growth Western forests were chopped down for lumber they evoked respect and awe. Yet foresters who boasted that grand, huge American

trees surpassed anything in Europe did their best to eliminate wild woods and make their forests more European, more efficient. For Pinchot and his successors, turning riotous old growth into a regulated crop was not merely an economic but a moral crusade against the virgin forest's useless decadence. (12)

Along with under-development of the wilderness, Ellador's "diagnosis" included the neglect, waste, and hideous defilement of natural resources. Forests had not been replanted and soil was eroding away, sanitation and water treatment systems were under-developed or non-existent, and water was polluted by sewage and industrial waste. By contrast, the "careful culturists" of Herland had worked out a composting and fertilization plan with their waste:

What impressed me particularly was their scheme of fertilization. . . . All the scraps and leavings of their food, plant waste from lumber work or textile industry, all the solid matter from the sewage, properly treated and combined—everything which came from the earth went back to it.

The practical result was like that in any healthy forest; an increasingly valuable soil was being built, instead of the progressive impoverishment so often seen in the rest of the world. (*Herland* 80)

This looping "green" system covers everything from waste disposal and composting to food, sanitation, housing, and manufacturing—all while maintaining the same level and quality of the nation's natural resources for future generations; thus it is the definition of sustainability—of their desired system.

The Balancing Game

From the beginning, the impetus for the Herlanders' efforts in forestry and conservation has been to create the means to provide not only for themselves but for future generations. They seek a balance of care for the children as well as for the lands and trees that sustain them. The concept of care for the children of Herland goes beyond just meeting basic needs to providing the best possible environment to maximize their potential in every way throughout their lives. Thus, there is more to the concept of balance in Herland than simply the greatest number of people the forests and lands land can feed. Their civilization requires a balance between the number of

people and the amount of land that can support them all *well* and still provide “room, space, a sunny breezy freedom everywhere,” without crowding (*Herland* 80–82).

This contrasts with what Ellador sees in Japan, an island nation with limited resources, like Herland. She finds much to admire in Japan with “the fairy beauty of the country, with its flower-worshipping, sunny-faced people, and the plump happy children everywhere.” Yet at the same time, overpopulation is creating “ghastly crowding,” (*Ourland* 98). “I can’t understand it,” Ellador says. “Are these women willing to have their children grow up so crowded that they can’t be happy or where they’ll have to fight for room to live?” (*Ourland* 102). Herlanders accomplish the balance that they desire by “effectually and permanently [limiting] the population in numbers, so that the country furnished plenty for the fullest, richest life for all of them: plenty of everything, including room, air, solitude even” (*Herland* 71).

Although it is not a wilderness, Terry, Jeff, and Van do consistently admire the aesthetics of the massive-scale garden landscaping, however. “We’d better import some of these ladies and set 'em to parking the United States,” Van suggests, facetiously. “Mighty nice place they’ve got here” (*Herland* 19). Herlanders’ “parking” efforts extended to their entire “great cultivated park” of a country, “even to its wildest forested borders” (*Ourland* 61–62). In the beginning, however, the women of Herland did not set out to simply create lovely spaces, but to contribute to the overall good of their community, as was the goal of other women in the Progressive Era who became active in conservation. As historian Susan Rimby explains, “better housekeeping out of doors” was a way to situate women’s involvement in preservation and conservation efforts as part of the women’s sphere: “They used maternalist rhetoric as a means of justifying their involvement in public affairs and focused their efforts on reforms which benefited women and children,” she says (11). Framing “conservation as public cleanup and decorating” and emphasizing efforts to help women and children “allowed Progressive era women to situate their reform efforts in socially acceptable contexts” (17–18). It apparently worked as planned in some instances, at least: “After covering a woman’s club lecture on forest preservation, a male reporter could

understand ‘that women, born with an instinctive love for beauty, would be foremost in a good work of this kind’ (Rimby 19). Maternalistic language aside, Progressive women were also not above linking the development of national parks with military readiness, as evidenced by this pamphlet:

“A nation is measured not only by population, military strength and wealth but also by the mental attitude of its people. The right mental attitude largely depends upon wholesome outdoor recreation, especially in areas of scenic beauty.” (Rimby 19)

As in Herland, Progressive women did not simply spout rhetoric, however. They also did the hard work of “housekeeping” as well, planting trees, conducting campaigns to pick up trash, and persuading local government to purchase trash cans (Rimby 20). Progressive women were not alone in their interest in building community and improving education. Tucked into Pinchot’s *Fight for Conservation* are three desired outcomes of education, which seem rather similar to the methods and the spirit of education of the children of Herland:

First, a sound, useful, and usable body; second, a flexible, well-equipped, and well-organized mind; alert to gain interest and assistance from contact with nature and coöperation with other minds; and third, a wise and true and valiant spirit, able to gather to itself the higher things that best make life worth while. The use and growth of these three things, body, mind, and spirit, must all be found in any effective system of education. (Pinchot, *Fight* 32)

The trees in Herland forests provide aesthetic values and recreation, and, as earlier noted, Herlanders even climb up into the canopies. Tree climbing requires balance as well as strength and agility—perhaps that is while the children of Herland begin learning about balance as toddlers:

It was a joy to watch a row of toddlers learning to walk, not only on a level floor, but, a little later, on a sort of rubber rail raised an inch or two above the soft turf or heavy rugs, and falling off with shrieks of infant joy, to rush back to the end of the line and try again. Surely we have noticed how children love to get up on something and walk along it! (*Herland* 109)

The balance motif is emphasized from the beginning of *Herland*, with the men’s introduction to Ellador, Celis, and Alima. As the men pursue them into the tree,

each woman balances skillfully “on a long branch that dipped and swayed beneath the weight” (*Herland* 16). The men introduce themselves and Van, in trying to “make an effective salute,” nearly loses his balance. He recalls later that he was attracted to Ellador from the first day they met: “I liked her that day she balanced on the branch before me” (*Herland* 91).

Finally, when the men make their unsuccessful escape attempt and are caught, Ellador, Celis, and Alima take the time to play a little game with Terry, Van, and Jeff before the men are returned to their quarters. The game appears to serve little purpose in terms of advancing the plot. Although it may be viewed as simply a pleasant interlude, it also represents another opportunity to reinforce the importance of balance within the civilization of Herland. The game involves “a big yellow nut on top of three balanced sticks” (*Herland* 42). The men clumsily try to knock down the entire arrangement—but that is not the way the game is played.

Instead, one must knock the nut off of the sticks without upsetting the balance, a feat the women can accomplish handily:

Then [Celis] set it up once more, put the fat nut on top, and returned to the others; and there those aggravating girls sat and took turns throwing little stones at that thing, while one stayed by as a setter-up; and they just popped that nut off, two times out of three, without upsetting the sticks. Pleased as Punch they were, too, and we pretended to be, but weren't. (*Herland* 42)

The three *wooden* sticks in the balancing game may be viewed as representing Pinchot's three principles of utilitarian forest conservation, which, as previously discussed, means that Herlanders have sustainably developed and utilized their natural resources—predominantly their forests—to the maximum extent possible without wasting or degrading the natural resource base in order to equitably provide for all of their citizens (a population size that is limited in number). The nut balanced on the top symbolizes not only food from the forests, but all of the goods and services that forests/lands provide—and may also be seen as representing the centuries of communal effort that have gone into perfecting the food supply in order to provide for all of their society. In procuring and using goods and services (knocking off the nut), it

is important not to upset the balance of the wooden sticks in order to keep the women of Herland in “a balanced plenty,” as Ellador later describes it (*Ourland* 142).

The Foresight Idea

Because the entire civilization balances on the intensively managed forests, Herlanders care for the trees as conscientiously and judiciously as they do for their children. Herland engages a corps of foresters throughout the country to manage them (*Herland* 64). The intimate connection to and importance of the land is instilled in all children from babyhood, who grow up “in a wide, friendly world, and [know] for theirs, from the first.” Forestry is an esteemed calling in Herland, and Ellador, the daughter and granddaughter of “Over Mothers” (or leaders within the community), is one of the best foresters in the country (*Herland* 91). Ellador recounts how she found her calling as a forester at age eleven after catching a rare moth, which she believed was a “big purple-and-green butterfly.” An “insect teacher” identified it as an “obernut moth,” a voracious pest of Herland’s most important nut tree. The entomologist explains that if Ellador had not caught it, this single female moth “might have laid eggs enough to raise worms enough to destroy thousands of our nut trees—thousands of bushels of nuts—and make years and years of trouble for us.” Everyone heartily congratulates young Ellador for her find and she proudly decides “then and there to be a forester” (*Herland* 102).

Engaging children in forestry to foster an ethic of conservation, and to provide the opportunity for learning and outdoor activities was a key part of the agenda for Progressive Era conservationists. As Rimby explains, women’s groups in Pennsylvania around the turn of the century were sponsoring Arbor Day tree-planting activities for school children, long-term conservation projects, and gardening competitions, as well as educating the community in bird conservation and tree culture. In 1906, “women’s clubs had successfully taught the community how to eradicate tent caterpillars,” an undertaking that surely would have met with the Herland insect teacher’s approval (Rimby 20).

The Herlanders have been trying to eradicate the obernut moth for centuries. Just as with other “unwanted” animal species, there is no sentimentality about exterminating female (“mother”) moths. In *Ourland*, Ellador is equally unsympathetic toward unwanted human “parasites” in a democracy such as the United States; it is not clear how she would eradicate them, however.⁴² When Van suggests that she is being “a little severe,” she replies:

It is time you were severe on them, Van. I’m no Buddhist—I’m a forester. When I see trees attacked by vermin, I exterminate the vermin if I can. My business is to raise wood, fruit, nuts—not insects. (*Ourland* 148)

Ellador’s response calls to mind the almost parabolical incident in the Grand Canyon involving Gifford Pinchot, John Muir, and a desert tarantula. The men had been camping and hiking together in the wilderness. Pinchot, the forester, intended to be “severe” on the large and hairy spider, as he recounts in his autobiography: “When we came across a tarantula, he wouldn’t let me kill it. He said it had as much right to be there as we did” (Pinchot, *New Ground* 103).⁴³

A Far Green Country

The three flights in and out of Herland, the “model of heaven,” mark key events in both *Herland* and *Ourland*: the initial discovery of and the expulsion from “Paradise,” as Jeff calls it, and then the welcome back. These flights also provide opportunities to take a fresh look at the “great cultivated park” of Herland as a whole, i.e., seeing the forest, not the individual trees, as Ellador and Van do when they return:

⁴² Gilman takes a much harsher approach in *Mountain*.

⁴³ By the time Pinchot penned his memoirs, later published as *Breaking New Ground* (1947), however, he may well have agreed with Muir about the tarantula. Not long after the publication of *Herland* and *Ourland*, some foresters were beginning to “incorporate into their work new forms of scientific analysis of the environment that stressed the interconnectedness of flora, fauna, and habitat,” notes historian Char Miller. Pinchot began to see the importance of education about wildlife “because what ‘birds and animals do to and in the forest is not yet fully known.’ Caution in handling this “very real and highly interesting and essential part of a forest’ was essential, he concluded, so that its ‘animal citizens’ would not be destroyed” (Miller, *Pinchot* 337).

“O, let’s look,” she begged; “let’s look at the whole of it first—it’s the whole of it that I love!” So we swept in a great circle above, as one might sweep over Holland: the green fields, blossoming gardens, and dark woods, spread like a model of heaven below us. (*Ourland* 191)

The “model of heaven,” or “Wonderland,” as Van calls it, the whole of the landscape, not the parts, represents Herland in its commitment to the greater good of all of its citizens.⁴⁴ It also represents Herland’s philosophy of working collectively to solve problems, or, as Van finally summarizes it: “The important thing is to get people to think and act together” (*Ourland* 167). The opposite, which characterizes the Ourland, is individualism: “hopeless tangle of individual lives, short, aimless threads, as blindly mixed as the grass stems in a haystack.”

Ellador believes in the possibilities to be gained from collective action because her country has a history that has demonstrated the success of that type of effort. This history is not revealed in the park-and-garden loveliness of the Herland forests. The men understand now that, as attractive as the forests may be, aesthetic beauty and space for recreation and contemplation was not their *raison d’être*. The flowers and winding paths and sparkling fountains are the lovely shell over a far more complex and utilitarian land-use system than the men (and readers) initially imagine when they take their first flight over the country.

The flights over Herland, placed as they are in the course of the books, also invite the reader to reflect and compare as we imagine Herland from the air (*Ourland* 62, 71). For example, does knowing how the landscape’s biodiversity has been altered make the “green and fair and flower-brightened country” seem more or less inviting? Does our perspective on the appearance of the “ultra-feminine land” change after learning how it was created and what the forests mean to the people’s survival (*Ourland* 61)? As for the journey through “Ourland,” however, there may be one

⁴⁴ Pinchot asserts that the same “three-fold activity” for education is also necessary for any group of individuals that join together in collective action, citing as an example, a community wherein the citizens cooperate to bring social and economic benefits to all, and to “make their town more beautiful, more healthful, and generally a better place to live in” (Pinchot, *Fight* 32).

question that overshadows the rest: “Given that it has been nearly a century since the publication of *Ourland*, is it surprising that so many of the problems still seem so heartbreakingly familiar?”

In *Herland*, Gilman demonstrates a model of utilitarian forest management that echoes many of Gifford Pinchot’s early forestry views and embodies his three principles of conservation. By contrast, in the companion volume, the dystopian *Ourland*, Gilman shows the sorry state of forests and the natural environment in many places in the world as a result of the overexploitation, greed, waste, inequity, and selfishness. The lesson of *Ourland*, based on the “Journey of Investigation,” may be that wilderness is a luxury humans cannot afford, given our steadfast refusal to live within our natural resource limits, our tendency toward an ever increasing population, and our seeming inability to work together to repair the damage we have done thus far or to restore the land and water on which we depend. *Herland* and *Ourland* together offer a choice: the wise utilization and stewardship of our remaining forests and natural resources so that they serve the needs of the population, as in *Herland*, or the continued destruction of our remaining resources until, like the Herlanders, the alternative is to perish as a species.

Chapter 4. Conclusion: The Forest and the Trees

With *Tarzan of the Apes* and *Herland/With Her in Ourland*, both Edgar Rice Burroughs and Charlotte Perkins Gilman depart in different ways from “the mainstream story of American progress,” as historian Carolyn Merchant outlines in *Reinventing Eden*, that men are the “transforming agents between active female nature and civilized female form. Men are deemed to make the land safe for both women and men by suppressing unpredictable external nature and unruly internal nature” (Merchant, *Eden* 135).

Into the Wild

Climb the mountains and get their good tidings. Nature’s peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop away from you like the leaves of Autumn.”

— John Muir, *Our National Parks*

In *Tarzan*, the story may begin in the conventional way, but it evolves into something more complex and tangled. Clayton and Alice land in the initially feminine-seeming jungle and Clayton begins transforming it on a small scale to make it safe for Alice and their expected child, Tarzan. This rather mainstream beginning meshes with both Merchant’s description and ecofeminist Jonna Higgins’s conventional interpretation of the novel,

Throughout *Tarzan of the Apes*, the feminine jungle is continuously characterized as dark, terrifying, and dangerous to man. It must be conquered in order for him to survive. The linkage of nature with the feminine would be no more than material for idle speculation, were it not for the fact that masculinity and femininity, humanity and nature are placed in hierarchies wherein the first term is more highly valued. (23)

Civilization on a larger scale is brought by Mbonga, his village of pioneering people, and his son, who even slays the ape Kala, the primary “mother” figure in the novel—who rescued and nurtured Tarzan. But here, in case the reader missed the earlier

“high-flung spoor” showing where this story was headed, Burroughs begins to leave a well-marked trail that any human eye can readily translate. Humanity is not valued over nature; it is defeated—doomed by its own mistakes. The male protagonist, Tarzan, does not help further progress, he fights back against it.

Furthermore, Tarzan’s comfort level in the forest has never come from the ability to tame and control nature so that it is never frightening. That it is frightening and dangerous at times is part of why Tarzan loves his forest home. Facing dangers as a little boy, Tarzan “knew no fear, as we know it; his little heart beat the faster but from the excitement and exhilaration of adventure”—these adventures sometimes resulted in a victory over other animals, but often did not (37). Conquering or removing the dangers, taking away the fear, or guaranteeing victory would destroy the wilderness. As an adult, Tarzan reiterates this point in his argument with the European gentlemen before he hunts for the last time alone in the jungle at night:

“There would be little pleasure in hunting,” retorted the first speaker, “if one is afraid of the thing he hunts. . . .”

“I do not exactly understand what you mean by fear,” said Tarzan. “Like lions, fear is a different thing in different men, but to me the only pleasure in the hunt is the knowledge that the hunted thing has power to harm me as much as I have to harm him. If I went out with a couple of rifles and a gun bearer, and twenty or thirty beaters, to hunt a lion, I should not feel that the lion had much chance, and so the pleasure of the hunt would be lessened in proportion to the increased safety which I felt.” (182)

Even when the wilderness *is* dark and terrifying and dangerous to man—and other species—the danger soon passes like a thunderstorm, during which, interestingly, male trees fall, and female nature smiles again:

Ancient patriarchs may crash in a thousand pieces among the surrounding trees, carrying down numberless branches and many smaller neighbors to add to the tangled confusion of the tropical jungle. . . The wind ceased, the sun shone forth—nature smiled once more. The dripping leaves and branches, and the moist petals of gorgeous flowers glistened in the splendor of the returning day. And, so—as Nature forgot, her children forgot also. Busy life went on as it had been before the darkness and the fright. (50–51)

As Vivanco, evoking John Muir, expresses it, in a wilderness setting, “nature represents an independent, even transcendental, place where the unexpected and uncontrollable occurs outside of human will, provoking personally transformative experiences in which an individual can realize his or her spiritual unity with, and make a political commitment to, the wild” (Vivanco 11). That we don’t know what may happen or what we may see or learn about nature—or about ourselves—is part of the reason we seek wilderness.

We, like our forebears also seek wilderness for healing, respite, and enlightenment—values that are often associated with “feminine” wilderness. In *Tarzan*, Kala is a wild creature of the forest and the nurturing caregiver. However, the ultra-masculine Tarzan, who is also a “wild creature” of the forest, also is the nurturer and healer. It is Tarzan who brings both civilized man (D’Arnot) and civilized woman (Jane) into the wilderness where they find healing, enlightenment, and respite. In the wilderness, they both find something unexpected: D’Arnot also finds adventure and a brother; Jane finds a new love of “nature” (to be continued, in the *Return of Tarzan*).

There is something else we seek, something universal that Burroughs managed to write into *Tarzan* (and his other creations). That something propelled millions of boys *and* girls all over the world out of doors and up into the trees—and sometimes far beyond—where we swung on willow branches and filled our lungs to bellow out the fierce challenge of the anthropoid ape (see Abate and Wannamaker).⁴⁵ As earlier noted, adventure and romance novels were especially popular during the early twentieth century as “longings to regenerate ‘boisterous hilarity and animal spirits’ swept through the American middle and upper classes” (Lears 233). Despite its sometimes somber themes *Tarzan* somehow manages to evoke ‘boisterous hilarity and animal spirits.’ Most of all, however, *Tarzan* encapsulates the *freedom* we imagine that we would have if we were as strong, agile, and unencumbered as Tarzan in a

⁴⁵ Jane Goodall credits the *Tarzan* tales as sparking her interest in researching wild chimpanzees in Tanzania; Carl Sagan, Ray Bradbury, and NASA Astronaut and Shuttle Commander Terry Wilcutt all cite the *Barsoom* series as an early inspiration.

primeval forest. By the end of the novel, Burroughs has essentially invited the reader to look beyond the familiar ways of perceiving nature and instead approach it in ways that, if less eloquently and elegantly put, have much in common with John Muir and other nature writers. Historian Donald Worster (2011) writes that no one in nineteenth-century America was more important than Muir in persuading people to move toward a vision of nature as “a higher emotional, spiritual, and aesthetic value—a value in itself.” In twentieth century America, perhaps no one was more influential in capturing the “boisterous hilarity and animal spirits,” i.e., fun and freedom, that beckon from the wilderness than Edgar Rice Burroughs through *Tarzan of the Apes*.

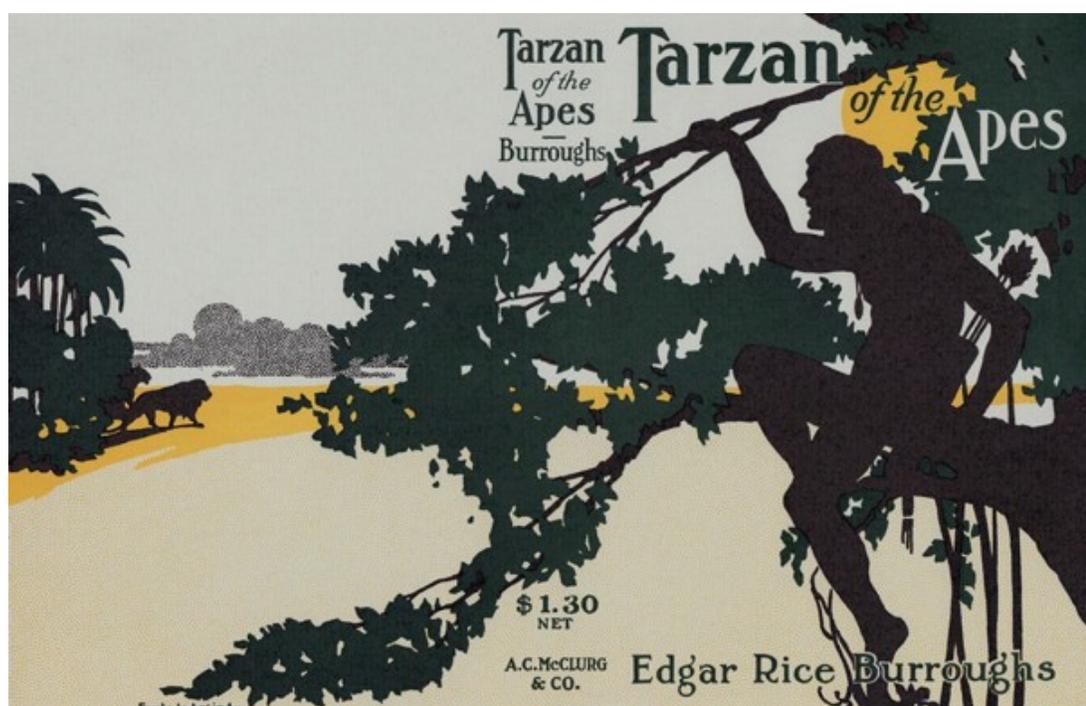


Figure 4.1 Book cover, Tarzan of the Apes (1914). Tarzan is perched casually on a branch gazing out at lions on the African savanna. He blends in with the tree as though he is physically a part of it. Both hands touch branches, and his bare foot appears entwined in a vine. He is naked except for the locket and his quiver of arrows. He appears loose and comfortable, with slouching shoulders that seem to indicate either that he is relaxed or that he can slide off the branch and spring into action if he chooses.

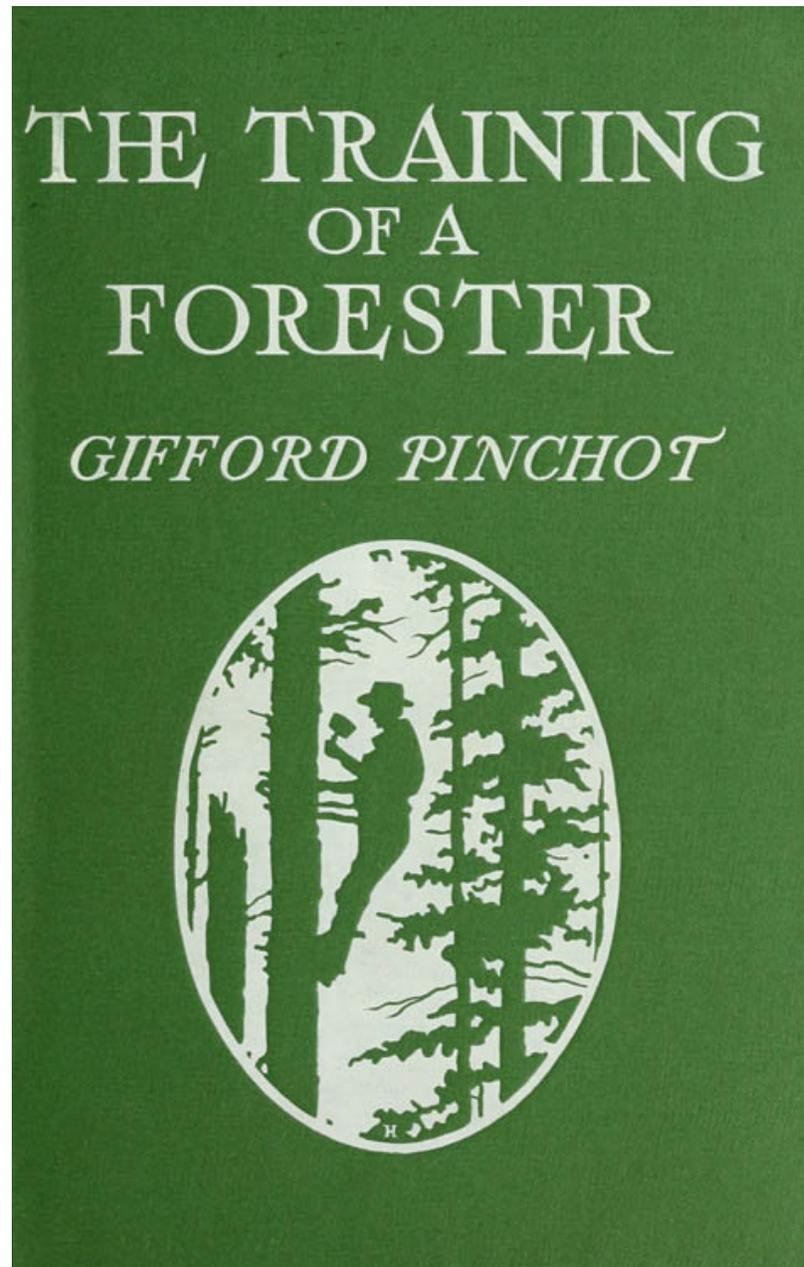


Figure 4.2 Book cover: The Training of a Forester (1914). The forester is upright, leaning out in his safety belt and making minimal contact with the tree. He is fully dressed from hat to boots, and appears to be looking closely at the tool he is using to remove the branches from the trunk rather than at the tree. Note the adjacent snag or standing dead tree on the same side. The living trees with branches are on the opposite side from the forester.

Wonderland

To waste, to destroy our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed.

— Theodore Roosevelt, “Seventh State of the Union Address”

In Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s decidedly non-mainstream, feminist-socialist-humanist *Herland*, women—not men—are the transforming agents. By “suppressing unpredictable external nature and unruly internal nature” (Merchant, *Eden* 135), Herlanders make the land safe for women and children. Women transform *all* of their nation’s tangled, savage nature into a garden that supports a utopian civilization—not out of greed or for material gain but for the benefit of all. Women also tame the “unruly internal nature” of the men who visit Herland, the “ultra-feminine” land.

The most prominent theme in *Herland* apart from the device of the all-female population is that of forests and land use, and the primary female characters of Herland are foresters. We see in both *Herland* and *Ourland* evidence of Progressive Era women’s goals and the extension of the women’s sphere to the out-of-doors and into gardens, parks, and forests through the conservation movement. As historian Susan Rimby explains,

Progressive era conservationists’ motives reflected their class backgrounds. They wanted more than just physically cleaner cities and protected wilderness areas. They sought a total societal transformation that mirrored their own values. (16)

But as previously discussed, a key difference between Gilman and many women in the conservation movement is that Gilman sought not the protection of wilderness for aesthetic and spiritual reasons, but the judicious utilization of wilderness over its preservation, a view that is more commonly associated with men.

Just as the character of Tarzan is an embodiment of the idealized influence of wild nature on humans, the country of Herland represents an idealized vision—for the

early twentieth century—of what might be possible under the most comprehensive extension of utilitarian conservation goals, wherein the benefits stemming from the judicious development and management of *all* of a nation natural resources serve the needs of its human civilization. The heavily managed, plantation forests of Herland represent the restoration of a land that had once reached the end limit of its natural resources, and then was resurrected and restored through the collective efforts of its citizens. Although there is no wilderness, but instead a greatly simplified garden—and there is no individual freedom in the way Americans are accustomed to thinking of freedom—there is fairness and a fully sustainable, socialist society. Furthermore, Herland represents what can be accomplished when mistakes are recognized, even on a national scale, and there is a willingness to try to address them. To twenty-first century eyes, the lack of biodiversity—not to mention the heavy reliance on a single species of nut tree, which has a known insect pest—seems like one such mistake. Yet the demonstrated ingenuity and forethought of the Herlanders argues for a logical solution to that problem should it ever occur.

In *Ourland*, the sequel to *Herland* and the final book in Gilman’s trilogy,⁴⁶ Gilman contrasts the “man-made” world— with its environmental and social problems of the real world in 1916—with the utopian world of Herland. By comparison, the dystopian-feeling “Ourland” is a “civilized,” urbanized, brutal world of environmental degradation, war, poverty, ignorance, and human suffering, where the same mistakes are made over and over all over the planet:

No man who had seen Herland and then come back to our tangled foolishness, waste and pain, could be proud of his man-made world. (*Ourland* 190)

Herland represents the model of sustainable land use: a target for human development on non-wild lands. *Ourland* reflects the *real* environment: our damaged, deforested, degraded environment in which some wilderness remains, but is shrinking fast. Still,

⁴⁶ *Moving the Mountain* (1911), *Herland* (1915), *With Her in Ourland* (1916).

Ourland ends with a hopeful vision, as Van and Ellador enjoy a special place in the forest where, as Ellador explains,

“You can see both ways.” It was on a high knoll and, through the great boughs, a long vista opened to a bright sunlight in the fields below.

The other side was a surprise. The land dropped suddenly, fell to a rocky brink and ended. Dark and mysterious, far beyond, in a horizon-sweeping gloom of crowding jungle, lay—the world.

Although for Gilman, this ending may represent an invitation to service in the “gloom of crowding jungle,” we can instead choose to view it more literally as two ways to see a forest: as a managed landscape that meets the material needs of our civilization and as a wilderness that meets our aesthetic needs.

Parallel and Paradox

No, wilderness is not a luxury but a necessity of the human spirit, and as vital to our lives as water and good bread. A civilization which destroys what little remains of the wild, the spare, the original, is cutting itself off from its origins and betraying the principle of civilization itself.

If industrial man continues to multiply his numbers and expand his operations he will succeed in his apparent intention, to seal himself off from the natural and isolate himself within a synthetic prison of his own making.

—Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire*

A century later, *Tarzan of the Apes* and *Herland/With Her in Ourland* still pose surprising challenges and multiple interpretations—but beyond that, their core themes continue to resonate today. Like the avid readers of *Tarzan of the Apes*, we are still fascinated with wilderness, not only its aesthetic benefits but the adventures and challenges it poses for urbanized humans. Thus, instead of Joe Knowles we have Christopher McCandless (*Into the Wild* 2007) and Timothy Treadwell (*Grizzly Man* 2005) on the big screen, and Bear Grylls (*Man Vs. Wild*) and *Survivor* on television. We have a new book about Marina Chapman, *The Girl With No Name* (2013) who was reportedly raised by capuchin monkeys in the forests of Colombia. But like our

counterparts a century ago, we too often crave virtual adventure over actual adventure or even a casual hike in the wilderness, spending ever more time inside our houses overflowing with the stifling “stuff” of civilization.

We also are still fascinated with the idea of running out of resources and with facing a disaster so enormous that it transforms all of human civilization into a barren wasteland of starvation, warfare, oppression, and worse. Charlotte Perkins Gilman dreamed of just such a world, but, most importantly, *she imagined going there and back again*, a message that is easy to overlook. As such, *Herland* represents not only a utopia, but a post-apocalyptic utopia—and it is thus a hopeful vision.

In his biography of John Muir, environmental historian Donald Worster questions whether “the overpopulated and over-consuming” human race is capable of the “reverence, restraint, generosity, or vision” necessary to move toward a greener society.” Ironically, it is Gilman, who with incredible foresight and pragmatic vision, imagined how a green and sustainable society might actually be possible. Her far green country is a far cry from the wild lands Tarzan’s jungle and of Muir’s Sierra Nevada, or even of Gifford Pinchot’s forests in his later years, but it does contain the most important values that may one day make such a world possible. As Worster argues,

The ultimate destination of the conservation (or environmental) movement that Muir helped found is to transform the United States and other nations into “green” societies where pollution and waste of natural resources will have diminished significantly, where nature will become more than a ruthlessly exploited or even prudently managed “economic resource.”

Gilman would surely applaud that vision—it is the vision of her utopian *Herland*—except for the last four words.

If *Tarzan* represents individual freedom in the wilderness, both *Herland* and *Ourland* are cautionary tales that represent the disastrous consequences of the freedom to use the nature as one sees fit. The utopian forests of *Herland* serve as a potent reminder that humankind cannot be free to live the way we choose if that involves overrunning the carrying capacity of our environment. In *Ourland*, we see what we

already know and recognize, more so now than one hundred years ago: that living by one's primal instincts may result in overpopulation and degradation, to the point where it may be impossible for others to live at all. Thus, competing environmental themes may be found in *Tarzan of the Apes* and *Herland* which embody the competing themes of the Progressive Era. Both value forests, simplicity as opposed to materialism, and physical vigor. However, *Tarzan* celebrates the freedom of the individual in nature, while *Herland* and *Ourland* extoll the virtues of collective effort and control over nature in order to benefit all.

Works Cited

- Abbey, Edward. *Desert Solitaire*. New York: Touchstone, 1968.
- Abbey, Edward. *Desert Solitaire*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988.
- Bederman, Gail. *Manliness & Civilization A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Bernart, Bryan. “Cutting a Trail: How Claire Montgomery’s vision is shaping the FERM Department,” *Focus* (Spring 2013): 6–7. Available online at <http://www.forestry.oregonstate.edu/focus-forestry-%E2%80%93-college-magazine>.
- Bernart, Bryan. “One Thousand Years of Forestry,” *Focus* (Winter 2011): 6–7. Available online at <http://www.forestry.oregonstate.edu/focus-forestry-%E2%80%93-college-magazine>.
- Burroughs, Edgar Rice. *Tarzan of the Apes*, Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1914.
- Burroughs, Edgar Rice. *Return of Tarzan*, Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1915.
- Cronon, William. “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995, 69–90.
- Donahue, Bill. “Naked Joe,” Boston Magazine (April 2013). <http://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/article/2013/03/26/naked-joe-knowles-nature-man-woods/>
- Evans, George S. “The Wilderness,” *The Overland Monthly: An Illustrated Magazine of the West* 43.1 (January 1904): 31–33.
- Focus on Forestry*. 16.2 (Summer 2003). <http://www.forestry.oregonstate.edu/focus-forestry-archives>.
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). “Numbers of forest ‘dependent’ peoples and types of people-forest relations.” 1997.
- Foster, Drew. “The Shakespearean Nature in Comedy.” East Carolina University. 2008. Online: <http://www.ecu.edu/english/TCR/26-6/Fosterlink.htm>
- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. *Moving the Mountain*. New York: Charlton Company, 1911.
- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. *Herland and Other Works by Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (Unexpurgated Edition) Halcyon Press Ltd. Kindle Edition (reprint of 1915 version).

- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. *With Her in Ourland* Westport, CT: Prager, 1997 (reprint of 1916 version).
- Goodrich, Charles. "Stretching Attention: Long-Term Science and Creative Writing," *Terrain.org: A Journal of Built + Natural Environments* 31 (Winter 2013): <http://terrain.org/2013/nonfiction/stretching-attention-long-term-science-and-creative-writing/>
- Higgins, Jonna. "Tarzan of the Apes: An Ecofeminist Perspective." *Investigating the Unliterary: Six Readings of Edgar Rice Burroughs' Tarzan of the Apes*. Ed. Richard J. Utz. Regensburg: Verlag Ulrich Martzinek, 1995, 15–29.
- Holtsmark, Erling B. *Tarzan and Tradition: Classical Myth in Popular Literature* Contributions to the Study of Popular Culture, No. 1. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Kasson, John F. *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America*. Hill and Wang: New York, 2001.
- Knittel, Jenna. "Environmental History and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 'Herland'" *Foundation* 35.96 (2006): 49–67.
- Kolodny, Annette. *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Kolodny, Annette. *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Lampadius, Stefan. "Evolutionary Ideas in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*," *Der andere Conan Doyle: Internationale Tagung am 20. und 21. Mai 2011 in Leipzig*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012, 68–97.
- Landa, Ishay. *The Overman in the Marketplace: Nietzschean Heroism in Popular Culture*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009.
- Lears, Jackson. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920*. New York: Harper Collins, 2009.
- Lowenthal, David. "Forest Stewardship: Marsh, Pinchot, and America Today," Pinchot Institute for Conservation Distinguished Lecture, Presented on April 6, 2001, Washington, DC. Milford, PA: Grey Towers Press, 2001.
- Lund, H. Gyde. "What is a degraded forest?" White paper prepared for FAO. Forest Information Services, Gainesville, VA, 2009. Online at http://home.comcast.net/~gyde/2009forest_degrade.doc .
- Lund, H. Gyde. 2012 revised. "Definitions of old growth, pristine, climax, ancient forests, degradation, desertification, forest fragmentation, and similar terms. [Online publication], Gainesville, VA: Forest Information Services, 2012. Misc. pagination. <http://home.comcast.net/~gyde/pristine.htm>.

- Marsh, George P. *Man and Nature or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867.
- McGerr, Michael. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Merchant, Carolyn. “The Women of the Progressive Conservation Crusade: 1900–1915,” pp. 153–175 in *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Kendall E. Bailes. Lanham: University Press of America/American Society for Environmental History, 1985.
- Merchant, Carolyn. “Gender and Environmental History,” *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1117–21.
- Merchant, Carolyn. *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Merchant, Carolyn. *American Environmental History: An Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Miller, Char. *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism*. Washington, DC: Island Press, 2001.
- Miller, Char. “The Once and Future Forest Service: Land-Management Policies and Politics in Contemporary America,” *Journal of Policy History*, 21.1 (2009): 89–104.
- Muir, John. *Our National Parks*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1901.
- Muir, John. “The Hetch Hetchy Valley,” *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 6.4 (January 1908).
- Murphy, Patrick D. *Literature, Nature, and Other: Ecofeminist Critiques*. Albany: State University of New York, 1995.
- Nash, Roderick, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967; reprint 2001).
- Peiss, Kathy L “American Women and the Making of Modern Consumer Culture,” *Journal for MultiMedia History* 1.1 (1998).
<http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol1no1/peiss.html>
- Pinchot, Gifford. *The Fight for Conservation*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1910.
- Pinchot, Gifford. *The Training of a Forester*. Philadelphia & London: J. B. Lippincott, 1914.
- Pinchot, Gifford. “Time Like An Ever Rolling Stream,” *Fishing Talk*. Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1936; reprint 1993, 233–238.
- Pinchot, Gifford. *Breaking New Ground*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1947.

- Reiger, John F. *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*, Third (revised & expanded) edition. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001.
- Righter, Robert W. *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Rimby, Susan. "‘Better Housekeeping Out of Doors’: Mira Lloyd Dock, the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, and Progressive Era Conservation." *Journal of Women's History* 17.3 (Fall 2005): 9–34.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "Seventh State of the Union Address," Washington, DC, 3 December 1907.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, first published in 1755. Translated by Donald A. Cress. Introduced by James Miller. Indianapolis / Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2011.
- Rutkow, Eric. *American Canopy: Trees, Forests, and the Making of a Nation* [Kindle Edition]. New York: Scribner, 2012.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970; revised & reprint, 1950 edition.
- Taliaferro, John. *Tarzan Forever: The Life of Edgar Rice Burroughs, Creator of Tarzan*. New York: Scribner, 1999.
- Teale, Edwin Way. "Introduction," to John Muir, *The Wilderness World of John Muir: A selection from his collected work*. Edited by Edwin Way Teale. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001.
- Theis, Jeffrey S. *Writing the Forest in Early Modern England: A Sylvan Pastoral Nation*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009.
- Theroux, Paul. "Tarzan is an Expatriate." *Transition* 32 (Aug.–Sep., 1967): 12–19. Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2934617>
- Thoreau, Henry David. "Walking," *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau: Excursions and Poems*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, reprint, 1906, 205–248.
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), and United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF). "Forest definition and extent," *Vital Forest Graphics*. Nairobi: UNEP/GRID-Arendal, 2009.
- Vivanco, Luis A. "The Work of Environmentalism in an Age of Televisual Adventures." *Cultural Dynamics* 16.1 (2004): 5–27.
- Wannamaker, Annette, and Abate, Michelle Ann. "Think Locally, Swing Globally: The Adventures of Tarzan from American Ape Man to International Icon," in

Global Perspectives on Tarzan: From King of the Jungle to International Icon, ed. Annette Wannamaker and Michelle Ann Abate, 1–10. New York: Routledge, 2012.

- Williams, Gerald W. *The USDA Forest Service—The First Century*. FS-650. Washington, DC: USDA Forest Service Office of Communications, July 2000. Slightly revised April 2005. Online here: http://www.foresthistory.org/ASPNET/Publications/first_century/index.htm
- Wilson, Christopher P. “Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s Steady Burghers: The Terrain of Herland,” *Women’s Studies* 12 (1986): 271–292.
- Worster, Donald. *A Passion for Nature: The Life of John Muir*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Zax, David. “A Brief History of House Cats.” *Smithsonian Magazine*, Smithsonian.com, July 01, 2007. www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/brief_cats.html?c. Accessed 18 August 2012.

Works Consulted

- Allen, Paddy, Giulio Frigieri, and Lucy Lamble. “A political history of Africa since 1900.” [guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) and the Gates Foundation. *The Guardian*. London. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/interactive/2011/jul/11/a-political-history-of-africa-interactive>. 11 July 2011. Accessed 18 August 2012.
- Bayers, Peter L. “Frederick Cook, Mountaineering in the Alaskan Wilderness, and the Regeneration of Progressive Era Masculinity.” *Western American Literature* 38.2 (2003): 171–193.
- Beagle, Peter S., ed. *The Secret History of Fantasy*. San Francisco: Tachyon, 2010.
- Bellamy, *Looking Backward 2000-1887*, 1887; reprint, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Boas, Franz. *The Mind of Primitive Man*, revised edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938 (revision of 1911 version).
- Browne, Janet. “Constructing Darwinism in Literary Culture,” *Unmapped Countries: Biological Visions in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, ed. Anne-Julia Zwierlein. London: Anthem Press, 2005, 55–70.
- Casey, Janet Galligani. *A New Heartland: Women, Modernity, and the Agrarian Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Critchley, Peter. *Autonomy, Authenticity and Authority: The Rational Freedom of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. 2003. <http://independent.academia>. E-book.
- Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hilland Wang, 1983.

- Davis, Cynthia J. *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Diehm, Christian. "Predators and Prey: On Hunting and Human Identity." *Wild Games: Hunting and Fishing in North America*. Ed. Dennis A. Cutchins and Eric A. Eliason. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009, 3–25.
- Dombeck, Michael P., Christopher A. Wood, and Jack E. Williams. *From Conquest to Conservation: Our Public Lands Legacy*. Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003.
- Ellsbury, Chris. "B Stands for Bumudomutumuro': Language Gaps in Tarzan of the Apes." *Investigating the Unliterary: Six Readings of Edgar Rice Burroughs' Tarzan of the Apes*. Ed. Richard J. Utz. Regensburg: Verlag Ulrich Martzinek, 1995, 91–109.
- Frumkin, Howard, and Richard Louv, "The Powerful Link Between Conserving Land and Preserving Health," *Land Trust Alliance Special Anniversary Report*, 2007.
- Hartwell, David G. "The Making of the American Fantasy Genre." *The Secret History of Fantasy*. Ed. Peter S. Beagle. San Francisco: Tachyon, 2010, 367–379.
- Hoffmann, Charles Frederick, "Notes on Hetch-Hetchy Valley," *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences* (San Francisco: CAS, 1868), series 1, 3:5, 368–370. Digitized by Dan Anderson, July 2005.
- Hughes, Thomas P. *Human-Built World: How to Think about Technology and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Ickowitz, Amy. "Shifting Cultivation and Deforestation: questioning the dominant narrative in tropical Africa." Conference paper. Riverside: University of California, 2004.
- James, Edward. *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Kincaid, Paul. "American Fantasy 1820-1950." *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*. Ed. Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 36–49.
- Knight, Richard L., and Sarah F. Bates, eds. *A New Century for Natural Resources Management*. Washington, DC: Island Press, 1995.
- Le Guin, Ursula K. "The Critics, the Monsters, and the Fantasists," *The Secret History of Fantasy*. Ed. Peter S. Beagle. San Francisco: Tachyon, 2010, 333–367.
- Lehan, Richard. *Realism and Naturalism: The Novel in an Age of Transition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2005.
- Livingstone, Dr. David, and Others, *Explorations in Africa, Giving a Full Account of the Stanley-Livingstone Expedition of Search, under the Patronage of the New*

- York Herald, as Furnished by Dr. Livingstone and Mr. Stanley.* Union Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois, 1872. Online at World Digital Library, <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/2564/>
- Lund, H. Gyde. "Forest classification: a definitional quagmire," in *The World's Natural Forests and their Role in Global Processes. Khabarovsk, Russia, 15–20 August 1999*. Invited paper 17 p. Online at http://home.comcast.net/~gyde/1999classification_quagmire_russia.doc.
- Lund, H. Gyde. I. "Published Definitions of Forest and Land Use/Cover and Related Terms," in *Annex VII Background Documents. Proceedings – Second expert meeting on harmonizing forest-related definitions for use by various stakeholders. 11-13 September 2002. Rome, Italy*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, 2002.
- Lund, H. Gyde. "Definitions of agroforestry, forest health, sustainable forest management, urban forests, grassland, pasture, rangeland, cropland, agricultural land, shrubland, and wetlands and related terms" [Online publication], Gainesville, VA: Forest Information Services, 2008. Misc. pagination. <http://home.comcast.net/~gyde/moredef.htm>
- Martin, Philip. "Types of Fantasy: Five rings of tradition," *A Guide to Fantasy Literature - Thoughts on Stories of Wonder and Enchantment*. Milwaukee: Crickhollow Books, 2009, 37–66.
- Meyer, John M. "Gifford Pinchot, John Muir, and the Boundaries of Politics in American Thought," *Polity* 30.2 (Winter, 1997): 267–284. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3235219> .Accessed: 25/11/2012 17:46.
- Muir, John. *My First Summer in the Sierra*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.
- Perry, Charles H. (Hobie), Vern A. Everson, Ian K Brown, Jane Cummings-Carlson, Sally E. Dahir, Edward A. Jepsen, Joe Kovach, Michael D. Labissoniere, Terry R. Mace, Eunice A. Padley, Richard B. Rideout, Brett J. Butler, Susan J. Crocker, Greg C. Liknes, Randall S. Morin, Mark D. Nelson, Barry T. (Ty) Wilson, Christopher W. Woodall. *Wisconsin's Forests, 2004*. USDA Forest Service Resource Bulletin NRS-23. Newtown Square, PA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Northern Research Station. 2008.
- Robbins, William G. *Landscapes of Promise: The Oregon Story, 1800-1940*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.
- Runte, Alfred. *National Parks: The American Experience*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

- Smith, Michelle J. "On the Origin of Men: Savage Boyhood in Tarzan of the Apes," *Global Perspectives on Tarzan: From King of the Jungle to International Icon*. Ed. Annette Wannamaker and Michelle Ann Abate. New York: Routledge, 2012, 165–179.
- Stanford, Craig B. "The Predatory Behavior and Ecology of Wild Chimpanzees," *The Hunting Apes: Meat Eating and the Origins of Human Behavior*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Stetson, Charlotte Perkins. *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution*. Boston: Small Maynard & Company, 1898.
- Wiersum, K. Freerk. "200 Years of Sustainability in Forestry: Lessons from History." *Environmental Management* 19.3 (1995): 321–329.
- Wisconsin DNR. "Wisconsin Wildlife Primer: Wildlife Habits and Habitat." Wildlife and your land: a series about managing your land for wildlife. Madison: Wisconsin DNR (Department of Natural Resources). http://dnr.wi.gov/files/PDF/pubs/wm/WM0220_a.pdf. Web. 18 August 2012.
- Yasuoka, Hirokazu. "Long-Term Foraging Expeditions (Molongo) among the Baka Hunter-Gatherers in the Northwestern Congo Basin, with Special Reference to the 'Wild Yam Question,'" *Human Ecology* 34.2 (April 2006): 275–296.

