





# FIRST FIGHT

## Bud Heinselman and the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, 1964–65

KEVIN PROESCHOLDT

**M**INNESOTAN MIRON L. “BUD” HEINSELMAN worked his entire career for the U.S. Forest Service as a forester and ecologist. Through his extensive research, he became one of the nation’s foremost experts in the separate fields of peatlands, forest ecology, and fire ecology. Beyond those quiet scientific accomplishments, Heinselman also played a very public role in leading the citizen effort from 1976 to 1978 to pass the 1978 Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness (BWCAW) Act through Congress, providing new protections for the area.<sup>1</sup>

But a dozen years earlier, Heinselman had cut his advocacy teeth on another campaign to protect the million-acre Boundary Waters Canoe Area (BWCA), as it was then known. From 1964 to 1965, largely out of the public view, he organized conservationists with enthusiasm and a clear vision, helped develop keen political and public-relations strategies, injected ecological arguments for the first time into the BWCA debates, challenged and out-manuevered his former dean at the University of Minnesota, and faced muzzling by his employer. Finally, he consistently and eloquently argued for the protection of this world-class wilderness area. Those experiences, and the skills he developed as a result, helped prepare him for the national storm of controversy over the BWCA in the 1970s that led to the passage of the landmark 1978 law.

Born in Duluth in 1920, Bud Heinselman received his PhD in forestry in 1961 from the University of Minnesota. Among other research, he pioneered the introduction of prescribed burning as a site-preparation technique for

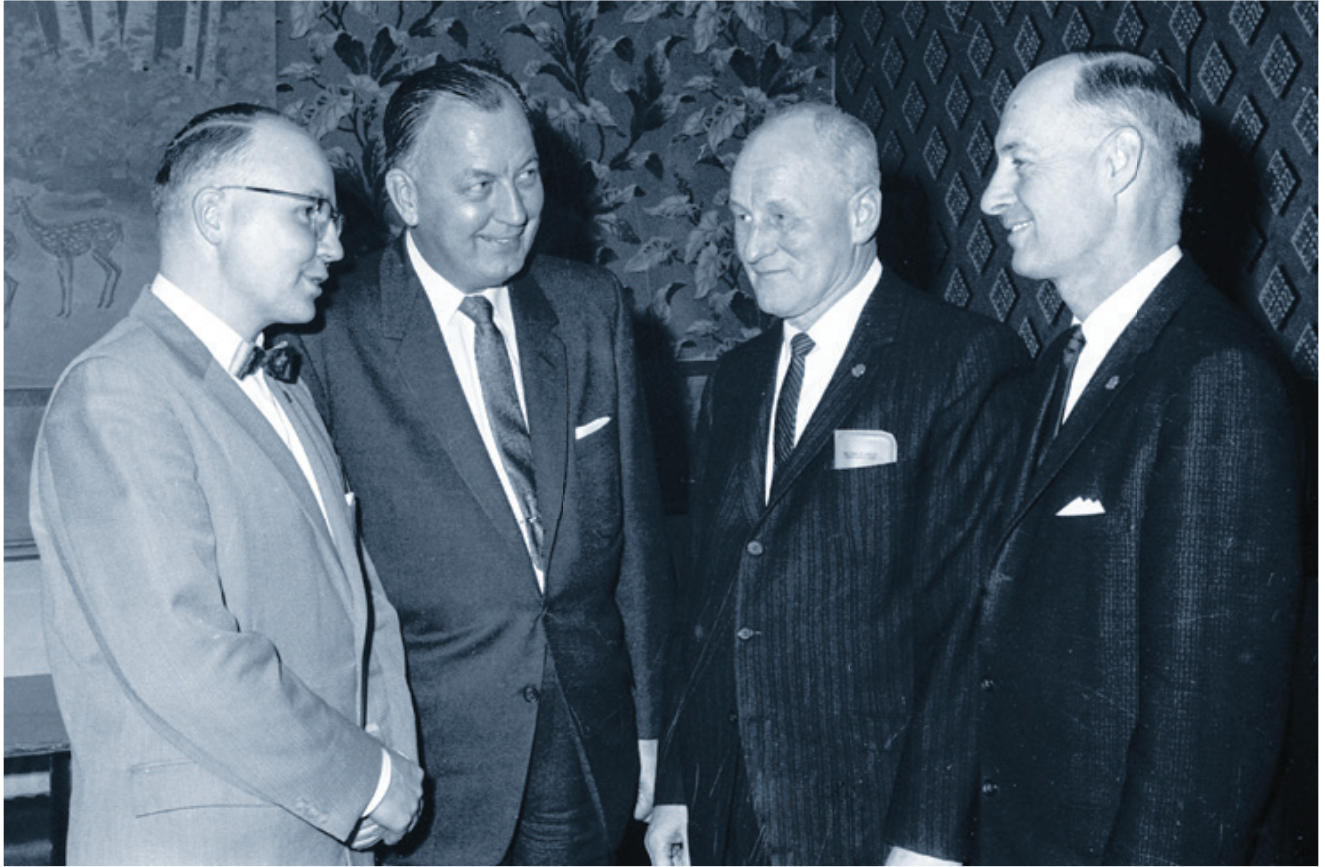
swamp black spruce on peatlands. Heinselman’s doctoral dissertation centered on peatlands ecology in the basin of the former glacial Lake Agassiz in Minnesota; the prestigious scientific journal, *Ecological Monographs*, published these findings in 1963. He was a careful and meticulous researcher, not one to overstate his findings.<sup>2</sup>

By 1960 Heinselman was living in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, continuing research for the Forest Service’s Lake States Forest Experiment Station. He had always been interested in conservation and had joined several non-profit organizations, including the Izaak Walton League of America (IWLA). He became active in the “Ikes,” was president of its Grand Rapids chapter in the early 1960s, and served on the IWLA Minnesota Division’s Wilderness Committee, chaired by his Grand Rapids friend Adolph T. Anderson. Ely author and wilderness ecologist Sigurd F. Olson also served on this committee.<sup>3</sup>

**T**HE IWLA WILDERNESS COMMITTEE, concerned over logging impacts on the BWCA, began discussing issues with Superior National Forest Supervisor Larry Neff in about 1960. The topics included logging roads that crossed canoe-portage trails, “accidental” access points to canoe routes created via these logging roads, the size and scope of timber sales in the BWCA, and more.<sup>4</sup>

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*FACING: Miron (Bud) Heinselman with one of the 1,595 red pines he identified in the oldest virgin forest of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, about 1991*



*From left: Heinselman, president of the local Izaak Walton League chapter, Gov. Elmer L. Andersen, who spoke to the league, and two state-level "Ike" officials, Grand Rapids, December 1961.*

But the Forest Service, long wedded to its policy that allowed logging and motor uses in the BWCA, would not make the substantive changes that conservationists requested. This unwillingness, coupled with conservationists' growing concerns over damage to the BWCA's wild character and their recognition that the pending national Wilderness Bill would allow logging to continue there, led to the creation of Conservation Affiliates in the spring of 1964. This coalition of nine organizations, including the Izaak Walton League, would publicize and focus public attention on these problems.<sup>5</sup>

Elsewhere across the country, other Forest Service primitive areas were being reclassified to wilderness status.<sup>6</sup> This was an administrative process, essentially unrelated to the Wilderness Bill that was nearing the end of its eight-year traverse through Congress. Conservation Affiliates pushed to reclassify the BWCA, too, as a wilderness. The organization produced several glossy brochures depicting logging damage in the BWCA and wrote for help to U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, to whom the Forest Service reported. Freeman (Minnesota's

governor, 1955–61) responded in May 1964 by appointing a study panel to review policies for the BWCA, headed by his former commissioner of conservation, George Selke. This Boundary Waters Canoe Area Review Committee was usually referred to as the Selke Committee.<sup>7</sup>

**T**HE DAY AFTER FREEMAN APPOINTED the Selke Committee, the President's Quetico-Superior Committee (created by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934) convened a forum at the University of Minnesota to discuss the issues swirling around BWCA management.<sup>8</sup> Keynote speaker Dr. Frank H. Kaufert, director of the University of Minnesota's School of Forestry, selectively quoted a 1963 report, "Wildlife Management in the National Parks," by the Leopold Committee, a blue-ribbon panel of ecologists that Interior Secretary Stewart Udall had appointed, "even though doing so may endanger my implied position of neutrality on issues." His selections included "Management may at times call for the use of the tractor, chainsaw, rifle, or flame-thrower but the signs and sounds of such activity



## ***Heinselman . . . for the first time in the BWCA debates, raised the ecological and scientific values of saving the remaining virgin forest from logging.***

should be hidden from visitors insofar as possible.” He concluded by dismissing the value of the BWCA’s forests because, he claimed, the “present forests . . . are second growth stands that are approaching maturity and bear little resemblance to the virgin forests of the area.” He defended logging as a management tool for the area.<sup>9</sup>

Three weeks later, a contrary viewpoint made the news. A chapter of the Society of American Foresters (SAF), a professional association, met in Grand Rapids to discuss the proposed reclassification of the BWCA. One speaker, a forester and research ecologist for the Forest Service, went way out on a limb, calling for an end to logging in the Boundary Waters. That forester was Bud Heinselman.

Heinselman described the area’s wilderness values, estimated that it retained at least 400,000 acres of virgin forest—in direct contradiction to Kaufert’s recent declaration—and, for the first time in the BWCA debates, raised the ecological and scientific values of saving the remaining virgin forest from logging. So startling was it for a professional forester to break with the forestry community over logging in the BWCA that the story ran in newspapers with statewide circulation.<sup>10</sup>

A few days after his talk, Heinselman wrote to Sigurd Olson, urging him to support wilderness reclassification for the BWCA at the upcoming national IWLA convention. “What is needed desperately, in my opinion, is a bold new policy that affirms once



*Majestic red pine in the virgin forest*



and for all that the American people mean to keep this unique area a Wilderness!" Olson did so, and the IWLA voted for reclassification. The convention also authorized a \$10,000 grant from the IWLA's endowment to Conservation Affiliates for its BWCA campaign.<sup>11</sup>

**S**OON, THE SELKE COMMITTEE began holding hearings around the state and accepting comments from the public. Heinselman wrote two statements—main and supplemental—for the Izaak Walton League's Wilderness Committee, both under the name of his Grand Rapids friend and committee chair, Adolph Anderson. Anderson presented them to the Selke Committee at the St. Paul hearing on July 21, 1964. The main statement called for reclassification of the BWCA as wilderness, and the supplement focused on saving and perpetuating its virgin forests.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, Heinselman wrote a personal statement for the Selke Committee but, because of his employment, went through official Forest Service channels to have it approved. This statement, like his SAF presentation, focused on "the values of our remaining virgin forests, and possible approaches to their maintenance." He began with an unusually personal and descriptive introduction, written from Rocky Lake within the BWCA.

When one gets to Rocky L. even the most demanding wilderness lover must recognize that this is what he seeks. The loggers ax and saw have never been here, the campsite on our island is clean and primitive, the unscarred cliffs rise up on all sides, the rocks are heavily laden with the mosses, duff, and fallen timbers of the centuries, no man-made dams have changed the lake level, and the portages are still simple ungraded trails.

He then proceeded to spell out his factual arguments for preserving and maintaining the BWCA's virgin forests, making the case he had presented to the SAF.<sup>13</sup>

Heinselman certainly caught the collective eye of the Selke Committee. His arguments for preserving the area's virgin forests, so at odds with the approach of the forest industry and academic foresters like Kaufert, deserved a second look. The committee invited both Heinselman and Kaufert to present their views at a closed-door session on September 17, 1964. The Forest Service allowed Heinselman to participate—on the condition that he work only through official agency channels on the BWCA controversy, at least until the Selke Committee had issued its report. Not only did Heinselman have to oppose Kaufert (his former dean and a member of his doctoral committee) face-to-face, but he also had to craft his comments carefully, as his Forest Service supervisor, Zigmund A. Zasada, also attended.<sup>14</sup>





**W**HILE HEINSELMAN'S AND THE Conservation Affiliates' statements attracted attention, Kaufert and others with opposing views did not sit on the sidelines.<sup>15</sup> In August 1964 a 17-page booklet, "Controversy in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area," was widely distributed in the conservation community and to media outlets. Written by Burton H. Atwood, secretary-treasurer of the Izaak Walton League of America Endowment, this publication did not represent the League's views, although the implication was that it did. In it, Atwood supported continued logging in the BWCA and opposed wilderness status.<sup>16</sup> Though not publicly known at the time, Chicago attorney Frank B. Hubachek, a friend of Sigurd Olson and law partner of the chair of the President's Quetico-Superior Committee, funded the printing and mailing of 8,500 copies. Hubachek felt that some Conservation Affiliates leaders were rash and inaccurate, and he wanted to slow or block their momentum.<sup>17</sup>

In the fall, Heinselman and his allies suffered further setbacks. First came the report from the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) on alleged logging violations in the BWCA. Secretary Freeman had asked the Inspector General to investigate claims from Conservation Affiliates that the Forest Service had violated its own policies on logging of no-cut zones and shoreline timber. But Conservation Affiliates had erroneously pointed the OIG to logging operations near Phantom Lake in the BWCA's Little Sioux Unit. This was state-owned land, not administered by the Forest Service. The OIG cleared the agency of the charges.<sup>18</sup>

Another unexpected setback came from two Heinselman allies: Clayton G. Rudd of the Natural History Society, one of the Conservation Affiliates, and from the editor of the national Izaak Walton League's magazine. Their actions landed him in hot water with his Forest Service supervisors. On October 2, Rudd had distributed copies of Heinselman's June SAF paper to members of the Natural History Society. Heinselman's supervisor, Zasada, soon sent him an "Administratively Confidential" memo stating he was "really disappointed" in Rudd's action, that it was "directly contrary to our agreement of September 17th, where you were to work through official channels on the B.W.C.A.



*Frank Kaufert (left), Heinselman's dean and soon-to-be opponent, presenting the Senior Forester Award to B. L. Orell of the Weyerhaeuser Sales Company, 1958*

problem." He told Heinselman to send the director of the Lake States Forest Experiment Station "a full explanation from you as to the distribution of this paper."<sup>19</sup>

"I want to answer fully Zig's memo of Oct. 23," Heinselman wrote to the director of the Lake States Forest Experiment Station, "because I do not want our understanding of Sept. 17 to deteriorate. Since our discussion I have refrained from all public efforts in behalf of the B.W.C.A., and I intend to do so until the Secretary of Agriculture has announced his decision." He further explained that Rudd had distributed the paper without his knowledge, and he had only recently discovered that the IWLA's magazine had printed excerpts of the talk without his knowledge or permission.<sup>20</sup>

But Heinselman also told his superiors that he was not going to abandon the BWCA and wilderness issues: "I am committed to the wilderness and National Parks causes, and naturally I plan to keep my personal friendships in these movements. I shall also retain my memberships in the I.W.L.A., the Wilderness Society, and the Nature Conservancy. But I have agreed to make no public statements on the B.W.C.A., and to publish nothing on the present controversy without your permission. I intend to respect this agreement."

The Natural History Society deplores & condemns this needless waste of a scenic resource!!

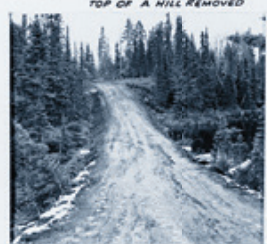
# FINN LAKE

Logging in this area should be stopped now.

"The Beauty of a lake destroyed --- a Wilderness violated"  
FOR WHAT ?



FINN LAKE (LONG, NARROW) A GOOD ONCE LAKE



CLIMB UP ON THE ROAD

EAST  
THE TREES  
HAVE BEEN  
BULLDOZED

EARTH USED  
FOR  
FILL



FINN LAKE DIVIDED - THE CUT OFF END



A SHOCKING SIGHT!  
A road where no road existed before! - 6 feet high.



ACROSS A CANOE ROUTE  
Across a lake - a dead end!



A LACK OF VISION  
Resulting in a needless loss to the nation!



A logging road continuing on its way  
destroying the wilderness forever...

— A complete disregard for Ethical Values —

PHOTOS TAKEN OCT 10<sup>th</sup> 1964

Detail from the Natural History Society's exhibit on the destruction of Finn Lake, 1964

**A** LONG WITH THESE SETBACKS, conservationists discovered a new incursion in the BWCA that vividly highlighted the problems with wilderness logging: the Finn Lake Road. Consolidated Paper Company, with approval of both the U.S. Forest Service and the Minnesota Department of Conservation, had built a new logging road through the long, narrow lake south of the Gunflint Trail in Cook County, bulldozing road fill into Finn Lake and cutting it in half.<sup>21</sup>

The Finn Lake Road received wide media coverage. It galvanized conservationists and boosted their push for wilderness reclassification. Clayton Rudd published a 12-page photo story in *Naturalist* magazine exposing the incident. Joe Penfold of the national Izaak Walton League concluded his November 23 letter to George Selke about the incident, "That the Finn Lake debacle could take place argues conclusively that commercial logging be eliminated from the Boundary Waters."

Rather than attack the Forest Service over the issue, conservationists seemed determined to utilize it to aid them in the larger struggle. Heinselman wrote Penfold in December, "I agree whole-heartedly that we must capitalize on the lessons of the Finn Lake Road, and not waste our energies in recriminations." He asked Penfold to make

personal contacts in Washington to bring matters to a successful conclusion for wilderness reclassification.<sup>22</sup>

Penfold replied that he was working on such contacts and looking toward the forthcoming Selke Committee report. He predicted an increase in the no-cut zone and a decrease of commercial logging. But he also cautioned, "Frankly, I don't see how the Selke Committee can go as far as we want."<sup>23</sup>

Heinselman also wrote to Sigurd Olson, who replied with a handwritten note from Washington, D.C., in early December: "You have posed the problem well and I do believe the Finn Lake episode played right into our hands. I have a session coming up with Sec. Freeman very soon and will do what I can. . . . I met Orville briefly in Rochester where I spoke last Tues. nite and I told him then [the] BWCA ought to be kept clean."<sup>24</sup>

**T**HE SELKE COMMITTEE RELEASED its report to Freeman in mid-December 1964. Penfold's prediction came true. The committee fell far short of reclassification of the BWCA as a full wilderness, but some of its recommendations moved in that direction. The report advocated add-



## **The Finn Lake Road galvanized conservationists and boosted their push for wilderness reclassification.**

ing 150,000 acres to the no-cut zones and keeping another 35,000 acres in the Crane Lake—Namakan Lake area in no-cut status for at least another decade; giving 22,000 acres adjacent to the BWCA special recognition and management to protect their features and complement the BWCA; prohibiting snowmobiles and houseboats; closing “mechanical” or truck portage operations at Prairie Portage and Four Mile Portage upon acquisition of remaining private rights; and beginning a Forest Service research program on forest ecology in the BWCA. On the other hand, multiple-use proponents took heart from recommendations that logging continue in the BWCA outside of the no-cut zones and that motorboats could still operate in proposed Large Motor Zones and Small Motor Zones (but not in proposed No-Motor Zones).<sup>25</sup>

In January 1965 Freeman announced his decisions on the Selke Committee recommendations in what became known as the Freeman Directives. In large part, he accepted the recommendations. But, in a pattern that would continue throughout the coming year, he deferred to the Forest Service, which then weakened those recommendations. Most notably, the Forest Service insisted that snowmobiles be allowed in the BWCA on the same routes as motorboats. The agency would further weaken the Selke Committee recommendations in its draft regulations issued in June and again in the final regulations in December.<sup>26</sup>

Though conservationists generally praised the Selke Report publicly, they recognized its shortcomings privately. Heinselman corresponded frequently with two IWLA leaders in Indiana, James Barrett and Thomas Dustin, both of whom strongly supported wilderness reclassification for the BWCA. In one letter he analyzed the committee’s report, which he thought did not distinguish “forest management in the ordinary commercial forestry sense” from wilderness.

I believe [this] reflects our failure to sell the Selke Committee on the special values present in the remaining virgin forests. The committee was heavily exposed to people from the Minnesota School of Forestry, the U.S. Forest Service, and the Wilderness Research Center (Hubachek’s place) who see the forestry problems of the B.W.C.A. from the ordinary multiple-use managed forest viewpoint. Even Ray Haik, our own present Minnesota Division President, bought this approach! Dr. Kaufert . . . was most instrumental in putting forth these ideas to the Committee, and I know he has little real understanding of wilderness values. . . .

Many of us in Minnesota were also struck by the studious avoidance of “wilderness” in the Selke report, and the substitution of the words “Primitive-Type Recreation Area.” This is no accident. I think it reflects both a Forest Service and Selke Committee attitude that the B.W.C.A. is not, nor should not, be a “Wilderness Area”. . . .

I think the S. Report is trying to say that a true wilderness does not exist. My view is this: Yes, the B.W.C.A. has defects as a wilderness, but it contains several units [each] of more than 100,000 acres area that are true wilderness (never logged, roaded, etc.), and the whole unit can be restored to wilderness status of a rather high order if we so choose.<sup>27</sup>

Bud Heinselman resolved to try to counter Frank Kaufert’s continued advocacy for logging in the BWCA. He also worked to end the dean’s selective quoting of the Leopold Committee report, believing that Kaufert was taking statements completely out of context.

In the fall of 1964, Heinselman had drafted a scholarly



Snowmobilers departing Crane Lake, 1967



article expressing his views on perpetuating virgin forests in wildernesses and national parks, working through Forest Service channels. Early in 1965, he learned that the *Journal of Forestry* would publish his article in June. The article expanded on the themes he had spelled out in his June 1964 SAF paper but with a national focus on wilderness areas and primitive parks. Probably because of sensitivities within the Forest Service, he did not mention the BWCA. Like Kaufert, he quoted from the Leopold Committee report but, unlike him, did so to support retention of natural forests. In advocating for keeping and managing natural, virgin forests, Heinselman wrote a passage probably considered heretical by many traditional foresters.

I envision prescribed burning as the major tool for producing new successions in most wilderness areas. The Leopold Commission [sic] reached the same conclusion. Fire is a natural agent, it removes nothing from the ecosystem, it is likely to be cheap, and it can be used without mechanical scarring of the landscape. I think the day will soon be here when it can be used safely.<sup>28</sup>

In January 1965 Heinselman again tried to counter what he considered Kaufert's misuse of the report in a second bold way. This time, he wrote a three-page letter to all members of the Leopold Committee, coordinating with Sigurd Olson and Stewart Brandborg of the Wilderness Society.

Kaufert and the others maintain that logging (and they mean to include commercial logging with its attendant road construction) is essential to keep an "attractive" landscape in wilderness areas. Note that Kaufert quotes extensively from your report to support his thesis! His points do make sense in the context of commercial forestry, but when they are measured for their relevance to wilderness and park goals, I suspect you are being quoted out of context. This you must judge for yourselves.

These people hope to sell the idea that even near-natural landscapes are impossible ideals, and that prescribed burning is an ugly and unworkable substitute for logging. But if their principles apply to the remaining virgin forests in the extensive management zone of the B.W.C.A., then they also apply to the No-Cut zone, to all other wilderness areas, and to the national parks as well. Thus there is an important principle at stake here! If this reasoning prevails for the B.W.C.A., the logging interests have a firm "foot in the door" in our whole wilderness and parks system!<sup>29</sup>

The committee chair, Dr. A. Starker Leopold, with whom Heinselman continued to correspond until at least May 1965, soon wrote back, confirming Heinselman's view: "Certainly it appears at first glance that Mr. Kaufert has completely misconstrued the intent of our National Parks Report when he concludes that we would support







*Izaak Walton League members, 1960s. From left: Harry Frank, Sigurd Olson, Adolph Anderson, Bud Heinselman, and Harry Wold.*

logging in a dedicated wilderness area or any other type of natural reserve. This is exactly the diametric opposite of our intention.”<sup>30</sup>

Leopold wrote to Kaufert in May, politely pointing out their differences. Regarding the BWCA, Leopold said, “If, on the other hand, the management program is to emphasize wilderness values, then many of the specifics that you propose would undermine those very values.” Heinselman had finally out-manuevered his former dean, and Kaufert ceased misconstruing the report during the remainder of the BWCA debate.<sup>31</sup>

**A**S 1965 WORE ON, Heinselman continued his active, behind-the-scenes work on the BWCA with the Izaak Walton League. He attended strategy meetings, made phone calls, and corresponded at length with IWLA leaders about the struggle. More than ever before, he needed to keep his BWCA work covert, since the Forest

Service began considering him for the job of conducting ecological studies of the BWCA’s forests, one of the Selke Committee’s recommendations that the agency did not weaken.

By March Heinselman was beginning to look beyond the outcome of the Freeman Directives, as one of his many long letters to Jim Barrett, one of the Indiana Ikes leaders, shows.

We must also decide—in consultation with other conservation organizations—just what specific steps must be taken to get full wilderness status for the B.W.C.A. My own appraisal is that an Act of Congress must now be obtained to give the B.W.C.A. the same status as all other Wilderness Areas covered by the Wilderness Act. I think we have gone as far as possible for the moment with the Sec. of Agriculture. . . . If this is so, then either amendment of the Wilderness Act, or of the Shipstead-Newton-Nolan Act seems the logical approach.<sup>32</sup>



# Destroy This? **NEVER!**



Yes, we are deeply concerned about the canoe country. Many people love it and yet they do not realize what a priceless treasure we have in it; it is a matchless, a unique possession, which nothing can replace once it is gone. There is nothing just like its wild loveliness. We would as soon shatter the Hope diamond into small media-

cre bits as to spoil this country with resorts and airplane noise and confusion. We need to keep this tiny residual fraction of what was once a mighty wilderness as a primitive area where we can find clarity, solitude and peace.

FLORENCE PAGE JAQUES

## *Friends of the Wilderness*

FRANK ROBERTSON, President

BILL MAGIE, Secretary-Treasurer

*Friends of the  
Wilderness  
poster, about  
1960, with art  
by Francis Lee  
Jaques*



## ***“A totally new concept of wilderness management can emerge from our efforts.”***

In June Heinselman wrote to another Indiana Ike friend, Tom Dustin, regarding the proposed Forest Service BWCA wilderness ecology research program, Dustin's lobbying to secure funding for it, and his promotion of Heinselman for the position.

I would welcome that opportunity, Tom, because a totally new concept of wilderness management can emerge from our efforts. We see many new problems that demand careful scientific study, and there will be a chance to pioneer in building a whole new scientific foundation for Wilderness and National Park programs. It seems a remarkable opportunity to contribute to the wilderness programs that mean so much to me. Two years ago I had no idea that such a thing might develop, but destiny has brought my professional interests and our wilderness programs together, and I desperately want to participate in the new effort!

I have made my ideas known to the appropriate people in our Experiment Station, and I am being con-

sidered. As you might guess, however, the obstacle is my participation in the BWCA controversy. There are many who say I could not be effective nor objective because of this involvement. This is a serious charge, and I must overcome it.<sup>33</sup>

Others beyond the Izaak Walton League also lobbied for Heinselman's appointment. In early June Sigurd Olson recommended him to the director of the Lake States Forest Experiment Station. Olson also wrote to Heinselman later that month with the news that the IWLA National Convention voted unanimously to transfer \$25,000 from its endowment to the League's Minnesota Division for the BWCA fight. This time, Frank Hubachek in Chicago could not block the transfer of the funds.<sup>34</sup>

The League needed this money more than ever. At the end of June, the Forest Service released its draft BWCA regulations, which significantly retreated from the Freeman Directives. Motorboat use was expanded. Motor-size zones were eliminated in favor of merely listing routes where motorboats could travel. Snowmobiling and the Four Mile and Prairie truck portages would remain. Logging would continue in the areas set aside for the 1975 additions to the no-cut areas. Exploration for minerals would be permitted.<sup>35</sup>

The Forest Service's adamant determination to keep the Boundary Waters from achieving wilderness status





came through clearly in its internal deliberations over the truck portages. Regional Forester George S. James, for example, wrote to the chief of the Forest Service: “[There must be] a more reasonable solution so that all water-oriented wilderness interests may be served equitably. The use associated with Basswood Lake historically has included big boats, small boats and canoes. Some of us believe big boats should be permitted for all time. The logical conclusion then is that mechanical portages must be a part of the scene.”<sup>36</sup>

Still, the logging and multiple-use organizations mounted a fierce campaign against even these weakened regulations. Among other action was a protest parade and rally in Ely in July, when Orville Freeman and Lynda Bird Johnson (daughter of the sitting president) dedicated the new Voyageur Visitor Center after taking a canoe trip in the BWCA.<sup>37</sup>

Using the endowment funds, the Izaak Walton League produced and mailed a six-page booklet encouraging members and the public to submit written comments to the Forest Service before the comment deadline of October 1. The booklet urged members to support Freeman’s January directive, “which moves toward fuller wilderness protection of the BWCA,” to oppose the expanded motorboat routes in the draft regulations, support further research in the BWCA, and insist that the 1975 no-cut additions not be logged.<sup>38</sup>

The League’s Joe Penfold asked for Heinselman’s expertise in shaping the publication and used most of his suggestions. Heinselman closed a letter to Penfold, “I sure hope that Orville and the key people in my own outfit take a hard look at your article, and then decide to hold firm on the original January 12th regulations! In the long run I am absolutely convinced that this is in the public interest. I sure want my kids and my grandchildren to know the BWCA as I knew it!”

Letters poured in to the Forest Service, which acknowledged that 95 percent of the 1,336 missives it received on the draft regulations favored more stringent wilderness protections. But the agency was so determined to prevent wilderness status for the BWCA that it announced publicly it would disregard the dominance of pro-wilderness letters.<sup>39</sup>

Despite extensive efforts by the IWLA and other conservation organizations, the Forest Service’s final regulations in December 1965 watered down the draft regulations even further. While eliminating one proposed motorboat route, for example, the final regulations added seven more within the wilderness.<sup>40</sup>

By year’s end, the best news for wilderness supporters was Heinselman’s appointment to the BWCA ecology research team. This would be the Forest Service’s first direct wilderness ecosystem-management research effort in the nation. Bud Heinselman began to look ahead to a program





that would become the capstone of his stellar ecological research career.<sup>41</sup>

**I**N JANUARY 1966 HEINSELMAN PREPARED to move to St. Paul and begin ecological studies of the BWCA's forests. He responded to earlier letters from his Ikes allies in Indiana with an analysis of the two-year BWCA campaign and advice as to what conservationists should do next.

But for the short run at least, we must now take our case entirely to the American People and their elected representatives in Congress. This is where League Leaders like yourselves can now be most effective, I think. We have lost part of our case with Freeman and his foresters—and we seem to have no further recourse there. But if the American People will speak through Congress, then both Freeman and the Forest Service will listen! . . .

If the political climate seems right, we should simultaneously begin working in Congress for a motor and snowmobile ban, and, if possible, a further expansion of the No-Cut Zones. If we are advised that such legislation would fail if introduced immediately, then we should take our case to the people with a strong educational campaign to tell them the truth about what we did and did not get out of the Freeman Directive[s], and to build

public support for legislation. I am still convinced that we could get such legislation if we tell our story clearly to enough people, and then get them to support Congressional action!<sup>42</sup>

Heinselman followed his own advice a decade later. He took early retirement from the Forest Service in 1974 and helped form the nonprofit Friends of the Boundary Waters Wilderness in 1976. He served for nearly three years as its unpaid chairman and mounted a national grassroots educational and political campaign to build public support—even in northern Minnesota—to better protect the area. And with others, he developed a successful nationwide campaign to pass new legislation through Congress to give nearly full wilderness status to his beloved Boundary Waters Canoe Area in 1978.<sup>43</sup>

That success in the 1970s would not have happened without the significant leadership and enormous contributions of Bud Heinselman. And Heinselman could not have provided that leadership without the experiences and skills he developed during his first BWCA fight in 1964–65. □



## Notes

1. Kevin Proescholdt, Rip Rapson, and Miron Heinselman, *Troubled Waters: The Fight for the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness* (St. Cloud: North Star Press, 1995).

2. M. L. Heinselman, "Forest Sites, Bog Processes, and Peatland Types in the Glacial Lake Agassiz Region, Minnesota," *Ecological Monographs* 33 (1963): 327–74.

3. See, for example, *Grand Rapids Review*, Dec. 14, 1961, 1, with photo showing Heinselman as president introducing Gov. Elmer L. Andersen at a chapter meeting.

4. See, for example, IWLA Minnesota Division to Forest Supervisor L. P. Neff, Feb. 17, 1960 (on the deletion of lands from the Roadless Area in 1946 and construction of new access roads to canoe routes), box 6, Miron L. Heinselman Papers, Minnesota Historical Society (MNHS). Heinselman drafted this letter. Other conservationists, such as Ely canoe outfitter Bill Rom, also spoke out against logging in the area from the early 1950s through the 1960s; *Minneapolis Tribune*, Apr. 29, 1951, 3, and Bill Rom, "Latest Threat to the Canoe Country," *Naturalist* 14 (Winter 1963): 30–32.

5. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Mar. 22, 1964, 10H,

Apr. 19, 1964, 1H, 7B; *Duluth Tribune*, May 17, 1964, 1.

6. In 1960, for example, the Forest Service had reclassified the primitive areas at Wheeler Peak, New Mexico, Bridger, Wyoming, and Glacier Peak, Washington; Mark Harvey, *Wilderness Forever: Howard Zahniser and the Path to the Wilderness Act* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 220. See also *Living Wilderness* 74 (Autumn—Winter 1960–61): 35–40.

7. The Wilderness Act (Public Law 88-577, 16 U.S.C. 1131-1136) became law on September 3, 1964. It included the BWCA as an original unit of the National Wilderness Preservation System, but special language in section 4(d)(5) allowed logging and motorboat use to continue there. On the Selke Committee, see box 6, Heinselman papers; Proescholdt, Rapson, and Heinselman, *Troubled Waters*, 16–19.

8. Quetico-Superior Committee members included both private citizens and federal agency staff. By 1964 Chicago attorney Charles S. Kelly was its chair; Sigurd Olson served as a consultant. Olson spoke in favor of ending logging in the BWCA, but the committee officially supported the Forest Service position favoring logging.

9. F. H. Kaufert, "The Issues of the Border Waters Canoe Area Controversy," *Quetico-Superior Institute [Papers]*, May 22, 1964, 2–5, copy in MNHS. See also *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 23, 1964, 12.

10. M. L. Heinselman, "Wilderness in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area?—A Challenge to our Profession," Northwest Minnesota Chapter, Upper Mississippi Valley Section, Society of American Foresters, Grand Rapids, June 23, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers; *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 13, 1964, 16; *Minneapolis Star*, June 13, 1964, 1B. Heinselman's later research more accurately pegged the unlogged portions of the BWCAW at 540,000 acres.

11. Bud Heinselman to Sig Olson, June 17, 1964, and Olson to Heinselman, July 1, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers.

12. "A Statement in Support of Reclassification of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area to Wilderness Area Status, by Wilderness Committee, Minnesota Division, Izaak Walton League of America, Adolph T. Anderson, July 1964"; "Supplemental Statement in Support of Reclassification . . ."; Heinselman's handwritten drafts of both statements—all in box 6, Heinselman papers.



13. M. L. Heinselman to George S. James [Forest Service], July 21, 1964, box 10, Heinselman papers.

14. M. L. Heinselman to M. B. Dickerman, Oct. 30, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers. See also Proescholdt, Rapson, and Heinselman, *Troubled Waters*, 16.

15. Kaufert published a letter in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, Aug. 23, 1964, 3C, and "Controversy in Canoeland," *American Forests*, Oct. 1964, 24–27, 78–82, using his well-worn quote of the Leopold Committee report. He also attacked Heinselman's approach to saving the BWCA's virgin forests in his statement to the Selke Committee: "The prospect of letting nature take its course this way makes me shudder"; *Minneapolis Star*, July 22, 1964, 8B.

16. Burton H. Atwood, "Controversy in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area," Aug. 1964, copy in MNHS. The Izaak Walton League continuously disavowed Atwood's report. See, for example, Adolph Anderson to the editor, *Minneapolis Star*, Nov. 23, 1964, 12A.

17. F. B. Hubachek to Charles S. Kelly, memo, Aug. 13, 1964, in "Atwood Study and Mailing of Same," box 123.F.8.8F, President's Quetico-Superior Committee Records, MNHS. Hubachek also reported that Atwood would "sit on the \$10,000 appropriation" from the IWLA endowment for the BWCA campaign "but may need help." Hubachek to Kelly, Aug. 17, 1964, and Kelly to Hubachek, Aug. 26, 1964, discuss distribution through the IWLA central list, the President's Quetico-Superior Committee, and by Atwood personally.

18. Brief of the Inspector General's Report, found in the supplemental reports with the Report of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Review Committee, Dec. 15, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers.

19. Z. A. Zasada to M. L. Heinselman, Oct. 23, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers.

20. Here and below, M. L. Heinselman to M. B. Dickerman, Oct. 30, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers. See also M. L. Heinselman, "Woodmen: Sit Up and Listen!" *Outdoor America*, Nov. 1964, 8.

21. Here and below, "Finn Lake: The Beauty of a Lake Destroyed—A Wilderness Violated," *Naturalist* 15 (Fall 1964): 16–27. Penfold's letter was reprinted in *Minneapolis Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1964, 1H, and in *Naturalist* 15 (Winter 1964): 11.

22. M. L. Heinselman to Joseph W. Penfold, Dec. 2, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers.

23. Joe Penfold to Bud Heinselman, Dec. 4, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers.

24. Sig Olson to Bud Heinselman, Dec. 5, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers.

25. Report from the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Review Committee to Orville Freeman, Dec. 15, 1964, box 6, Heinselman papers. The report condemned the Finn Lake Road incident but allowed logging to continue beyond the no-cut zones.

26. Freeman Directives, box 6, Heinselman papers; Proescholdt, Rapson, and Heinselman, *Troubled Waters*, 17–19.

27. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1965, 1H, 8H. See also Conservation Affiliates, "An Analysis and Evaluation of Secretary Freeman's Directive," *Naturalist* 16 (Spring 1965): 27–32; Bud Heinselman to Jim Barrett, Feb. 7, 1965, box 6, Heinselman papers.

28. M. L. Heinselman, "Vegetation Management in Wilderness Areas and Primitive Parks," *Journal of Forestry* 63 (June 1965): 440–45.

29. Miron L. Heinselman to A. Starker Leopold et al., Jan. 5, 1965, box 3, Heinselman papers.

30. A. Starker Leopold to Miron L. Heinselman, Jan. 13, 1965, and Heinselman to Leopold, Apr. 6, 1965, box 3, Heinselman papers. Starker was a son of famed ecologist and author Aldo Leopold.

31. A. Starker Leopold to Frank H. Kaufert, May 7, 1965, box 3, Heinselman papers. Kaufert continued to misconstrue the Leopold Committee report in other areas, however. In 1967 he used the "chainsaw" quote when opposing the proposed Voyageurs National Park. See *UMV Forster* (newsletter of the Upper Mississippi Valley section of SAF), Jan. 1968, 2–3. Kaufert supported logging in the BWCA well into the 1970s.

32. Bud Heinselman to Jim Barrett, Mar. 7, 1965, May 22, 1965, box 6, Heinselman papers.

33. Bud Heinselman to Tom Dustin, June 9, 1965, box 6, Heinselman papers.

34. Sigurd Olson to Dave King, June 1, 1965, and Sigurd Olson to Bud Heinselman, June 23, 1965, box 6, Heinselman papers.

35. Box 6, Heinselman papers; Proescholdt, Rapson, and Heinselman, *Troubled Waters*, 18–19.

36. George S. James to Chief of the Forest Service, May 24, 1965, copy in author's possession.

37. *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 25, 1965, 1A, 14A (two articles).

38. Here and below, IWLA, "The Boundary Waters Canoe Area," Sept. 1965, and Bud Heinselman to Joe Penfold, Aug. 15, Aug. 30, 1965—both box 6, Heinselman papers. See also Joe Penfold, "The Boundary Waters Canoe Area: History-Management-Extension," *Outdoor America*, July 1965, 6–11.

39. Bill Rom to Supervisor Neff, Sept. 11, 1965, box 7, Heinselman papers; *Duluth News-Tribune*, Oct. 17, 1965, 3. The Forest Service announcement prompted an angry letter to the editor from Paul Clement of Conservation Affiliates, charging that the agency "set about to interpret the orders of the secretary of agriculture in a manner to completely undo the work of the Selke committee and orders to save the Boundary Waters Canoe Country"; *Minneapolis Tribune*, Nov. 3, 1965, 4.

40. Box 6, Heinselman papers; Proescholdt, Rapson, and Heinselman, *Troubled Waters*, 19.

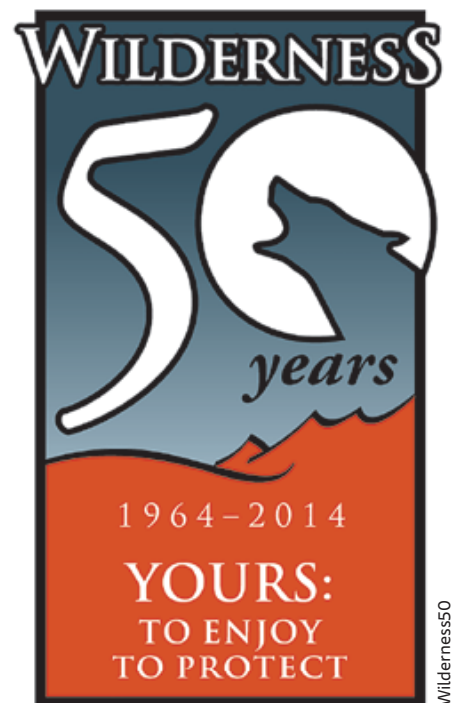
41. Among Heinselman's significant contributions are: "Fire in the Virgin Forests of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, Minnesota," *Quaternary Research* 3 (1973): 329–82; "Fire Intensity and Frequency as Factors in the Distribution and Structure of Northern Ecosystems," in *Fire Regimes and Ecosystem Properties*, ed. H. Mooney

et al., USDA Forest Service, Gen. Tech. Report WO-26, 1981, 7–57; "Fire and Succession in the Conifer Forests of Northern North America," in *Forest Succession: Concepts and Application*, ed. D. C. West, H. H. Shugart, and D. B. Botkin (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1981), 374–405. See also Miron L. Heinselman, *The Boundary Waters Wilderness Ecosystem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). Heinselman died in 1993.

42. Bud Heinselman to Thomas E. Dustin and James M. Barrett, Jan. 9, 1966, box 6, Heinselman papers.

43. See Proescholdt, Rapson, and Heinselman, *Troubled Waters*.

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