

**The Nationalist (Re)Turn to National Parks: A Critical Appraisal of the Roots**

POLS 697

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## **Abstract**

Domestic visitation demographics dub America's national parks as homogenously white. This paper argues that current quantitative explanations to this puzzle fail to take into consideration the historical roots of the environmental conservation movement and how those effects are translated today. President Theodore Roosevelt, Madison Grant, and John Muir have a history of advocating for policy and ideological positions that were exclusionary to racial minorities and immigrants, setting a precedent of exclusion. Contemporary white nationalist groups are reclaiming this ideology by establishing public land as neo-white gathering spaces under the guise of environmentalism. Furthermore, domestic attacks from right-wing extremists have been on the rise since the attacks of September 11, 2001. There have been incidents the past few years that suggest environmentalism provides an additional motive to radical right-wing extremists. This paper hopes to gain a better understanding of the links between (1) environmentalism and race and (2) environmentalism and far-right extremism by analyzing the homogeneity of national parks and the exclusionary roots of the conservation movement. Furthermore, if there is a way the adverse effects can be mitigated, the Environmental Justice movement may provide solutions.

## Introduction

When Yellowstone was Congressionally established as the first national park in 1872, it was designated as “a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.”<sup>1</sup> Nearly 150 years since its founding, one could reasonably assume that the National Park Service (NPS) would push a liberal-progressive narrative of diversity and inclusivity for park-goers and employees. While their websites may make this claim, research dating back to the early 1960s show that national park visitors do not reflect the demographic face of America. The summer of 2019, I experienced this firsthand (appendix 1). Embarking by myself on the 28-hour drive to live and work at Yellowstone for the next three months was challenging—I did not know anyone and, barring a few exceptions, was unsure of what to expect. I had hoped that it would be a memorable experience and that I would meet people from all over the world—both held true. The international presence for employees and visitors was immense; roughly half of the tour busses making their rounds read “Tour Asia” on the sides. Being exposed to so many international communities and differing languages, it was reasonable to assume that the park was a hub of diversity. When analyzing the international demographics, this held true, but was not the case when looking domestically. The location where I resided, Canyon Village, was home to 400 employees at the peak of the season and the demographics were anything but diverse. Looking back, the number of domestic black, Asian, or Hispanic employees was single digits. What about Yellowstone attracted such a homogeneous employee base, and what can be done to make them more inclusive?

The demographic composition of the United States is increasingly diverse, but racial/ethnic minority groups are substantially underrepresented in visiting national parks. A national survey conducted by Xiao et al. shows that 36 percent of white Americans not of Hispanic origin had visited a national park within the previous two years. For Hispanic

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<sup>1</sup> “Quick History of the National Park Service (U.S. National Park Service).” n.d. Accessed September 12, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm>.

Americans, the figure was 27 percent, and only 13 percent for African Americans. The survey identified multiple reasons for this difference that include high travel costs, lack of information about parks, and being unsure of what to do once in them. Focus groups identified additional reasons, such as the feeling that parks can be uncomfortable places to be when most visitors are of another race.<sup>2</sup> This is concerning for the future and well-being of the national parks because the demographics that are not traditional park-goers are driving population growth in the U.S. On the other hand, environmental degradation due to overcrowding has become one of the primary concerns of NPS, who are put in a difficult predicament. Thus, a decline in visitation may be welcome.

How should NPS appropriately address overcrowding while also holding to core values of (1) preserving the scenery, natural and historic objects, and wildlife within, and (2) to provide for the enjoyment of those things by current and future generations?<sup>3</sup> Increased visitation and exposure to wilderness may seem beneficial, but in reality it represents a paradigmatic case of too much of a good thing.<sup>4</sup> The issue is intensified when it is recognized that there is no overarching solution. Overcrowding does not affect every park, nor are the levels of overcrowding similar in the parks that are. Like any ecosystem, national parks have a finite carrying capacity for any species, including humans.<sup>5</sup> The previous decade has brought on a dramatic increase of visitation, but these figures peaked in 2016 and have steadily declined since.<sup>6</sup> There is only speculation as to why this has occurred. NPS's recent centennial celebration of their founding was heavily marketed and offered multiple "free visitation days" throughout the year. Others correlate the

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<sup>2</sup> Xiao Xiao et al., "Effects of Transportation on Racial/Ethnic Diversity of National Park Visitors," *Leisure Sciences* 39, no. 2 (March 4, 2017): 126–43, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2016.1151846>.

<sup>3</sup> "National Park Service Organic Act," Pub. L. No. 535 (1916).

<sup>4</sup> Abby Timmons, "Too Much of a Good Thing: Overcrowding at America's National Parks," *Notre Dame Law Review* 94, no. 2 (2019). 986.

<sup>5</sup> The carrying capacity of a biological species in an environment is the maximum population size of the species that the environment can sustain, given the food, habitat, water, and other necessities available in the environment.

<sup>6</sup> "Visitation Numbers (U.S. National Park Service)," 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/visitation-numbers.htm>.

visitation surge to the rise of social media sites, such as Instagram.<sup>7</sup> Individuals who would otherwise be unaware of the landscape of specific parks are now exposed through friends and algorithms that they may not have any control over. Regardless of the reasons for the hike in visitation, the demographics remained largely homogeneous. Why are the demographics not reflective of the U.S. population, and what factors were involved in their shaping? Or, simply put, why are the national parks so white?

Quantitative explanations for domestic national park homogeneity fail to take into consideration the historical roots of the conservation movement and how those effects are translated today. President Theodore Roosevelt, Madison Grant, and John Muir have a history of advocating for policy and ideological positions that were exclusionary to racial minorities and immigrants. Contemporary white nationalist groups are reclaiming this ideology by establishing public land as neo-white gathering spaces and advocating for a white ethno-state—under the guise of environmentalism. Furthermore, attacks from right-wing extremists have been on the rise since the attacks of September 11, 2001. There have been incidents the past few years that suggest environmentalism is being blended into the motive of such acts. I posit that an accurate critical analysis of the white homogeneity of national parks is impossible without considering the exclusionary roots of the conservation movement; this ideology is being reclaimed to advocate for a contemporary white ethno-state in the U.S. and has broader implications to global right-wing radicalism.

While the national park demographic figures may be surprising to some, they become more comprehensible when taking into consideration the history of the conservation movement and the lack of public policy to address it. Section one will center on the claiming of public land by contemporary white nationalist groups and the connection to “blood and soil,” which was popularized by Nazi Germany. Section two examines the dogmatic ideologies of several key

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<sup>7</sup> Alexandra Vollman, “Overcrowding and Underpaying at National Parks,” *Modern Conservationist*, 2019.

figures during the turn of the twentieth century. By establishing the historical context of the relationship between racism and environmentalism, my hope is to show that this problem has been systemic and that the previously outlined national park demographics are reflective of this, and not entirely surprising. In Section Three, I examine the contemporary rise of right-wing radicalism fueled by ecological concerns and xenophobia. Terrorism has undergone significant changes throughout the past century—the latest wave seeing the dramatic rise of eco-terrorism and anti-immigrant terror. Linking the arguments in section one, these violent acts are grounded in the same ideology as the turn of the twentieth century and show the transformation of contemporary radicalism.

### **Blood and Soil**

With the White House looming in the background, Jason Kessler took the arduous walk to the center of Lafayette Square. Stepping up to the podium he was received with ridicule and jeering from thousands of angry onlookers. Hoping for a coalition of four hundred strong, Kessler looked around to find only twenty white male supporters by his side. On the anniversary of the first Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, that drew hundreds of supporters and ended in bloodshed, Unite the Right II rally flopped miserably a year later in the nation's capital. Both events were widely reported as gatherings of white supremacists and neo-Nazis, which were attempting to unify the movement in the United States.

The first demonstration boasted several influential right-wing figures including Richard Spencer and Christopher Cantwell—both of whom were not in attendance for the second.<sup>8</sup> As far as media attention is concerned, Charlottesville was considered a success. Roughly 100 protestors took to the streets chanting “You will not replace us!” and “Blood and Soil,” a callback to the phrase popularized by the Nazi Party. Garnering unprecedented attention, Kessler took it upon

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<sup>8</sup> Brett Barrouquere, *Hatewatch*, Southern Poverty Law Center (August 7, 2018).

himself to organize a rally that he hoped would be similar. Initially, he was denied the application to duplicate the event in Charlottesville (see appendix 2)—choosing Washington D.C. as the alternative. The National Park Service (NPS) approved the request, with spokesperson Mike Litterst announcing that “public safety and the protection of park resources are taken into consideration” and that the agency does not “consider the content of the message presented.”<sup>9</sup> They also approved permits for a variety of progressive organizations planning to display counter-demonstrations, such as New York Black Lives Matter and D.C. United Against Hate.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the first, Unite the Right II concluded without any casualties or violence—largely due to the depleted number of followers and lack of prominent leaders. In looking ahead to the event, why would Kessler seek out spaces such as these as the ideal meeting point, and what were his ideological ties to them?

Occurrences such as these are nothing new; public lands have long been used as spaces in which white nationalists gather due to the decline in availability of private spaces. Doing so requires the illusion of rallying around a salient message that is culturally accepted, unlike white nationalism. Environmental conservation, both in the past and the present, has been used as a platform to simultaneously push messages of a white ethno-state<sup>11</sup> and anti-immigration. The link between environmentalism and racism is not a new idea, with roots tracing back to the founding of some of the most prominent national parks. Influential figures such as Madison Grant played an active role in conservation efforts such as the founding of the Bronx Zoo and Glacier National Park; yet, he is most known for authoring the eugenicist tract *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916).<sup>12</sup> By laying claim to these public spaces, modern groups such as Identity Europa and

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<sup>9</sup> James Doubek, “‘White Civil Rights Rally’ Approved for D.C. in August,” *National Public Radio*, June 21, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Hermann & Joe Heim, “D.C. Prepares for Sunday Showdown Between White Supremacists and Counterprotesters,” *Washington Post* (August 9, 2018).

<sup>11</sup> A white ethno-state is a proposed type of state in which residents would be limited to white people and would be exclusionary towards non-whites.

<sup>12</sup> Eliza beth Chatterjee, “Green and White Nationalism,” *The London Review of Books*, 2019, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2019/september/green-and-white-nationalism>.

AIM not only reap the benefits of a free or inexpensive venue, they exclude others from its use. By making others feel out of place or unwanted, specifically racial minorities, the idea of “white spaces” is reinforced.

Regardless of which side of the political spectrum one considers themselves, limiting the available gathering spaces of groups with non-inclusive ideology is generally viewed as a victory. Progressives deem it necessary for private firms to exclude groups such as Identity Europa and AmRen, while conservatives would argue that this exclusion is laissez-faire economics at work. To economists such as Milton Friedman, removing governmental interference from the marketplace and allowing business owners to act in their own self-interest was the most efficient method of combatting discrimination. He writes, “It is often taken for granted that the person who discriminates against others because of their race, religion, color, or whatever, incurs no costs by doing so but simply imposes costs on others. This is wrong. The man who objects to buying from or working alongside an African-American, for example, thereby limits his range of choice. He will generally have to pay a higher price for what he buys or receive a lower return for his work.”<sup>13</sup> Per Friedman, the best action for limiting discrimination was inaction.

To an extent, this has held true. Laissez-faire economics has been successful in limiting the availability of spaces for AmRen and Identity Europa to congregate. The transition to gathering in public spaces was not a choice, it was the only option. Historically, the decision-making process was one of finding the most elaborate venue that could be afforded. Now, it has transformed into a matter of gathering in public areas, or not gathering at all. Being welcomed in public areas is even under threat, however. Kessler had a difficult time getting the permit approved to hold Unite the Right II in D.C. He eventually succeeded, but only after stalling tactics by NPS and the threat of a lawsuit did they grant it, citing the first amendment.<sup>14</sup> Regardless, even the clarity of the first amendment is becoming under threat. In lieu of these

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<sup>13</sup> Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Discrimination*, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Doubek, “‘White Civil Rights Rally’ Approved for D.C. in August.” 2018.

demonstrations, progressives have pushed for government intervention in disallowing the use of public lands to be used as gathering spaces for white nationalist rallies, citing a distinction between free speech and hate speech.<sup>15</sup> We must look no further than Europe and the precedent set. Several members of the European Union have some of the most stringent anti-hate speech laws in the world.<sup>16</sup> It would be unlikely, for example, for the British equivalent of Unite the Right to be held on public lands in London. While free speech has long been considered a pillar of western democracy, navigating between what is considered “hate” has proved difficult and will likely become no-less murky in the future.

White nationalist groups such as Identity Europa have capitalized on their exclusion to public spaces, such as parks, by grouping environmental concerns with their own ideology. The executive director, Patrick Casey, among other members, routinely travel to parks in the Philadelphia area and engage in park cleanup. Acts of community service, such as picking up trash, is a public relations stunt to push Identity Europa’s ideas into the mainstream by being viewed as valued members of society (see appendix 3). To Identity Europa, and many other newly formed right-wing groups, image is everything. Members must be white, specifically non-Hispanic and non-Semitic, and of European descent. Casey mainly targets college educated men in their 20s and 30s for recruitment. No visible tattoos or drug use, well-dressed, and high class are how he describes his ideal member.<sup>17</sup> When the public sees those who look the part engaging in public service and claiming environmental reasoning, the public is then humanized to the other non-inclusive ideas presented.

By establishing parks as neo-white gathering spaces, racial minorities are in turn discouraged from their use. If one feels as if they do not belong, or even unsafe in a particular

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<sup>15</sup> Doubek.

<sup>16</sup> S. Cagle Juhan, “Free Peech, Hate Speech, and the Hostile Speech Environment,” *Virginia Law Review* 98, no. 7 (2012).

<sup>17</sup> Rosana Cooney, “White, Male and Millenial: Hate Groups Tap Bro Culture to Recruit Members,” *The Center for Public Integrity*, 2018.

area, it is only reasonable to assume that that space will be intentionally avoided. As time progresses, minorities may not even know why attending parks are not about of their everyday life, but the bottom line remains the same—they are not welcome. While falling short of making calls to violence, members of Identity Europa keep no secret in acknowledging what the demographic makeup of the U.S. should look like:

We don't believe America needs to be 100.00 percent white, but we do think that America isn't going to be America if there isn't a European-America super-majority. So when it comes to policies and so forth we're concerned with reversing these trends. We want to end immigration for the time being. And in the future we would like to have immigration policies that favor high-skilled immigrants from, you know, Europe, Canada, Australia and so forth. And we also do want to have programs of re-migration wherein people who feel more of a connection to another part of the world, another race, another culture, even another religion in the case of Islam can return to their native homelands essentially.<sup>18</sup>

Identity Europa's agenda on a national level is to place members in powerful elected positions to legally end undocumented immigration into the U.S. and narrow legal immigration to those of western European states. Members push this narrative during park cleanup and use it as an opportunity to find potential recruits. Although decrying those who refer to Identity Europa as “neo-Nazis,” they do acknowledge that their nationalist views stem from that period.

As previously mentioned, the chants of “blood and soil” that rang throughout Charlottesville seem anything but American. Originating in Germany in the late nineteenth century, the term did not become popularized till the rise of the Nazi Party in the pre-WWII era. Being used to denote “pure stock German ethnicity,” it was the peasantry that was considered the most German. The definition used at the time was both cultural, as well as ethnic. ““True Germans,” were German both by ethnicity and by their command of German culture, its folkways and its food, as well as its high culture, and, of course, the German language itself.”<sup>19</sup> Advocates for this way of life pushed for protectionist public policy that linked these individuals to the land

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<sup>18</sup> Patrick Casey. Interview. 2018. “Identity Evropa,” SPLC Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Anthony Richter, “‘Blood and Soil’: What It Means to Be German,” *World Policy Journal* 15, no. 4 (1998): 91–98, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40209601>. 91.

and discouraged migration to urban areas. “Blood and soil” ideology held no room for those who were not white. Monica O’Brien writes, “it requires a racially homogenous population, which inevitably renders minorities a problem.”<sup>20</sup> This was extremely problematic because it left little freedom in the actions of German non-whites, as their identities were determined in advance. Although not the sole cause, “blood and soil” influenced several of the horrors of the second World War, including eugenics initiatives attempting to produce the “master race” and the attempted genocide of Jews.

Early twentieth century Germany is infamous for indoctrinating ideology in its citizens since youth. Just as strong nationalist ideas were stressed in the school systems, the importance of ecology and environmentalism were taught and reinforced through the Wandervogel (see appendix 4).<sup>21</sup> This movement would become the prominent German youth movement whose attraction to members claimed a youth identity, independent of childhood and adulthood. Being established as a “back to nature” youth organization, it emphasized freedom, personal responsibility, and the spirit of adventure. Non-German citizens were prohibited, reinforcing nationalist themes. Historians have consistently associated the Wandervogel movement as masculine, associating the romantic masculine ideology as a response to a modernizing society.<sup>22</sup> This is not to say that girls were excluded from the movement, but the sects were gendered. Its inception included a strict gender segregation policy—though occasional trips to allow the sexes to intermingle were permitted from time to time. The Wandervogel’s predication on ecological conservation and individual liberty were not novel ideas; their roots can be traced back to the mid-eighteenth century with the era of romanticism.

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<sup>20</sup> Monica O’Brien, “The Politics of Blood and Soil: Hannah Arendt, George Eliot, and the Jewish Question in Modern Europe,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 44, no. 1–2 (2007). 106.

<sup>21</sup> In English, the Wandervogel translates to “the bird of passage.”

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Heineman, “Gender Identity in the Wandervogel Movement,” *German Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (1989): 249–70, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1430094>. 249.

Romanticism was a cultural and artistic movement that evoked a response throughout Europe on a scale that had never been seen before.<sup>23</sup> It revolved around three main themes: longing for the past, glamorizing nature as pure and authentic, and idealizing the heroic and alienated individual.<sup>24</sup> Romanticism's skeptical views of modernization were essential to the rise of "blood and soil." Urbanism and industrialization was a destruction of both human and ecological communities because their effects were contrary to that of the human condition in its natural state. Germany was affected differently due to combining romanticism with strong nationalist ideology. This primordial connection with the German landscape gave rise to a movement known as the Lebensreform<sup>25</sup>—which, in turn influenced the Wandervogel youth movement. The Lebensreform created its own herbal based medical clinics, schools, and community programs with an emphasis on reestablishing a connection to nature.<sup>26</sup> Viewing nature in a spiritual manner was fundamental to Romanticism. In perhaps the most foundational text to the movement, *Return to Nature*, Drs. Just and Lust write:

Man in his misguidance has powerfully interfered with nature. He has devastated the forests, and thereby even changed the atmospheric conditions and the climate. Some species of plants and animals have become entirely extinct through man, although they were essential in the economy of Nature. Everywhere the purity of the air is affected by smoke and the like, and the rivers are defiled. These and other things are serious encroachments upon Nature, which men nowadays entirely overlook but which are of the greatest importance, and at once show their evil effect not only upon plants but upon animals as well, the latter not having the endurance and power of resistance of man.<sup>27</sup>

Published over a century ago, *Return* was one of the first significant works that called for a reversion from industrialization while simultaneously pushing nationalist ideology.

"Blood and Soil" is a reclaiming of ideology and direct callback to its popularization by Nazi Germany. This slogan has been transformed by contemporary white nationalist groups

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<sup>23</sup> Lilian R Furst, "Romanticism in Historical Perspective," *Comparative Literature Studies* 5, no. 2 (1968): 115–43, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40467744>. 116.

<sup>24</sup> Furst.

<sup>25</sup> Translating to English as "life reform."

<sup>26</sup> Derrick Jensen, Lierre Keith, and Aric McBay, *The Deep Green Resistance Book*, First (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011).

<sup>27</sup> Adolph Just and Benedict Lust, *Return to Nature*, 1896.

applied to modern day issues, it is still used to push a narrative of a white ethno-state. Being that groups such as Identity Europa and AmRen are only several years old, they can be difficult to study. While there are yet to be any fatal encounters perpetuated from these groups, history shows that this coupling of nationalist and anti-immigration ideology could lead to acts of extremism, which will be elaborated on in section three. Analyzing “blood and soil” accurately from a contemporary standpoint requires an important distinction. When chanting the slogan at Charlottesville, those who participated were not advocating for “blood and soil” in its original context. Instead, they were advocating for the Nazi *interpretation* of the phrase. Identity Europa’s views on immigration and desire for a white ethno-state are more closely related to the Nazi’s than the original meaning of the phrase. This distinction is vital because the Fuhrer was directly influenced by the American architect of “scientific racism” and emerging theories on eugenics, Madison Grant.

### **The Exclusionary Roots of the Conservation Movement**

It is possible to be a champion of just causes while being the heel of others. The early twentieth century saw environmentalists such as Teddy Roosevelt, John Muir, and Madison Grant lobby for wilderness preservation throughout the American West (see appendix 5). This became a success in 1916 when President Woodrow Wilson established the NPS to consolidate management of federal parklands under one agency. However, the work was far from being complete. Roosevelt, Muir, and Grant continued to take an active role in establishing new lands as national parks, before settlers and industry could rob the land of its natural beauty. Grant was paramount in the founding of Denali, Everglades, Olympic, and most importantly, Glacier.<sup>28</sup> It started in 1885, when Grant and his friend George Bird Grinnell embarked on a hunting expedition in northern Montana. The men were “staggered by the majestic beauty of the towering

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<sup>28</sup> Jonathan Peter Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (University of Vermont Press, 2009).

peaks and sculptured valleys, breathless at the most exquisite wildflower displays in North America, and overwhelmed by the thousand waterfalls that plunged from glacial snow masses into sparkling, jade-colored lakes.”<sup>29</sup> After returning each summer for years, they became concerned for the well-being of the ecosystem, brought on by mining interests viewing the area as rich in resources and the Great Northern Railroad looming ever closer. After some hard-fought battles, Grant and Grinnell were eventually able to establish Glacier as the seventh national park. While Grant was fundamental in the preservation of several of America’s most beloved sites, he had many faults. Of these were racist and eugenicist views that were not exclusive from his passion for preservation.

In *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant*, historian Jonathon Spiro argues that Grant’s interests in conservation and eugenics are not mutually exclusive. To Grant, conservation has lasting implications on eugenics, as does the policy that should be enacted to deal with each topic. On the surface, it may appear puzzling that scholars have labeled Grant everything from the “nation’s most influential racist” to the “greatest conservationist that ever lived”<sup>30</sup>—but on closer inspection it becomes clear that the underlying assumptions are anything but. Perhaps more than any other man of the time, Grant founded the “racialist moment” in twentieth-century American history. This period began with the Teddy Roosevelt administration and continued through Warren Harding, in which the country abandoned its late nineteenth-century melting-pot sentimentalism about racial minorities and foreign immigration. It saw the rise of intellectual racism, including eugenics, and lasted until the U.S. involvement into WWII, at which time the nation experienced a massive political swing to the Left.<sup>31</sup> Grant “worked tirelessly for the racialist movement for almost this entire period. He joined, chaired, and often founded its organizations. He counted among his closest associates U.S.

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<sup>29</sup> Peter Spiro. 68.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Spiro.

<sup>31</sup> George McDaniel, “Madison Grant and the Racialist Movement,” *American Renaissance* 8, no. 12 (1997).

Presidents, top industrialists, best-selling writers, and some of the greatest scientists of the time.”<sup>32</sup> Additionally, he authored two of the foundational books of American racialism, which drove his rise to fame: *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) and *The Conquest of a Continent* (1933).

The publication of *Passing* came as a response to continued increases in immigration and the threats that came with it. He praises the “Nordic” race as a natural aristocracy and warns against their gradual decline from being overtaken by “Alpine” and “Mediterranean” populations. The book was intended as a call to white Americans to counter the perceived dangers from black Americans and non-traditional immigration. Grant writes, “We Americans must realize that the altruistic ideals which have controlled our social development during the past century and the maudlin sentimentalism that has made America “an asylum for the oppressed,” are sweeping the nation toward a racial abyss. If the melting pot is allowed to boil without control and we continue to follow our national motto and deliberately blind ourselves to all “distinctions of race, creed, or color,” the type of native American of Colonial descent will become as extinct as the Athenian of the age of Pericles, and the Viking of the days of Rollo.”<sup>33</sup> To this day, rhetoric glamorizing past “golden eras” coupled with anti-immigration sentiments has remained a staple of prominent right-wing figures.<sup>34</sup> Grant concluded that America should abandon what he determined to be an open-door immigration policy, favoring a eugenics program that would promote his idea of the Nordic race and reduce the expansion of the colored races in America.

At least in the U.S, Grant popularized the lasting notions that the Aryan race, blond-haired, blue-eyed Nordics, were the master race—drawing parallels to past periods of colonization and the negative effects of race-mixing. Additionally, he argued that it was the

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<sup>32</sup> McDaniel.

<sup>33</sup> Madison Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*, Fourth (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1924). 263.

<sup>34</sup> During the presidential campaign of Donald Trump, he effectively used slogans such as “Make America Great Again” (albeit purposefully being vague as to which era he was referencing) and constant pressure to build a border wall between the U.S. and Mexico.

responsibility of the state, either immediately or over a longer period, to systematically eliminate those “inferior” races that had no value to the prosperity of the community. Although not directly a part of the legislature, his influence with members of Congress played a role in the passing of immigration restrictions of the 1920s—some of the most stringent in the nation’s history. When his wide-berthing objectives at the federal level became unlikely, he would target specific conservative states to pick up the slack. This saw an increase in state sponsored banning of interracial marriage and increased consideration of sterilization programs of “unworthy” citizens.<sup>35</sup> While Grant was outspoken against any group of non-Nordic origins, he held an elevated prejudice toward Jews, which will be discussed with greater detail in section two. Many of these anti-Semitic ideas would later be echoed by Adolf Hitler, who in a letter to Grant, referred to *Passing* as “my bible.” Although the racist views of one man who never held substantial political power may not provide enough evidence to effectively argue that today’s national park demographics are in part a result of systemic views that have been perpetuated into modern day, Grant’s views dramatically influenced one of America’s most beloved presidents, and arguably the most active player in the fight for conservation, Theodore Roosevelt.

When taking office at the age of 43, Roosevelt became the youngest president in the nation’s history. As a self-proclaimed “steward of the people,” he brought youth and excitement to the Oval Office and pushed Congress and the American people toward progressive reforms and a firm foreign policy. In lieu of this, it should come as no surprise that he was generally accepted by his constituents. His most effective achievements were in conservation, particularly in the West. It is not my intention to undercut the substantial positive impact of these policies. Instead, I wish to bring to light that his “steward of the people” slogan excluded a significant percentage of the population. To a contemporary reader, his views regarding immigration and race are alarming.

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<sup>35</sup> Virginia was the most outspoken state, requiring citizens to fill out forms tracing their racial lineage and setting minimum percentage quotas on what would constitute a “negro.”

Not only does he echo many of Grant's sentiments, he went so far as to publish an endorsement for *The Passing of the Great Race*:

The book is a capital book; in purpose, in vision, in grasp of the facts our people most need to realize. It shows an extraordinary range of reading and a wide scholarship. It shows a habit of singular serious thought on the subject of most commanding importance. It shows a fine fearlessness in assailing the popular and mischievous sentimentalities and attractive and corroding falsehoods which few men dare to assail. It is the work of an American scholar and gentlemen; and all Americans should be sincerely grateful to you for writing it.<sup>36</sup>

An endorsement from a popular former president can have a substantial impact on the opinion of the masses—especially when the content is as persuasive to leaders who perceive their power may be under threat as *Passing*. It was not until the two men met in the mid-1890s that Roosevelt began to be influenced by Grant and what he saw around him.

Make no mistake—Roosevelt and Grant were friends. Initially acquainted due to their shared interest in conservation and hunting, the rapidly changing demographic landscape were a precursor to Roosevelt's shifting views. The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw a dramatic increase in immigration levels that was apprehensively received by the public. Through fear and misunderstanding, strong nationalist ideals began to dominate the public perception of foreigners. Up to this period, Roosevelt continued his "steward of the people" semantics, professing "an undying belief in the "melting pot" theory and trumpeting as always the rhetoric of democracy...celebrating the concept of America as a repository of hope for the world's oppressed and displaced."<sup>37</sup> Rhetoric such as this was received well by the people—it was also a necessary political move for one who was planning to make a future push towards the Oval. Always curtailing his message to match public opinion, the great immigration surge of the 1890s brought upon a change to his arguments. Roosevelt observed that Americans should "keep out races which do not rapidly assimilate with our own," as well as "unworthy individuals of all races—not

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<sup>36</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, "The Passing of the Great Race: Review," *HT Scribner*, 1917.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas G Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980). 123.

only criminals, idiots, and paupers, but anarchists.”<sup>38</sup> His time as president saw him call for increased restrictions on immigration by urging that only the “right type” of immigrants be admitted.<sup>39</sup> By feeding into the public’s increasing nationalist views, Roosevelt championed the idea of a new race, one that is entirely American.

Using the term “assimilation” to denote “Americanization,” Roosevelt’s semantics served both nationalistic and racial ideals by hand-picking certain groups. He continued his “melting pot” theory, but with an exception—he predicted that *all white immigrants* would intermix throughout the process of Americanization. To truly become an American, it was necessary to adopt Anglo culture; immigrants were expected to change their names and old-stock Americans had a right to demand it.<sup>40</sup> Forfeiting ethnic identity was a necessity. Failing to do so was to fail one’s own sense of duty; Roosevelt writes:

There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American but something else also, isn’t an American at all. We have room but for one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag with symbolizes all wars against liberty and civilization just as much as it excludes any foreign flag of a nation to which we are hostile. We have room for but one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns out people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boardinghouse; and we have room for but one sole loyalty, and that loyalty is to the American people.<sup>41</sup>

If one was the right kind of white, they were welcome in Roosevelt’s America with open arms.

His views on desired whiteness was two-fold. Anglo-Saxon heritage is used to denote the descendants of a cultural group who inhabited the United Kingdom beginning in the fifth century.

The definition continues to explicitly exclude those of Hispanic origin, which was evident in Roosevelt’s interventionist policy initiates throughout his time in office.

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<sup>38</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, “True Americanism,” in *Works*, XV, 27, 15-31.

<sup>39</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, *State Papers of Governor and President*, in *Works*, XVII, 204.

<sup>40</sup> Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*. 133.

<sup>41</sup> Dyer. 134.

As many administrations before him, Roosevelt did not shy away imperialist acts attempting to “Americanize” the surrounding area.<sup>42</sup> What is often referred to as “gunboat diplomacy,” the Roosevelt administration continually intervened in the Caribbean and Latin America, even founding the military base at Guantanamo Bay. Roosevelt did not advocate for the expansion of territory and was inclined to believe that military intervention should be a final resort. However, in the name of protecting American financial interests this premise was a bit shaky. In the Dominican Republic, for example, U.S. military personnel temporarily took control of the capital to “re-negotiate” the repayment of loans and protect business efforts. Intervention such as this was oftentimes seen as humanitarian to much of the West. The U.S. and Britain were held in high esteem as the developers of nations—propping up those who lacked the financial means or competency to do so themselves. While in office, he preached that it was the “manly duty” of the States to intervene in the Caribbean and spread the benefits of Anglo-Saxon civilization to inferior nations populated by “inferior” inhabitants.<sup>43</sup> At the time, Anglo-American rapprochement was still relatively young and the depth of Roosevelt’s attachment is important when analyzing his ideology during the concluding stages of his presidency. Similar to his friendship with Grant, Roosevelt spent much time with John Muir, even embarking on multiple backpacking trips through Yosemite. As such, many of his views regarding race were heavily influenced by one of the nationally recognized founders of ecology.

The historical context of African-American exclusion can be traced back to John Muir and the occupied wilderness of the Civil War. Though 26 years old at the time, Muir elected to explore the Canadian wilderness rather than fight; the scholarship is split as to his reasoning. Environmentalists such as Carl Anthony and Roderick Nash portray him as draft-dodger who had “no interest in the fight to save the Union or free the slaves,” whereas Stephen Fox instead claim

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<sup>42</sup> William M Tilchin, “Theodore Roosevelt, Anglo-American Relations, and the Jamaica Incident of 1907,” *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 3 (1995): 385–405, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24912395>.

<sup>43</sup> William M Tilchin, “Theodore Roosevelt, Anglo-American Relations, and the Jamaica Incident of 1907,” *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 3 (1995): 385–405, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24912395>.

that he was a pacifist who “was paralyzed by the threat of conscription and who had no strong feelings about the moral aspects of war.”<sup>44</sup> Either way, this stint of Muir’s life helped develop his life-long belief that nature had rights. His journey to the Gulf saw him exposed to disparities of a post-Civil War South and his writings of the trip reflected his prejudices. He wrote that “the Negroes are easy-going and merry, making a great deal of noise and doing little work. One energetic white man, working with a will, would easily pick as much cotton as half a dozen Sambos and Sallies.”<sup>45</sup> While his environmental ethic would embrace nonhuman wilderness, he was insensitive to much of humanity.

Though insensitive, his contributions to ecology have had a lasting impact through the modern day. He is recognized for being the influencer behind the expansion of Yosemite into its modern boundaries and co-founder and first president of the Sierra Club, an environmental organization that lobbies politicians to promote environmental policies such as sustainable energy and limiting global warming. His writings on Yosemite helped shape preservation politics and a vision of white wilderness, that is still embraced today. He compares the cliffs and waterfalls of Yosemite to the grand cathedrals and “pristine” landscapes prominent in the west. By making this comparison, Muir is reaffirming America’s connection to European civilization. The usage of religious imagery distinguishes Yosemite to specific white areas, not acknowledging spaces in South America or Africa. Viewing Yosemite as a white wilderness of “mountain temples,” it becomes a sign of the blessing of the white man’s god and maintains America’s connection to Europe, even in the New World.<sup>46</sup> To Muir, the purest wilderness was white wilderness, there was no room for any cultures other than those that stemmed from Europe.

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<sup>44</sup> Carolyn Merchant, “Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History,” *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (2003): 380–94, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3986200>. 386.

<sup>45</sup> John Muir, *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> Kevin DeLuca and Anne Demo, “Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness,” *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (2001): 541–60, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3985254>.

Compared to the U.S, European countries have been more active in passing legislation designed to combat both racial injustices and environmental degradation. The Paris Agreement has been positively received internationally, who have been equally as condemning towards the U.S. for the President's desire to withdrawal. Just as there is a link between environmentalism and race, there is also one between environmentalism and extremism. As weather patterns are likely to shift, there is fear that the environmental crisis that will follow will be used as leverage for political violence.<sup>47</sup> Vulnerable ecosystems could be exploited or destroyed to intimidate or provoke a state of terror in the general public for a variety of agendas. No continent is more aware of this than Europe.

### **The New Terrorism**

Beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the modern world has experienced four “waves” of terrorism, each lasting roughly a generation, or the average human life cycle. David Rapoport coined these waves as a “cycle of activity in a given time period—a cycle characterized by expansion and contraction phases. A crucial feature is its international character; similar activities occur in several countries, driven by a common predominant energy that shapes the participating groups; characteristics and mutual relationships. As their names—“Anarchist,” “anticolonial,” “New Left,” and “religious”—suggest, a different energy drives each.”<sup>48</sup> The names of each wave reflects its dominant feature, with nationalist organizations appearing in every wave. While these organizations generally peter out, they inspire the successor generation to transform ideology and tactics in an attempt to combat the next perceived threat.

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<sup>47</sup> Walter Enders and Gary A Hoover, “The Nonlinear Relationship between Terrorism and Poverty,” *The American Economic Review* 102, no. 3 (2012): 267–72, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23245540>.

<sup>48</sup> David Rapoport, “Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” 2004, 46–73.

The current wave, religious, is nearing this threshold. As the world is increasingly becoming grounded in science, it should come as no surprise that rates of those who identify as “atheist” or “non-religious” is rising at a greater rate than any period in history. Those “would be terrorists” from the current generation are less likely to be motivated by religious reasons. It is untrue that terrorist acts stemming from religious roots will come to an end, there are outliers that linger from every wave, but it is likely that these attacks will become less frequent. The dissipation of the religious wave opens a gap—what will the next wave of terrorism be? Scholars dating back to 1996 have argued that this newest wave is right-wing radicalism fueled by xenophobia and environmental concerns. Before the ideology behind this newest wave of terror can be unpacked, I believe that establishing a working definition of “terrorism” is essential. It is not possible to discuss the transformation to which we are experiencing in modern day without first laying a solid foundation of what is at the core of terrorism.

Attempting to lock ideologies such as “fascism,” “communism,” or “liberalism” into rigid parameters by applying a definition would be a disservice to how they have progressed throughout history, or how they will adapt in the future. The same does not hold true for terrorism—it is not an ideology; it is an act. The boundaries for what constitute terrorism are defined and more straightforward. This is not to say, however, that there is no longer any debate as to what these parameters are. By looking at the competing definitions from top agencies, my hope is to shed some light on what terrorism is and what it looks like. Cynthia Combs defines terrorism as “a synthesis of war and theater, a dramatization of the most proscribed kind of violence—that which is deliberately perpetrated on civilian noncombatant victims—played before an audience in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes.”<sup>49</sup> For scope of the paper, I will not lay out the definitions of major government organizations such as the Department of Defense or Homeland Security; Instead, I will analyze their similarities. Terrorism

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<sup>49</sup> Cynthia Combs, *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*, 2017. 42.

is the use of violence (or threat of it) on noncombatants to create fear in the audience, in hopes of bringing about political change. Each of these four factors: violence, noncombatants, fear in the audience, and political motivation are pertinent to understanding what terrorism is, or is not.

While hardly a new concept, eco-terrorism's rise to prominence has occurred rapidly in the U.S throughout the late 90s and early 2000s. It is used to "denote the use or threatened use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally oriented subnational group for environmental-political reasons, aimed at an audience beyond the target, and often of a symbolic nature."<sup>50</sup> Generally speaking, eco-terrorism is the least violent of the many forms of terrorism. Acts such as monkey-wrenching machinery, tree spiking,<sup>51</sup> and shutting down mines were about as brazen as public displays got (see appendix 6). The movement peaked in 2000 when groups such as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and Animal Liberation Front (ALF) began staging public protests of increasing escalation. Rarely did they ever turn violent, but increased property damage eventually reached a level that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) named radical environmental activists the "number one domestic terror threat."<sup>52</sup>

ELF was publicly accused of setting fires within a five-year span that destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property. In lieu of these occurrences, the federal response was swift and decisive. The FBI launched "Operation Backfire," which resulted in dozens of convictions and prison sentences from members of both groups. This, coupled with the Patriot Act and other post 9/11 law enforcement policies saw a dramatic decline of attacks. Concerning the total number of attacks, the movement peaked in 2001, totaling 163. By 2012, there were only two incidents. The current scholarship agrees that policy action was the driving force behind this decline and that those sentenced to prison were likely the leaders of the those perpetrating the attacks. When

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<sup>50</sup> Sean P Eagan, "From Spikes to Bombs: The Rise of Eco-terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 19, no. 1 (1996): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576109608435993>.

<sup>51</sup> An act done by environmental groups; tree-spiking is the insertion of a non-harmful spike into trees that destroys the blades of forestry equipment.

<sup>52</sup> Citation

speaking to the likeliest causes of the decline, Donald Litterst stated, “My guess is that there was just a core, really just a few members, who were responsible for these more serious arsons, and once they went to jail, that was it.”<sup>53</sup> With incidents being virtually non-existent and no longer a serious threat to the FBI, the environmental scare was thought to have run its course.

There are recent occurrences, however, that signify a blending of right-wing extremism with environmental motives. On August third of this year, a mass shooting in El Paso, Texas, left 22 individuals dead. The perpetrators online manifesto largely focused on themes of white supremacy and anti-Hispanic immigration, calling for condemnation of the act as a hate crime. However, although easy to overlook, the manifesto’s title “The Inconvenient Truth,” is a direct call to Al Gore’s 2006 film that stresses the need to act swiftly in combatting climate change. While the old terror threats from ELF and ALF may have dissipated, right wing extremism is constantly evolving and a blending with environmental likely appears to be on the horizon.

The shooting in El Paso was undoubtedly an act of terror. It was an act of violence against noncombatants (everyday shoppers at Wal-Mart), with the intention of spreading fear to an audience (immigrants living in the United States), to influence political change (more stringent anti-immigration laws). It may be tempting to draw parallels to instances such as this to the shooting in New Zealand—but that would be a mistake. Although both were acts of terror, the motive behind the attack on the mosque stemmed from a hatred and misunderstanding of Islam, not a fear of immigration—although, there is some overlap between the two. One might also reasonably assume that the religious wave is not yet over due to how recently it occurred. Advocates of this argument are failing to see the “wave phenomena” on the macro-level that it should be understood. Each wave lasts roughly a generation; when a wave does inevitably conclude, it peters out gradually as opposed to halting overnight. This implies that there will be at least some overlap between waves. Terrorist acts were committed in the name of anti-colonial

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<sup>53</sup> Donald Liddick. Interview. From: Lauren Kirchner, “Whatever Happened to ‘Eco-Terrorism’?,” 2017.

revolution during the anarchist wave, just as anti-immigrant and environmental rationale is used as a justification for committing heinous acts before the religious wave is concluded. It is also important to keep in mind that there will invariably be outliers even when a new wave has come to fruition.

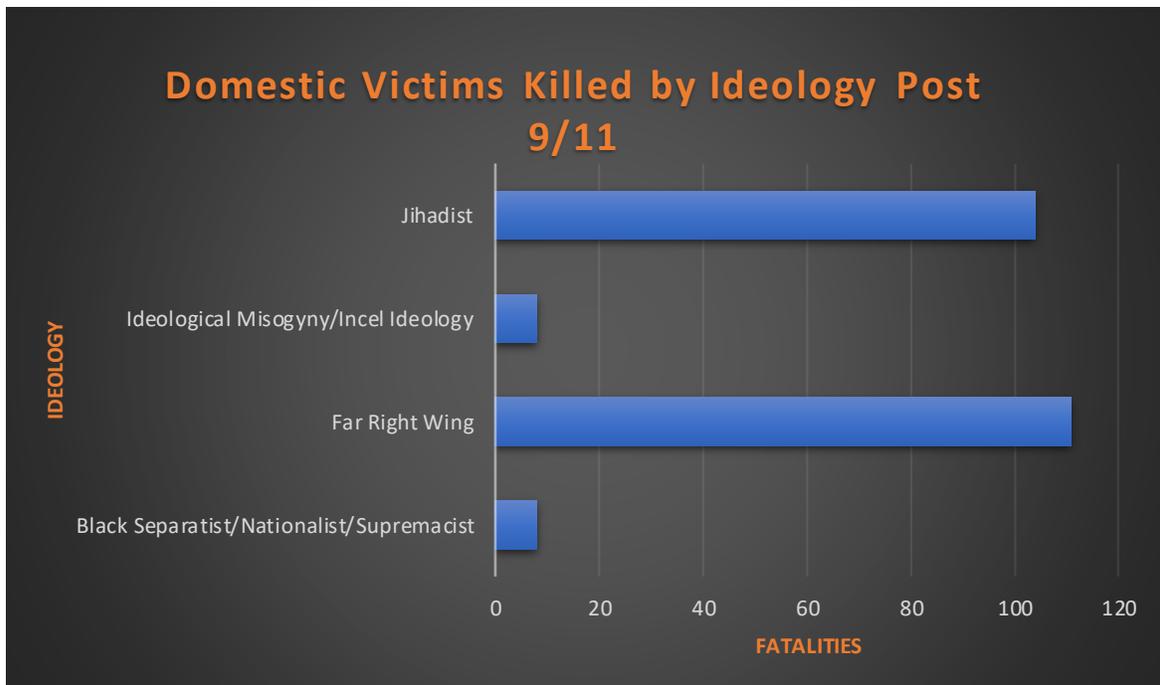
Determining the ideology behind those who commit acts of extremism can be useful to predict motive and method of attack. Post 9/11, ideology has been well documented. Improved national defense strategies have been successful in preventing another large-scale attack, but incapable in the prevention of small-scale ones. These can mostly be broken into two categories: jihad<sup>54</sup> and far right-wing. Since 9/11, no jihadist foreign terrorist organization has been responsible for an attack within the U.S, nor has any attacker received training from groups abroad. In the 18 years since, jihadists have killed 104 people inside the United States. This death toll is virtually the same as that from far-right terrorism (consisting of anti-government, white supremacist, and anti-abortion violence), which has claimed 111 lives.<sup>55</sup> Nearly half of those killed by jihadist terrorists is due to one event, and the worst mass shooting in American history, the 2016 Orlando night club shooting (see graph 1 below).

Graph 1:

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<sup>54</sup> For sake of simplicity I will be using the modern interpretation of jihad, as opposed to the classical which can be interpreted as non-violent—i.e. “a crusade against smoking.” Modern Muslim scholars claim that the goal of true jihad is to “establish a just social order through violent struggle.” The dominant meaning of jihad in Sunni Muslim culture remains “Islamic warfare.”

<sup>55</sup> Peter Bergen et al., “Terrorism in America After 9/11,” *New America*, 2019.



The evidence shows that right-wing extremism is the likeliest type of terror attack to occur domestically. Of the wide variety of locations attacks were carried out on, the most prevalent were places of worship, shopping centers, or targeted killings. Whereas jihadist terror, conversely, is likeliest to be directed at military bases, government agencies, or law enforcement. Ideology shows this distinction. Right-wing extremism usually results from a perceived fear of the dissipation of culture. Whether this be race, religion, or environmentally motivated, it still translates to the attacks on specific locations.

Even more so than the U.S, Western Europe has been dealing with an alarming rise of radical right-wing terror.<sup>56</sup> In the past couple of decades, Germany has been the most susceptible. Between 2000-2007, the National Socialist Underground (NSU) detonated three bombs and committed 15 armed robberies in areas with high immigrant concentrations, claiming ten lives and injuring many others. Condemning the attacks, the German Attorney General labeled NSU “a

<sup>56</sup> My intention is to not use “radical right-wing terror” and “anti-immigrant/eco-terror” interchangeably. However, the latter is a sector of the former, so it is important to highlight the overarching problem that we are dealing with. Most importantly, though, I wish to highlight this type of terrorism is separate from religious terror.

right-wing extremist group whose purpose was to kill foreigners, and citizens of foreign origin.”<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, 2018 saw six men arrested after government officials foiled a plot to assassinate French President Emmanuel Macron, citing his open-border policy as motive. It was not religion that these instances have in common, it was immigration. The link between environmentalism and extremism is just as interconnected as environmentalism and race. While the former has just recently begun rising to prominence in the public eye, the latter has been systemic. Can public policy address these concerns moving forward, or are more drastic measures required?

### **Conclusion**

Ecology has seen a massive transformation since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, with figures such as President Roosevelt, Grant, and Muir being key influencers in the founding of many national parks and protected lands today. These advancements in preservation cannot be denied, but the ecological movement does have a darker side that is apparent to this day. Public lands are being used as gathering places of white nationalist groups and radicalization has seen a transformation of extremist acts related to ecological reasoning. The issue of minorities being under represented in national parks has been a systemic problem. White nationalism has been a staple of the ecological movement since Muir and Grant. The question then becomes: what is to be done about it?

Public policy has been ineffective in addressing this problem, or even realizing its existence—a more comprehensive approach is needed. Although gaining traction in the early 80s and even influencing an executive order from President Clinton, the environmental justice (EJ) has gradually petered out since. Its formation was in response to the acknowledgement that minority groups have not been adequately represented in environmental concerns. Per

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<sup>57</sup> Daniel Koehler, “German Right-Wing Terrorism in Historical Perspective. A First Quantitative Overview of the ‘Database on Terrorism in Germany (Right-Wing Extremism)’ – DTG<sup>Rwx</sup> Project,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, no. 5 (2014): 48–58, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26297261>.

Middendorf and Nilon, the EJ movement is defined in three parts: 1) disparate and disproportionate environmental impacts occur among different communities across racial and socio-economic lines, (2) affected communities should be apprised of environmental issues affecting them, and (3) these communities should be incorporated in any decision-making process.<sup>58</sup> The EJ movement sought to right the inequalities of the past through new regulation, laws, and compensation to those affected (see appendix 7). Persistent social pressure saw the movement peak in 1994 when President Clinton mandated Executive Order 12898:

To the greatest extent practicable and permitted by law, and consistent with the principles set forth in the report on the National Performance Review, each Federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing, as appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income populations.<sup>59</sup>

Initially, the executive order was viewed as a victory—it addressed each of three parts of the EJ movement. It could have provided a solid foundation if legislation were to have continued to be being implemented and enforced. The initial problem was that the ambiguity of the executive order. By lacking specifics and only providing abstract outlines the federal agencies it was directed towards had no incentive to begin drafting their own policies. There was also issue of disparity between the scientific and EJ communities. The largely white ecological community is situated in the natural sciences uses differing research methodologies than the mostly minority EJ community, likely from social sciences.<sup>60</sup> Crossing disciplinary boundaries, and doing so effectively can prove challenging. The scope of the problem can also be problematic. EJ advocates tend to focus on specifics (e.g. regulating the dumping of waste in minority communities) whereas ecologists center on broad, macro-processes. Until these two disciplines

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<sup>58</sup> George Middendorf and Charles Nilon, “ESA and Environmental Justice,” *Bulletin of the Ecological Society of America* 88, no. 2 (2007): 160–65, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/bullecocosociamer.88.2.160>.

<sup>59</sup> William Clinton, “Executive Order 12898” (1994).

<sup>60</sup> Middendorf and Nilon, “ESA and Environmental Justice.”

can come to the realization that they are largely fighting the same fight, policy advancement will remain stagnant and minority populations will continue to be affected.

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## Appendix



1) The author, Chandler Bell, atop Mt. Sheridan, 10,313 ft.



2) Jason Kessler arguing against the original denial of the application to march in Charlottesville for the second year.



3) Patrick Casey and members of Identity Europa traveling to cleanup a park in Philadelphia.



4) Wandervogel members march in unison to the beat of the guitars.



5) Roosevelt and Muir pose for a photograph on top of Glacier Point at Yosemite National Park.



6) A protestor in New York City showing opposition towards President Trump's call to pull out of the Paris Agreement.



7) Native American tribes, islanders, and communities of color staging a protest in Washington D.C. in 2017.