

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

GIFFORD PINCHOT

SUMMARY OF GIFFORD PINCHOT'S FAMILY BACKGROUND

Gifford Pinchot's great grandfather, Constantien Pinchot, emigrated to the United States from France in 1816.¹ As mayor and merchant of the small town of Breteuil-sur-Noye (approximately fifty miles north of Paris in the département of l'Oise), Constantien raised and equipped a company of soldiers, with his son Cyrille Constantien Desiré Pinchot at its command, prior to the Battle of Waterloo. Largely as a result of the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons, the Pinchots left their native land with much of their stock of merchandise.

While in New York City, the father purchased four hundred acres of land known as the "French lot" in Dingman Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania. In 1818, he and Pierre Joseph Maucière settled in Milford and opened a store together. Upon Constantien's death six years later, his son Cyrille continued the business. C.C.D. Pinchot, in partnership with John H. Wallace, became a leading merchant of the community through freight wagon trade to and from New York. In addition to his mercantile interests, Gifford's paternal grandfather engaged in both farming and lumbering.

Following the death of his first wife in 1821, C.C.D. Pinchot married her cousin, Eliza Cross; both women were grandchildren of a Belgian immigrant named Josephus Jacobus de Aerts, an erudite Milford newspaper publisher who was supposedly a personal friend of Lafayette.² By this second marriage, five children were born: Edgar (1826), James Wallace, Gifford's father (1831), John F. (1833), Cyrille H.P. (1838), and Mary A. (1839).³

Because of C.C.D. Pinchot's business orientation toward New York, it is not surprising that his two eldest sons moved to that city to establish their careers. Edgar, following his start as a grocer in 1854, became a partner in the Fulton Street drug firm of Pinchot, Bruen and Seabury during the early 1860s.⁴ However, he returned to Milford and later became active in Republican politics as an associate judge of Pike County. His younger brother, James, succeeded in business so well that he remained a permanent resident of New York. Beginning his career as a clerk in a dry goods store in 1850 at the age of 19, by 1856, James Pinchot had become a partner in the Cortlandt Street firm of Partridge, Pinchot and Warren, which specialized in imported paper hangings.⁵ A decade later, as Pinchot, Warren and Company, the firm was advertised as the manufacturers

and importers of wall paper and window shades and the sole agents in the United States for Heywood, Higginbottoms, Smith and Company of Manchester, England. James Pinchot began to travel widely in pursuit of his business interests and by 1870 was "reckoned one of the wealthy men of America."⁶ His financial success enabled him to retire from business in 1875 at the age of 44.

In 1864, James Pinchot had married Mary Jane Eno, the daughter of one of New York's most prominent and wealthy men, Amos Richards Eno. Because the Eno family had such a strong influence on Gifford Pinchot's early life, a factor that has been neglected in most of his biographies, it is important to understand their background. Amos R. Eno was born in 1810 in Simsbury, Connecticut, where the Eno family had been established since the late 1600s.⁷ He left the store that he had started in partnership with his cousin, John J. Phelps. Their firm soon became one of the city's leading wholesale houses, and from its success, Eno laid the foundation of his eventual fortune. When the partnership was dissolved in the early 1850s, Eno continued his role as a prominent merchant of dry goods under various successor firms in that decade: Eno, Mahoney and Company; Eno and Roberts; and Eno, Roberts, Rhodes and Company.

Soon Eno's judicious investments in New York real estate eclipsed his mercantile interests, and by 1860, he was devoting full time to acquiring and developing property. In 1859, he built the Fifth Avenue Hotel (at 198 Fifth Avenue, between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets), which became one of New York's most important hotels. Located in the building was the Second National Bank, of which Eno was one of the organizers and principal stockholders. At the time of his death in 1898, Gifford Pinchot's grandfather owned some of the most valuable real estate parcels on Manhattan Island, which were valued at more than \$20,000,000.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GIFFORD PINCHOT

On August 11, 1865, Gifford Pinchot was born at Simsbury, Connecticut, in the house of his maternal great grandfather, Elisha Phelps. His parents had been spending the summer there. Amos R. Eno had recently purchased the house, which had long belonged to his father-in-law, Phelps, a distinguished politician who had served as the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives during the 1820s. For many years of his early life, Gifford spent his summers with his mother's relatives in Connecticut, living the rest of each year in New York City with his parents and her relatives there.

When James Pinchot and Mary Eno were married in 1864, they had moved into the residence of Mary's father at 26 East Twenty-third Street in New York City.⁸ A few years later, the family moved to the new residence that Amos R. Eno had built at 233 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of Twenty-seventh Street. The broad, four storey, red brick mansion continued to serve as the Eno family's home until around 1890, when it was converted into a clubhouse by the Reform Club, of which Amos R. Eno was a member.⁹ During Gifford's boyhood at the Twenty-seventh Street home of his grandfather, his extended family included

Figure 2. This portrait of Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot was taken in February 1909, at the time of the North American Conservation Conference. From the files of the U.S.D.A. Forest Service.



Figure 3. Gifford Pinchot is shown standing behind his seated parents on the original south porch of Grey Towers, circa 1900. The French door, later modified by Gifford and Cornelia, is seen in its original form. From the collection of the Pinchot Institute.

many Eno uncles and aunts who also resided there for various years, including Uncle Amos F. Eno, a merchant and real estate broker, Uncle Henry Clay Eno, a physician, and Uncle John Chester Eno, a banker. It was not until Gifford was about twelve years old that his father moved his family to their own residence at 18 East Twenty-ninth Street; two years later, they again moved to 212 Madison Avenue.

Because of James W. Pinchot's business interests abroad, the family travelled extensively while Gifford was a child. At the age of six, he left with his parents and younger sister Antoinette (Nettie) for a three-year sojourn in Europe. While the family was living in Paris in 1873, Gifford's brother Amos was born. At age fifteen, Gifford again accompanied his parents abroad, to England and the Continent. From the details known of his early life, Gifford clearly enjoyed a privileged childhood and maintained a close relationship with the Eno family.

Gifford prepared for college at Phillips Exeter Academy, and in the fall of 1885, entered Yale University.¹⁰ (This same educational pattern had been followed by his mother's brothers¹¹ and is an example of their early influence on his life.) While still in his first semester at Yale, Gifford became interested in pursuing a career in forestry, an interest which was both fostered and reinforced by his father. James Pinchot was active in the early years of the American Forestry Association. Because no formal course of training for this profession then existed in the United

States, upon graduation from Yale in 1889, he left for a thirteen-month period of study in Europe. His education there was guided by the famous German forester, Dietrich Brandis, who encouraged him to enroll in the *Ecole Nationale Forestière* in Nancy. He observed forest management in Zurich, the Vosges, and the French Alps, and in the summer of 1890, toured Germany and Switzerland with the English Forestry School under Brandis' direction. However, Gifford was impatient with the forestry courses at Nancy and believed he would gain more from practical experience. He dropped out before the fall term and returned to the United States in 1891.

He was first employed by the Phelps-Dodge Company for a survey of their forest lands in Pennsylvania and Arizona. (He had declined an offer from Dr. Bernhard E. Fernow, chief of the Federal Division of Forestry.) His opportunity to put into practice his brief instruction and observation of forest management came in February 1892, when he began work on a forest tract of the Biltmore estate of George Washington Vanderbilt near Asheville, North Carolina. Selected largely on the recommendation of the landscape architect who had conceived the idea of America's first managed forest, Frederick Law Olmsted (an old friend of James Pinchot), young Pinchot set about to try to prove that timber could be produced profitably as a crop with a nearly constant annual yield, while the general condition of the forest was improved. In conjunction with this work, he prepared

an exhibit on forestry for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Later that year he established an office in New York as a consultant forester and became involved in a variety of new projects, including a management plan for Ne-Ha-Sa-Ne, a private preserve in the Adirondacks, which added to his practical experience and knowledge of forests of the country.

By this time he was deeply committed to his profession although it was not very financially rewarding, and in August 1894, Gifford rejected his grandfather Eno's second offer to join the family business. Early in 1895 he left the Biltmore project and was succeeded by a German forester, Carl A. Schenck. In 1896, the National Academy of Sciences appointed a National Forest Commission to make recommendations to the Federal government regarding the development and management of public forest lands. This commission, of which Pinchot was one of seven members and its secretary, was responsible for laying the groundwork for much of the country's future forest policy. Following a year's travel through the West as a special forest agent to the Department of the Interior, in 1898 he accepted the position of Chief of the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture.

Pinchot soon demonstrated his outstanding ability as an administrator and infused a rare "esprit de corps" into his small initial staff of twelve employees. Through an intense information campaign implemented by means of press releases and articles furnished to newspapers and magazines, the Division educated the public on the need for forestry and began to influence public opinion. Because the nation's forest reserves were then under the control of the Department of the Interior, Pinchot's agency was limited to offering advice to those who solicited its help. However, there were but few Americans then who shared Pinchot's knowledge of forest resources or understood the problems of their management as well as he did.

In 1901, the division was elevated to the status of the Bureau of Forestry and its staff expanded commensurately to include nearly two hundred employees. Four years later, Congress passed a bill that consolidated forest administration with the newly renamed Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture. By this act of February 1905, 86 million acres of forest reserves (renamed national forests in 1907) were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. This move, which Pinchot had worked toward from the beginning of his Federal service, was strongly influenced by the recommendations of the American Forestry Congress held the month before, which the bureau chief had done much to help organize in the hope of molding Congressional opinion. In addition to the authority that the Forest Service was then given over the nation's Federal forest reserves, the act allowed the moneys derived from the sale of resources to be channelled into a special fund for the administration, improvement and extension of forests. This privilege, although limited to a few years' duration, did much to

expand the bureau's capacity to reach its objectives. Pinchot extended Federal regulation to *all* resources in the national forests, including grazing (which, rather than lumbering, ranked then as the number one problem), the regulations of water power dam sites, and the control of mineral rights. In nine Supreme Court cases that challenged the broad interpretation of the Federal government's control over public lands, the Forest Service's positions were upheld.

The close personal relationship that existed between Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt, who became President in September 1901, upon William McKinley's death, strongly affected the achievements of the conservation movement of the early 1900s. The two men held common interests, shared inherited attitudes of "noblesse oblige," and maintained a friendship fostered by their love of outdoor sports. Pinchot soon became a confidant and a member of the President's inner circle, advising him on all conservation questions and frequently writing his speeches and policy statements. Roosevelt's dynamic view of executive leadership and his adept, political diplomacy did much to implement the ideas of the Chief of the Forest Service. During the two presidential terms, the two men worked closely towards the same goals, one of their major coups being the creation of several million acres of "midnight forests" in March 1907, shortly before a bill was enacted that required Congressional approval for the appointment of all new forest lands. By the time Pinchot left the Forest Service in 1910, there were 149 national forests with a total of 193 million acres; when he became the division chief in 1898, there had been only 32 forests with 40 million acres.

Pinchot also served on a number of Roosevelt's commissions, many of which were established at the forester's urging. In 1903, he was a member of the Commission on the Organization of Government Scientific Work and the Commission on Public Lands; in 1905, the Commission on Departmental Methods; in 1907, the Inland Waterways Commission; and in 1908, the Country Life Commission. An event that brought conservation dramatically to public view was the 1908 Governors' Conference on Conservation, which Pinchot not only induced Roosevelt to call, but largely financed from his personal income. Attended by the governors of most of the states, members of Congress and the Cabinet, Supreme Court judges and prominent private citizens, it was the first meeting of its kind to address the problem of the protection and management of natural resources. Shortly thereafter, Pinchot was appointed chairman of the National Conservation Committee, whose task it was to prepare an inventory of the United States' natural resources. In February 1909, the North American Conservation Conference convened at the forester's suggestion, and plans then followed for an international conference to be held at The Hague, an event that was aborted by the change in administrations.

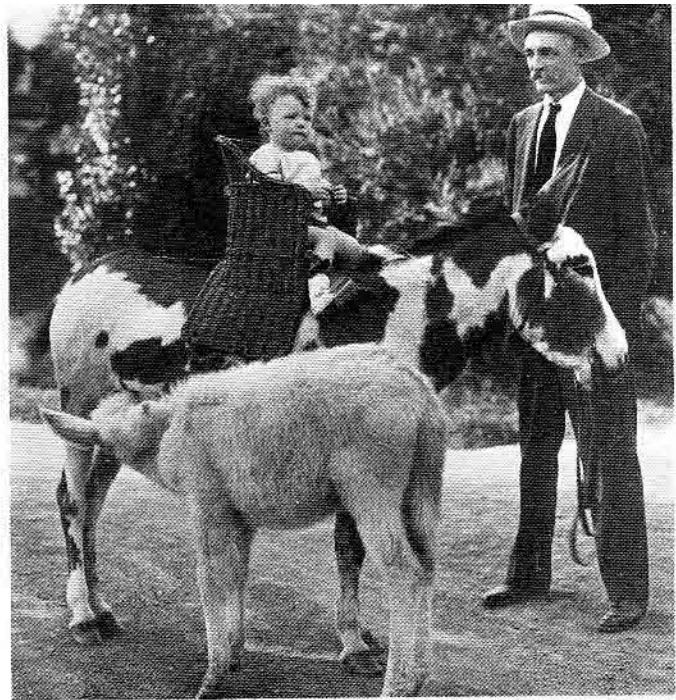


Figure 4. (Left) Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, the wife of Gifford Pinchot is shown with their young son, Gifford B. Pinchot.

Figure 5. (Above) Gifford Pinchot with his young son, in a photograph probably taken at Grey Towers.

Pinchot did not share with the new president, William Howard Taft, the personal relationship that he had enjoyed with Roosevelt. When it became clear that Taft was not the strong advocate of conservation policies that his predecessor had been, Pinchot became involved in a long political controversy with the new Secretary of the Interior, Richard Ballinger, a business-oriented Seattle attorney. The immediate incident involved Alaskan coal lands in the public domain, although the larger issue was over the policies that had been made during the Roosevelt administration concerning resource regulation. Many chapters have been written regarding the complex series of events in the controversy, and interpretations as to its significance vary widely. Pinchot's motives have been viewed as a blend of idealism and ambition, but whatever explanations are given, the fact remains that Pinchot was dismissed from office by President Taft in January 1910, for insubordination. The public outcry against Pinchot's firing and his continued popularity undoubtedly supported his thoughts on future political office.

The National Conservation Association, of which Pinchot was president and financial angel from 1910 to 1925, served as an outlet for his concern for keeping conservation issues (and himself) in the public eye. The organization's two main objectives were to fight the movement to give the national forests over to the states' control, and to control waste power development on government property. Its policies were strongly marked by partisan influences. When Roosevelt failed to win the Republican presidential nomination from Taft in June 1912, Pinchot took an active role in founding the new Progressive Party, commonly known as the Bull Moose Party. The forester represented the more radical wing of the party's politics and made strong statements on the need for stricter antitrust laws and innovative social reforms. In 1914, running on the Progressive platform, Pinchot became a candidate for an elective office for the first time with his bid to win the United States Senate seat from Pennsylvania. His well-worn political slogan,

"public good comes before private profit," had its origin in this unsuccessful campaign.

That same year, at the age of forty-nine, Pinchot was married for the first time to Cornelia Bryce, great-granddaughter of industrialist Peter Cooper and daughter of Lloyd Bryce, the distinguished publisher of *North American Review*, U.S. minister to the Netherlands, congressman and novelist. A wealthy woman in her early thirties, Miss Bryce had already begun an independent political life as a champion of the working girl and an advocate of women's suffrage. Roosevelt had complimented her as having the best political mind among all the women of his acquaintance.¹² During the years following his marriage, Pinchot served on the Committee for Relief in Belgium, was a member of the U.S. Food Administration, and in 1920, became the Commissioner of Forestry for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Pinchot was elected to his first term as Governor of Pennsylvania in 1922, largely through the support of rural counties and the new women's vote. During his 1923-1927 administration, his major goals were the regulation of electric power companies and the enforcement of Prohibition. In a crusade for "clean politics," he did away with many long-standing political practices and was known for his accessibility to the public. The state government was reorganized under the authority of the administrative code, one of the most important pieces of legislation passed during his term. There was also an emphasis upon economy and a balanced budget, and within two years, the \$30,000,000 deficit that had existed at the outset of Pinchot's governorship was eliminated. In his own estimation, the settlement of the anthracite coal strike of 1923 was one of Pinchot's greatest challenges.

Because the Pennsylvania governor was then prohibited from successive terms, Pinchot turned his political aspirations toward another bid for a Senate seat, but his 1926 campaign was unsuccessful. However, in 1931, he began his second term as Pennsylvania's governor. His accomplishments during this administration were tempered by the problems of the Depres-

sion. He was a persistent advocate of Federal economic relief for the states and donated a quarter of his own gross salary for one year for public relief. He successfully pressed for large reductions in utility rates, and for the building of twenty thousand miles of rural farm-to-market roads in an intensive improvement program.

When Pinchot left office in 1935, he was seventy years old but had not given up his future in politics. He made a third attempt for the Senate and yet another run for the governorship, but both campaigns were defeated in the primaries. During his last decade, he was also active in fighting the transfer of the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior, and he assisted his wife in her political career and third unsuccessful bid for a Congressional seat. During World War II, he was an advisor to the Navy on lifeboat improvement and developed a special fishing kit for survival.

Shortly before his death, he completed a ten-year effort to write an autobiographical account of his work between 1889 and 1910 and his part in the development of forestry and conservation in the United States. *Breaking New Ground*, the title excerpted from a Roosevelt accolade, was published posthumously in 1947. Other writings that Pinchot had authored included *The Fight for Conservation*, a dozen monographs on forestry subjects, a popular book on his journey to the South Seas, and approximately 150 published articles, reports, bulletins, lectures and addresses. On October 4, 1946, at the age of eighty-one, Gifford Pinchot died in New York City of leukemia.¹³

ANALYSIS OF GIFFORD PINCHOT'S ROLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

In assessing Gifford Pinchot's place in American history, it is important that his contributions not be exaggerated or overstated, thereby obscuring the validity of his true accomplishments. The tendency to create a myth around a historical figure often inhibits our understanding of achievements that should be viewed in a contemporary context. Pinchot was at times a controversial figure, and while his leading role in the establishment of forestry in the United States is acknowledged, a variety of interpretations exist as to his role in the conservation movement.

At the time that Gifford Pinchot decided upon a career in forestry, the Eastern forests had been drastically reduced by decades of burning to create farmland, consumption of wood for construction and fuel, a growing demand for pulpwood for newsprint, and simple waste. In 1873, a crisis over the diminished flow of the Hudson River and Erie Canal system, which was a threat to cheap water transportation and the prosperity of commerce, had led to a New York State study of the relationship between rainfall and the forests. This event created some awareness of the destructive effects that wanton lumbering was having on the country's watersheds. A state commission recommended the establishment of a state forest reserve, and although twelve years passed before the state legislature created the first forest preserve in the nation, a new public consciousness was beginning to dawn. In 1873, a member of the commission, Dr. Franklin B. Hough, convinced the prestigious American Association for the Advancement of Science to petition the U.S. Congress to create a Federal forestry commission. Hough was appointed the first Federal forestry agent in 1876 and became the first chief of the Division of Forestry in 1881. The American Forestry Association was organized in 1875, primarily to foster the aesthetic appreciation of the forest and the botanical study of arboriculture.

Meanwhile, most Americans considered wood to be an inexhaustible resource. In the West, as in the East, settlers in wooded regions continued to burn trees as the most expedient method of clearing land. Since the country's first degree pro-

gram in forestry was not established until 1898 (when Chief Ferrow left the Division of Forestry to organize the school at Cornell), Pinchot's decision to enter the field of forestry was a remarkable demonstration of foresight. His brief education in Europe had made him the first native American to have received any professional training in the science of forest management; with his work at Biltmore, he became the first person to practice it in the United States. The experiment at this significant site in the history of forestry was a difficult but important one. Scientific management had entered in competition with the traditional, quick-profit methods of lumbering American forests.

Much of the reason behind Pinchot's choice in careers stemmed from his desire to do something "of greatest service." This same motivation later turned the concept of conservation into a moral issue for him. He once explained his attitude toward devotion to public service and his life's work in the following way:

My own money came from unearned increment on land in New York held by my grandfather, who willed the money, not the land, to me. Having got my wages in advance in that way, I am now trying to work them out.¹⁴

Indeed, he had the opportunity to gain greater fortune by carrying on his grandfather Eno's business affairs but declined the offer. In writing of the invaluable service that Pinchot had rendered to forestry although having no financial reason to work, President Roosevelt described him as "not content to be an idler on the earth's surface."¹⁵ This understatement reflects the strong moral commitment behind Pinchot's work, which was recognized as one of his finest qualities.

The concrete accomplishments for which Pinchot is best known today were made while he was chief of the Forest Service. By deliberately limiting his autobiographical book, *Breaking New Ground*, to the years 1889-1910, he made his own evaluation of that period as the most important of his life. When he entered the Division of Forestry, he promoted the pragmatic concept of the multiple use of forest resources. His practical knowledge, broad approach, and organizational ability earned him deserved respect in handling complex resource problems. William B. Greeley, later Chief of the Forest Service, described Pinchot's entrance into government service in 1896 in the following way:

He brought into it a fervor of religious intensity and a magnetic personal leadership that have rarely been equalled in the American drama. For the next fourteen years, the astonishing vigor of the planning and execution of successive moves for national conservation largely expressed the zeal and energy of Gifford Pinchot.¹⁶

Samuel P. Hays, whose book *Conservation and The Gospel of Efficiency* remains one of the best analyses of the movement's early history, also assessed the personal attributes of the forester that contributed so greatly to the success of his ideas:

Through sheer force of personality and conviction, Pinchot drew many enthusiasts into different phases of the forest movement. His vigor and drive captured the interest and loyalty of a number of young men. His detailed knowledge of forestry and his concern for making forestry pay attracted the friendship of many practical lumbermen.¹⁷

Through what has been called a "missionary spirit," Pinchot inspired many followers, both within the Forest Service and in the private sector, to carry out his policy. Because of his concern about the country's lack of trained foresters, he took an active role in promoting forestry education. Together with his father and brother, he founded the Forest School at Yale University in 1900. Many of his immediate associates, who were instilled with his philosophy, became associated with forestry schools and thereby disseminated his ideas.

In his autobiography of 1913, Theodore Roosevelt concluded that the enactment of a conservation program was the greatest contribution that he had made to the domestic policies of the United States. In speaking of Gifford Pinchot's role in this work, the former President stated that:

... among the many, many public officials who under my administration rendered literally invaluable service to the people of the United States, he, on the whole, stood first.¹⁸

In personal correspondence, Roosevelt spoke of Pinchot as a friend "in whose integrity I believe as I do my own," and upon leaving office, the president acknowledged that he owed the forester "a particular debt of obligation for a very large part of the achievement of this administration."¹⁹ The unique relationship between the two men has been described as an "ideological and political symbiosis" by Elmo Richardson, whose book, *The Politics of Conservation*, contains the following explanation of their joint efforts in conservation.

The President readily identified his own interests as a naturalist and his faith in dynamic executive power with the forester's personal crusade for planned conservation and use of resources. Pinchot, as a secondary official, had slight means to implement his programs, but because he was Roosevelt's most trusted advisor, his proposals were encased in the authority and prestige of the Presidency. By securing an act transferring jurisdiction over forests from the Interior Department to the Department of Agriculture, in 1905, Roosevelt removed the last obstacle to the fulfillment of Pinchot's ambitions.²⁰

Pinchot's biographer McGeary referred to his subject as "the unofficial crown prince in the Roosevelt realm" and concluded that his ability to accomplish so much over a short period of time has seldom been equalled by any government official.²¹

President John F. Kennedy, at the occasion of the 1963 dedication of Grey Towers, called Pinchot "the father of American conservation." He has also been singly credited with elevating the conservation of resources from an unknown experiment to a nationwide movement, and some claim that he made the term "conservation" a household word. As so frequently happens with the aggrandizement of historical figures, Pinchot's role, although significant, has often been assigned maximum importance at the expense of others. George Perkins Marsh, who in 1864 wrote *Man and Nature* (retitled in its second edition, 1874, *Earth As Modified by Human Action*), has been called the "fountainhead of the conservation movement" by critic Lewis Mumford.²² Concerned with man's destruction of the balance of nature, Marsh was one of America's first proponents of scientific forest management (and was much admired by Pinchot in his college days). Historian Hays explains that the movement to conserve water in reservoirs gave rise to both the term and the concept of conservation, and he credits W J McGee as being the key figure in disseminating the ideas of the conservation movement.²³ By Pinchot's own account, it was he who, while riding in a park near Washington in February 1907, had the idea suddenly flash through his mind that there should be a coordinated approach to managing all natural resources.²⁴ This "newborn idea" or "brain child" of his was then introduced to McGee (whom Pinchot acknowledged as a leader of the new movement) and was christened "conservation" by Pinchot's assistant, Overton Price, or by Pinchot. While the actual "father of conservation" question is a dubious one, it is important to realize that a large number of leaders were involved in the movement, a fact which is often obscured.

Because the term "conservation" has grown to include new meanings and associations since the early 1900s, Gifford Pinchot often has been called, erroneously, a preservationist. On the contrary, he always stressed the utilitarian value of the national forests and believed that they should be managed for regulated commercial use for the general good, with local needs coming first. This stand helped greatly to win public and

Congressional support for the reservation of vast tracts of forest land. Thoroughly pragmatic, he was strongly opposed to transforming forest reserves into national parks and game preserves and often derided the "nature lovers" who sought to bring about these changes. One example of the fight between conservationist and preservationist ideals was the Hetch-Hetchy controversy of the early 1900s which severed ties between the leaders of the two groups, notably Pinchot and John Muir of the Sierra Club. Pinchot minimized the value of preserving the scenic beauty of this remote, heavily wooded river valley in Yosemite National Park as a recreation area; instead, he joined advocates pressing, successfully, for use of the site as a reservoir for San Francisco. An earlier, bitter issue that revealed Pinchot's belief that public forests should be open for resource development was that over management of the Adirondack Forest Preserve. After several years of controversy, the New York State constitution was amended in 1894 to prohibit all timber cutting in the preserve. Pinchot, as well as Fernow, fought against the "forever wild" clause that prohibited forest management there.

The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy has been the subject of a great deal of historical scrutiny, and its significance has been evaluated with resulting conflicts in opinion. In 1908 and 1909, when the leaders of the Roosevelt administration's conservation efforts were faced with opposition in the Congress and from the new President, they made an increasing appeal to the public for support. When he believed that the policies he had worked to accomplish were threatened with reversal, Pinchot mounted an attack on Ballinger and Taft and consequently was brought into the limelight. In the ensuing Congressional investigation of the affair and its wide coverage in the press, Pinchot was identified with all the contributions of the Forest Service in the public's eye. He was touted as a martyr who had sacrificed his own position to forward the cause of conservation and the fight against monopolies. Historian Richardson interpreted the controversy as an exercise of Pinchot's ambition, backed by the force of popular opinion, whereby the forester gambled on discrediting Ballinger in hopes of promoting his own position. This view challenges the common oversimplification that Ballinger was a corporate lawyer whose opinion represented the West's hostility to resource regulation. Pinchot's behavior reflected his growing tendency to classify any disagreement with his philosophies as abject and unprincipled opposition. His inability to compromise or tolerate even slight disagreement eventually alienated nearly every one of his political allies, including Roosevelt. Conclusions vary in regard to the political damage done by the controversy to Taft and the orthodox Republican party. Roosevelt's biographer, Pringle, claims that the affair was historically unimportant, while other authorities maintain that it was responsible for widening the breach between Taft and Roosevelt, thus resulting in organization of the Progressive Party.

After Pinchot's dismissal from office, he continued to exert an influence on legislation and resource policy because of his respected practical knowledge of Western problems, his many devoted supporters, and his National Conservation Association. However, his influence was far less than it had been during the Roosevelt years. In summing up the overall contributions of Pinchot's lifelong concern for natural resources, Hays presented the following critique:

One must also reassess Pinchot's wider role in organized conservation affairs. Without question the Chief Forester contributed more than any other individual to public awareness of forestry and water power problems. He firmly planted the idea of conservation in the minds of the American people; he built up the United States Forest Service as a highly effective government agency and almost personally staved off measures which would have granted public utility corporations unlimited franchises. Yet, Pinchot also helped to retard the movement. His vigorous attempt to direct conserva-



Figure 6. The hill behind the house provided the perspective for this view of the west elevation. The village of Milford and the mists over the Delaware River in the distance can be seen clearly in this old photograph. Note the small ice house, one of the estate's first outbuildings, to the north of the house. From the Hunt Collection, A.I.A. Library, Washington, D.C.

tion into those limited channels he preferred to stress, and his refusal to compromise with those with whom he differed, played a large role in splintering conservation organization, contributed to conflicts among resource groups and to personal bitterness among their leaders, and alienated many who hesitated to become involved in the tense atmosphere surrounding such a controversial figure.²⁵

Many conservationists regretted that Pinchot ever ran for political office, since it diverted his talents from the progress of the movement. He was criticized for political opportunism and for relegating forestry to a secondary concern. However, his accomplishments as Pennsylvania's governor should not be ignored or omitted from an overall evaluation of the man's contributions. Pinchot himself viewed his two terms in the governorship as the most interesting and challenging years of his life. His biographer McGeary, who made a thorough study of his subject's political career, concluded that there was "considerable concurrence that his first Administration, all things considered, was superior to that of any other governor in Pennsylvania."²⁶ Because Pinchot had taken a strong stand as the underdog against the Republican Party's "Old Guard," the public's confidence in their governor was considerable. His accomplishments in fiscal management, reorganization of the state bureaucracy, and regulation of power companies all earned him esteem. As a tribute of respect to Pinchot, the Pennsylvania government offices were closed the day of his funeral. It would therefore be a mistake to neglect the contributions of Gifford Pinchot's later years of public service, and more consideration should be given toward assessing his involvement in such national issues of the 1920s and 1930s as labor relations and public relief.

GREY TOWERS' PLACE IN GIFFORD PINCHOT'S LIFE²⁷

This article may be found in the "Grey Towers in History" section of the website.

NOTES

1. This first paragraph is based largely on the following two sources, both of which rely on the information presented in Alfred Mathews, *History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Co., 1886), pp. 862-863: 1) Norman B. Lehde, "Origins of the Pinchot Family," *Journal of Forestry* (August, 1965), 63: 582-584. 2) M. Nelson McGeary, *Gifford Pinchot: Forester, Politician* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 3. See also: Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1947), p. 10.
2. This fact may help to explain the Pinchots' fondness for placing the bust of Lafayette in the niches of both Grey Towers and Forest Hall. John H. Wallace, Cyrille's business partner, was also a descendant of de Aerts. The middle name of Cyrille's second son, James, would seem to indicate a close friendship between the two partners.
3. The genealogical chart prepared by Robert Fallon, of the Grey Towers Summer 1977 Visitor Information Service program, provided the birth dates of C.C.D. Pinchot's children.
4. See the New York City directories for 1854-1855, 1860-1861 and 1861-1862. Information on his later life is included in Lehde, "Origins of the Pinchot Family," p. 284.
5. *Wilson's Business Directory* (New York: John F. Trow, Publisher, 1856), p. 307. While most biographical sources on James W. Pinchot state that he began his career in New York in 1850, he is not listed in any New York City directories until Trow's 1855-1856 edition, when his business and home addresses were given as 58 Pine Street and the Mansion Hotel in Brooklyn.
6. James Pinchot's obituary, *Washington Post*, February 7, 1908, p. 9.
7. Biographical information on Amos Richards Eno is a composite from the following sources: 1) Douglas C. Richardson, "The Eno and Enos Family in America; Descendants of James Eno of Windsor, Connecticut," (Sacramento, Ca.: Unpublished, 1973); 2) [Henry Lane Eno], *The Eno Family: The New York Branch* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1920); 3) *Prominent Families of New York*, ed. by Lyman H. Weeks (New York: The Historical Company, 1897); 4) his obituary, *New York Times*, February 22, 1898; and 5) New York City directory research.

NOTES (continued)

8. See Trow's New York City directory for 1865-1866. The information that follows in this paragraph on the addresses of the Enos and Pinchots was derived from a general review of New York City directories. The fact that Gifford Pinchot (GP) was born in Simsbury has led some historians to conclude that he spent his childhood there, while his biographer McGeary has erroneously concluded that he spent his early life at Gramercy Park. As will be pointed out further on, the Pinchot family did not reside at Gramercy Park until 1887.
9. See obituary of Amos R. Eno, *New York Times*, February 22, 1898.
10. Unless otherwise footnoted, the biographical information on GP derives from the following sources: 1) McGeary, *GP: Forester, Politician*; 2) GP, *Breaking New Ground*; 3) GP's entry in *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1950), 36: 28-30.
11. See entries for Henry Clay Eno, John Chester Eno and William Phelps Eno in: Richardson, "The Eno Family in America," 1973.
12. For one of the few assessments of Mrs. Pinchot's independent political career, see: John N. Furlow, Jr., "Cornelia Bryce Pinchot: Feminism in the Post-Suffrage Era," *Pennsylvania History* (October, 1976), 43: 329-346.
13. Biographical details on GP's connection with the Yale School of Forestry have been omitted here since they are included in a later section on the school in relation to the Grey Towers estate.
14. Letter from GP to E.W. Scripps, March 27, 1914, as quoted in the prologue of McGeary, *GP: Forester, Politician*.
15. Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Andrew Carnegie, February 15, 1904, as quoted in McGeary, *GP: Forester, Politician*, p. 55.
16. William Buckhout Greeley, *Forests and Men* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1951), p. 59.
17. Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 30.
18. Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), p. 394.
19. Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to R.S. Baker, July 4, 1903, quoted in: *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. by Elting E. Morison, 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951-1954), 3:510. Letter from TR to GP, March 2, 1909, quoted in: *Letters of TR*, 1: 541.
20. Elmo R. Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913*. University of California Publications in History, vol. 70. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 25.
21. McGeary, *GP: Forester, Politician*, pp. 50 and 111.
22. Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895*, 3rd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), pp. 32-36.
23. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, pp. 5 and 124.
24. Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, pp. 322-326.
25. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, p. 198.
26. McGeary, *GP: Forester, Politician*, p. 328.