

See

Wm. B. Creeley - Practical Forestry
by Geo. T. Morgan Jr.

Forest History Society, 1961
St. Paul.

Forests + Men . by W. B. Creeley
Doubleday, N.Y. 1951

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREST SERVICE

R-9 01

REPLY TO: 1680 History

July 2, 1974

SUBJECT: Forest Service History

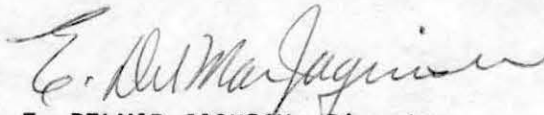


TO: Chief
Attn: Clifford D. Owsley

Recently, the Monongahela National Forest acquired a piece of property with an old house on it in West Virginia. In the house, they found the enclosed copy of the October 1942 issue of the AMERICAN LEGION magazine, which included an article on "Our Forests Go To War" by William B. Greeley. Hopefully, you will make good use of it in your history program.

Our field people are very much interested in the history program. They keep their eyes open. That is how they find little interesting sidelights such as this. Please credit District Ranger Whitney K. Lerer and his staff with this find.

May I also suggest that you send a copy of the article to the Forest Products Laboratory. I am sure they would be interested in having a copy of it in their historical files.


E. DELMAR JAQUISH, Director
Office of Information

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7/5

fiber, another textile, is also made from wood. It is often called artificial wool. We do not use much of it yet. In Germany its use already outstrips that of rayon. Lacking many of our raw materials, Germany has been able to carry on the war by turning her chemists loose on wood.

WOOD consists chemically of cellulose and lignin, its binder, together with water in its natural state and traces of mineral salts which give the various woods their characteristic colors. The first plastic was celluloid, made of cellulose. Wood cellulose plastics have come a long way since then. Lignin is now providing even more adaptable and durable plastics. Use of plastics ranges from "artificial mica" and transparencies as clear as glass, through knobs and dials and hinges and handles to mar-proof finishes.

Wood cellulose can be turned into foods and motor fuel. Germany could not live without them.

Various acids applied to wood separate the lignin from the cellulose and turn the cellulose into sugar. It is scarcely distinguishable from cane or beet sugar. Like glucose, wood sugar can be reduced to "grain" alcohol. Wood molasses is already an important European food for man and beast.

Wood protein is another. No living organism can survive without proteins. Vegetables create their own; animals, including the human, must eat theirs ready-made. Lack of proteins is one reason for the rapid wartime increase of tuberculosis in Europe. Yeast made from wood sugar contains up to 55 per cent protein. From sawdust to sugar to protein is Germany's answer to that dietary need.

Europe also makes cattle fodder from wood. Poor feeds are enriched with wood molasses and wood yeast.

In wood also Germany has found the answer to gasoline and oil shortages. More than half a million automobiles and tractors in Europe now burn gas generated from wood in simple units attached to the vehicles. Diesel motors operate particularly well on this fuel. Every farm machine in Sweden is lubricated with grease kilned out of tree stumps.

Low-grade gasoline may be improved in fuel quality by adding ethyl-alcohol. This can be extracted from the waste liquors of sulphite pulp mills. Germany started that, but we are doing it, too. European wood pulp manufacture produced, as a by-product, about 100 million gallons of industrial alcohol last year. Much of this was used in making smokeless powder, glycerine, and other explosives. Most of the rest went into the manufacture of artificial rubber.

American scientists have perfected a far faster and cheaper way to convert

sawdust into wood sugar than the Germans use. It is improbable that we will suffer a serious shortage of sugar made from the traditional cane or beets, or a serious shortage of gasoline. But transportation difficulties, which have already produced gasoline rations in the East, may lead farmers to equip their power plants and tractors with wood gas generators fueled out of the farm woodlot. Rubber shortage is another matter. Alcohol from wood sugar to make rubber may soon be a national demand, according to present plans.

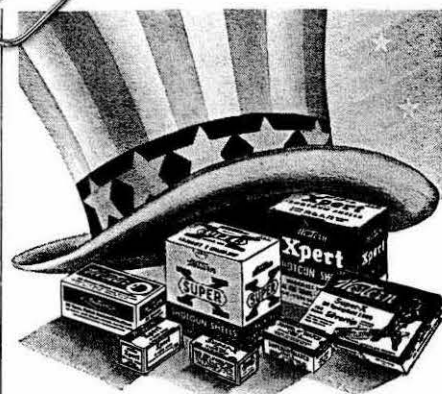
The best thing about wood as *Universalrohstoff* is that it can constantly be regrown like corn or cotton; it can be the basis of perpetual employment and industry, like the forest-borne economy of Finland or Sweden. A third of the United States is forest-growing land—460 million acres. Enormous as are the lumber demands of the war, their total this year will take less than two percent of the standing timber in the United States. This would not be much of a price to pay for our democratic way of life even if the forests were mined out like iron ore and never replaced.

BUT the day of forest mining is passing. The lumber industry of a generation or more ago paid little heed to reforestation. But the lumber industry of today is growing trees. A large part of the Southern pine timber now being cut for cantonments and warehouses and naval bases overseas comes from second and third growth forests whose virgin timber was removed long ago. In the Pacific Northwest, virgin timber still largely feeds the sawmills; but there are seven and one-half million acres of "junior" forests of Douglas fir, now producing new timber at the rate of 750 board feet per acre every year.

There is a cooperative industry nursery that soon will turn out five million trees a year for planting; and there are two million acres of "Tree Farms," leading the procession in the best practices of fire prevention and timber growing.

The conversion of American lumbering to timber cropping is far from complete; but it is one of the most definite and forceful phases of the industry. It will take care of the problem of timber supply for the arts of peace or, if necessary, for future wars.

It is emblematic that American forest engineers, returning from France after World War One, arranged to ship hundreds of thousands of little American conifers to help the restoration of France. Emblematic not only because these American invaders were big enough for military use when the present war began; but still more because the same sort of preparedness has been going on in the forest growing regions of the United States.



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Oral History Interview

with

MRS. WILLIAM B. GREELEY

Fair Banks, Star Route
Suquamish, Washington
June 28, 1960

by Elwood R. Maunder, Forest History Society, Inc.

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Fair Banks, Star Route
Suquamish, Washington
June 28, 1960

by Elwood R. Maunder and George T. Morgan, Jr.,
Forest History Society, Inc.

MAUNDER: We just try in these interviews Mrs. Greeley, to sit around as we would of an evening and have a chat.

MRS. GREELEY: All right.

MAUNDER: Perhaps we can start out by you giving us a little background on your own personal life history: where you were born, and your family--something along that line.

MRS. GREELEY: I was born in 1878 in Redwood City, California. My father was a minister--a Congregational minister. When I was about two years old we went to Oakland to live where he was principal of a boys' academy, which has long since been destroyed and now is used as a hospital. When he became ill and had to be quiet for awhile we went to Vacaville to live where he had bought a farm; a ranch it was called. It was a hundred acres, but it was a ranch just the same.

MAUNDER: What was the name of that town?

MRS. GREELEY: Vacaville. It was named after the Vaca family and was probably left over from one of the original Spanish grants. The Vaca family was all gone except one lone Vaca. I don't know whether I dare tell how he used to come into town every Saturday night . . .

MAUNDER: Why not?

MRS. GREELEY: They said they always had to tie him on a horse--he'd come in Saturday night--tie him on a horse so he could get home Sunday morning. My recollection

of that little town was just one main street with saloons and all sorts of houses on one side where we children were not supposed to look; and on the other side were the bank and the store, and the post office and the jewelers--the respectable side. We used to see those saloon doors swing open in spite of all the warnings. And after that, when I went to college, my family moved back to the Bay region. We lived in Berkeley--I mean they moved back to Berkeley and we lived in Berkeley until I was married.

MORGAN: What was your primary interest in school?

MRS. GREELEY: I don't know that I had any serious interests. I majored in English and taught English and Latin. I began with grade school and taught for a couple of years and then I was married.

MORGAN: You took part in some of the University's drama productions, didn't you Mrs. Greeley?

MRS. GREELEY: Well, I was in one or two of the plays but I don't think that was very successful. It was fun, but I think I did more outside activities than I did studying. When I hear my children urging their children to study I keep very discreetly silent.

MAUNDER: How did you happen to meet your husband, Mrs. Greeley?

MRS. GREELEY: Well, we met at college--our two families moved to Berkeley about the same time, both fathers were Congregational ministers and I suppose that's why we knew each other. Then, after we were married we were supposed to live in Hot Springs, California, about forty miles back from the railroad, going by stage. While we were in New Haven on our wedding trip, Billy conducted a course that they give each spring at Yale--they bring a field man from the outside. While we were there he had word to report to Washington, D. C., where he learned that he was to go back to Washington and stay. All our wedding presents had been copper, brass, and things to be carried without breakage over the stage route and when we went on to New Haven we bought a barrel of china which we liked. That went back to California with us. We had no sooner landed in California than Billy was told he had to go back to Washington, so the barrel of china went back to Washington. We had been there all summer and hadn't had a chance to unpack. When districts were formed and we were sent out to Missoula, the china went out to Missoula. It had three trips across the country before we ever had a chance to open it!

MORGAN: At the time you married, the Colonel was the supervisor of the Sequoia . . .

MRS. GREELEY: Supervisor--yes--he was supervisor of the Sequoia and then when we went to Missoula he was District Forester. We were there about two years and a half--long enough to have our oldest child, Molly, and then we went into Washington to stay--we were there until 1929.

MAUNDER: Well, now when you met your husband in college it was in Berkeley, is that right?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, that's right.

MAUNDER: At the University of California?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MAUNDER: And he was then majoring in history, wasn't he?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, at the University.

MAUNDER: And he intended to be a history teacher, is that right?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, and then he found--after a year of teaching in Alameda High School--that it was too inactive for him, Forest jobs were coming along as a result of forest training and that's what decided him to go to Yale.

MAUNDER: Do you recall any of the particulars of how he first became interested in forestry?

MRS. GREELEY: Let me see--there was some one person--didn't you find that out in the biography you wrote on him?

MORGAN: The one clue I did find was a talk he had one evening with Bernhard Fernow, who had given a speech at the University of California.

MRS. GREELEY: Well, that must have been it, because there had been a great deal of publicity about forestry. Pinchot was making a great many headlines and was very prominent. I think it was just a combination of circumstances which made him feel that here was something that appealed to him. So he went on to Yale and had his two years there--waited on tables, copied themes for different people and all sorts of things to help out with what he earned in the summertime. When he

started in forestry, in the summers, he earned \$25.00 a--those young men were employed by the Forest Service at \$25.00 a month. I guess you read in his Forests and Men that the thing they looked forward to most were Gifford Pinchot's gingerbread and baked apple suppers that they had once a month.

MORGAN: Didn't they call it the "Baked Apple Club?"

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, the "Baked Apple Club."

MAUNDER: This is all before you were married then, was it?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes. The time that we really met was seven years before we were married. Billy was busy in his job and interested in getting his life established; I don't think he even thought about girls, or maybe he didn't think about anything serious--except his work.

MAUNDER: Well, did you write back and forth a lot while you were . . .

MRS. GREELEY: No, no, we didn't have anything to do with each other was the funny part!

MAUNDER: Is that right!

MRS. GREELEY: As I say, I don't think he really thought very much of anything--he's like Arthur--all he thinks of is his profession.¹ So then, it was just about seven years before we were married and I think we were engaged two months.

MAUNDER: At the end of it?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, at the end of it and then we were married after the seven years.

MAUNDER: Oh, I see.

MRS. GREELEY: No, I don't think we wrote at all.

MAUNDER: You mean in the good part of that seven years you didn't hear anything at all from him?!

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, just about his career, that's all.

MAUNDER: But he did write you just about his career . . .

MRS. GREELEY: Well, I mean as we heard of it publicly--I didn't hear from him.

¹Arthur W. Greeley, Assistant Forester, United States Forest Service

MAUNDER: You have no old letters to go back to then for those days.

MRS. GREELEY: No. The only letters I have are the letters he wrote when he was in France and there is nothing of interest in general. I've been through them to see if there was anything of interest, but he told how he spent his Sundays, and how the swan looked in the park. He couldn't write anything of any importance, of course. He couldn't even tell more than just that it was the United States Headquarters and so forth--so I really knew very little about what was going on as far as the war was concerned.

MAUNDER: Tell us a little bit about your marriage--your first home, where you settled for the first time.

MRS. GREELEY: We were married by our two fathers. The house was just filled with lovely greens from the Sequoia Forest: huckleberry, great ferns, and branches of redwood and various other things, so it was quite a bower. The reason that we were married right then and there was because Billy had a chance to go on to Yale and give the field course, a spring course given by field men--he thought it would make an excellent wedding trip. So I just calmly left my teaching job and we went off. Had a wonderful time, then when we got back to Washington, on our way home that is, we knew that we were to go back to Washington and live--so I only had about a month on the forest, but it was lots of fun there at headquarters.

MAUNDER: Down in the forest where?

MRS. GREELEY: Down on the Sequoia--near Hot Springs--about forty miles from Bakersfield, as I recall. Billy had been stationed there before we were married. Then we went on to Washington and spent the whole summer thinking we were going to live there. We roamed the Virginia countryside with the idea of buying an old house and making it over. We went out to suburban Washington and looked through these old houses that were for sale. I suppose all young couples go through the same thing. Then we were ordered out to Missoula where we went into a perfectly conservative town, and a perfectly conservative house, and all the rest of it.

MAUNDER: Was the house provided for you?

MRS. GREELEY: No.

MAUNDER: You had to buy it.

MRS. GREELEY: When we went to Missoula it was just when the Milwaukee Railroad was being built and the town was just full of the Milwaukee workmen. It was hard to find a house but we did finally find one which we rented.

MAUNDER: That would have been about what year?

MRS. GREELEY: We were married in 1907 and we were there 'til 1910--so it was along between 1908--well, let's see--about 1908 to 1910, sometime in there.

MAUNDER: You only lived for a very short time at the very beginning of your married life then on the Sequoia National Forest?

MRS. GREELEY: Just about two months.

MAUNDER: Two months. Do you remember Sam Dana coming to visit you there?

MRS. GREELEY: Well, there were a number of young foresters who came down to get their breaking in. I don't think Sam Dana was with them.

MORGAN: "Cap" Eldredge was there, wasn't he?

MRS. GREELEY: No, I don't think so. I don't remember that.

MAUNDER: What did they do--did they send these young men out to your husband to sort of "build the frame?"

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, to get broken in. As I remember they were there in summers. But that was really before I was married--before we were married. My mother and my two sisters and my brother and I camped on the Sequoia--that was before we were engaged. Billy's mother was there, too. That was the time I remember when these young foresters were there. But when we went on to New Haven, the class of 1907-08 was there--Dave Mason and Barrington Moore are two whom I know, but as I remember when Sam came it was when we were in Missoula, after we were married. He came out there.

MAUNDER: I think that's right. It was to Missoula that he went.

MRS. GREELEY: Well, he was in the Forest Service out there for awhile, I'm quite sure.

MORGAN: Missoula at that time was still a pretty wild and woolly town, wasn't it?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, it was--very wild and woolly. On the town side it was pretty wild on a Saturday night, but our side, of course, was residential. The University was very small at that time, too.

MAUNDER: Well, now how did a couple of Congregational preachers' kids feel in such an atmosphere as that? You must have been kind of real puritanical people, weren't you?

MRS. GREELEY: Well--no, not really! It was surprising how Billy revolted against the strictness with which he'd been brought up. I think the very fact that he had been so strictly brought up--I, too, had rather a strict bringing up and yet not as much as my husband's, was responsible for a period when we went through just a general revolt against all the things we'd been brought up to think were the absolute in everything.

MAUNDER: Did you stop going to church and all the rest of it?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MAUNDER: You see, I was a minister's son, too!

MRS. GREELEY: Oh, you were?

MAUNDER: Yes.

MRS. GREELEY: What was your denomination?

MAUNDER: Methodist.

MRS. GREELEY: At that time even worse, I guess, than the Congregationalist.

MAUNDER: Yes.

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, we revolted just against everything; we didn't go to church; we didn't bring our children up to go to Sunday School; we didn't do anything. Now I think it was a big mistake, because I think there's something you get by being sympathetic toward a church.

The only church up here is a little Episcopal church. I felt I could be more help if I became confirmed, as they call it, rather than in just sitting on the outside--but I'm still not a very good Episcopalian.

MAUNDER: You still have some intellectual quibbles over Christianity?

MRS. GREELEY: Definitely! But it's the only church here and it's only right to work with it. I can work with them in perfect sympathy, but it's the doctrines that bother me terribly.

MORGAN: In Missoula the Forest Service personnel were rather close knit, weren't they?

MRS. GREELEY: Very, and that's one of the very lovely things about being in the Forest Service. People are so good to you. You run across somebody your husband went to school with or who had been in another place with you. Take the Ovid Butler's--Billy never felt a trip to Washington was complete unless he'd gone to see Ovid Butler.

MAUNDER: We just honored Ovid, you know, the other night . . .

MRS. GREELEY: It was in the paper.

MORGAN: I've often wondered, Mrs. Greeley, if the Colonel when he came home at night, for instance in the Missoula period of time, ever talked to you about the administrative problems he was having?

MRS. GREELEY: He never talked about it at home. It seemed the one thing he wanted to do when he got home was to forget it all. If he wasn't working at home he usually read. And he always played with the children for awhile. I never really knew anything about the problems. Of course, there were a good many sheep problems that would appear in the paper--a question of the sheepherders and that sort of thing and I perhaps would ask him something about it and he'd say, "Oh, I don't want to talk about it. Let's forget it." So I really know very little about it. I've learned more from what you wrote about it than I had really known. I just knew in a general way what things were.

MORGAN: In other words, when he got home he just didn't want to . . .

MRS. GREELEY: He just didn't want to think about it. When he had to work, he'd work; but otherwise he'd do something else. He loved to work with his hands. He made a crib for Molly, and he made a high chair for her. He loved to work with his hands, so that there was really very little office talking at our house after he got home.

MAUNDER: What were his other major interests in his leisure hours with you? What sort of things did you do?

MRS. GREELEY: Well, he loved to garden and there was always a Sunday walk with the children. We'd go out in the woods--the whole family--which everybody enjoyed. Then he did a great deal of writing of articles and that sort of thing in his evenings. That was really more of his work, I think at home, than anything else.

MAUNDER: Writing articles?

MRS. GREELEY: Writing articles for newspapers, or speeches for some place, but there never was very much discussion at home.

MAUNDER: Was he an active member of any civic groups, or did he avoid that?

MRS. GREELEY: He had a Boy Scout troop, but he was tired or busy at night and just didn't have enough time to stretch around. One thing he did love was amateur theatricals and he made quite a success with that. There were several community plays that he appeared in--he could act--he loved acting.

MORGAN: Was this in Missoula that he did this, Mrs. Greeley?

MRS. GREELEY: No, this was in Chevy Chase. No, we really weren't in Missoula long enough for him to have any community setup and there was so much pioneer work to be done in forest organization--it was when the districts were just made. The public didn't understand about the Forest Service. There was a lot of opposition to it. Later when we lived in Chevy Chase things cleared up a little bit.

MAUNDER: And there he got into this amateur acting.

MRS. GREELEY: Well, occasionally. Of course, another thing that interrupted our life was that just as soon as we began to make friends anywhere or get any invitations then he'd have to go out on a trip--we never had any real friends together. I suppose the same thing's true of both of you men. Billy knew lumbermen and I knew the people I was thrown in with. I always knew Forest Service people because they came to the house and we had them in for dinner. Always, of course, the men were entertained when they went out of town, so we women had the field men in when they came to town. Thus we'd know the men, but we wouldn't know the women.

MAUNDER: Who did your husband count among his most intimate friends in the Forest Service when he was in Washington?

MRS. GREELEY: You know, it's awfully hard to tell.

MAUNDER: You mentioned Ovid Butler . . .

MRS. GREELEY: Ovid Butler was a very close friend; David Mason was another and there are lots of men in the lumber industry now since we've been here that he felt very close to. Bob Stuart was an awfully close friend of Billy's--they were together in France and roomed together. Billy felt very close to the men he worked with. Many of the men in the Tenth Engineers became close friends.

MAUNDER: What were your special interests in those days, Mrs. Greeley?

MRS. GREELEY: I can't seem to remember that I had much but children and housework. One thing I did develop when the children were little was bird watching. We had quantities of birds in Chevy Chase and out in our yard when I was with the children I began to be interested in them. I think that's when I started becoming interested in gardening, too. There were always a lot of civic things you could do that didn't really count, you just did them.

MAUNDER: Like what?

MRS. GREELEY: I was one of the trustees at a public school. They had trustees, I guess they called us--board of somethin' or other.

MAUNDER: School board.

MRS. GREELEY: School board. I was quite active in the civic end of the Chevy Chase Women's Club--the educational side. The teacher's salaries were very low in Maryland when we first went there to live. We lived over the border in Chevy Chase, Maryland. I remember going out to a hearing before the school board--the county school board in Rockville, Maryland--in which we were trying very hard for better education for the negroes in Maryland. I heard a man get up--actually this happened--and said, "Show me an educated negro, and I'll show you a damn fool"--that's in my generation and that's just outside of the city of Washington. So we didn't get very much, very far, but I suppose that was a small beginning. The negroes were educated in chicken houses and with books used from the white children's schools. Now it's quite different.

MAUNDER: You made this a personal cause even though there were other women . . .

MRS. GREELEY: There were a lot of us interested in that sort of thing, and we had gone out, the whole delegation of us, to see if we couldn't do something for bettering the education of the negro there.

MAUNDER: Did you accomplish something?

MRS. GREELEY: I don't think so. Only I think the more we talked about it and the more we agitated, the more people woke up.

I imagine it's pretty much improved now. Art and Ann are living over on the Maryland side and Lynn is going to Maryland High School which is excellent. That was another thing--our schools didn't measure up with the D. C. schools. Our children went to the Maryland school and the standards were not as high. I think that was why we really went out for higher standards for all children; negro children included. And I couldn't believe it that Art wanted to live on the Maryland side because there was a brand new high school in the District which was exceptionally good. We'd gone out when our children were little to try for better standards for the Maryland schools. Well, another thing--the Marylanders hated us people who were outsiders who came in from the outside upsetting their traditions. I'm sure that's over with. This was a long time ago when you come right down to it.

MAUNDER: This was back before World War I?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MAUNDER: How long were you in Maryland then, while your husband was stationed in Washington?

MRS. GREELEY: We were there eighteen years. We've lived out here now longer than we've lived any place.

MORGAN: Did you ever have an opportunity to meet Gifford Pinchot personally, Mrs. Greeley?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MORGAN: What were your impressions of him?

MRS. GREELEY: He was polite and courteous and very charming. He was not chatty, but he was a very pleasant person to meet--perfectly cultured.

MAUNDER: Was there a great deal of night work to be done by the men in those days? Did they have to . . .

MRS. GREELEY: You mean the men . . .

MAUNDER: The men in the Forest Service. Did they have lots of meetings in the evenings?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, there were quite a lot, and of course our living out as we did made it a little difficult. If we'd lived right in town it would have been quite simple.

MAUNDER: How did your husband commute to work?

MRS. GREELEY: He went on an electric car--crowded in the morning--crowded in the evening--took him about an hour to get in and get out--standing both ways. I'm surprised he wanted to do it, but he, well none of us would have been happy if we'd lived in town.

MAUNDER: Did he buy a car eventually and drive?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, I think we were the last people in the neighborhood to have a car. It was an open Studebaker. "It was nonsense to have a closed car--why we were all hardy people--had been outdoors all our lives." So we bought an open car. Billy had a few lessons and we started right out to Vermont. Every time anything looked the least bit scary we'd all yell, "Look out! Look out!" How he ever got there and kept his senses, I don't know.

MAUNDER: You used to go to Vermont in the summer?

MRS. GREELEY: We did after the children were more or less grown up. We began by going up to New Hampshire. Billy had a close friend--Coolidge, Joe Coolidge--whose family owned quite a bit of property along Lake Winnepesaukee and Joe arranged for us to have his parents' house one summer. That was the beginning of our going up to Vermont--I mean going north for the summer. We went two years to the Coolidge place in New Hampshire and then we went one summer to Vermont. We rented a farm near where my grandfather Dwinell was born--ran into a lot of various cousins and finally bought that place. Then we went there for the summertime.

MAUNDER: When you say you went for the summertime, did you and the children go up ahead of your husband or did you all go together?

MRS. GREELEY: Usually we went ahead. Those were the only times Billy ever took a vacation--after we bought that Vermont place. Then he'd come and stay for awhile, or else he'd come and go home with us. The area was still very primitive in a way. This was in the hills of Vermont, and except for a pickup truck, a telephone, and a milk separator, they lived exactly as their ancestors had lived. There was a woman there who still corded and spun her own wool; there was an old man who was the son of a Revolutionary hero--you can't believe that, but it was really true. This old man was the son of the third or fourth wife of a Revolutionary soldier. He made his living by going around appearing at D. A. R. organizations and so forth, and showing himself off as the son of a Revolutionary hero. We just loved that Vermont experience.

MAUNDER: You must have got some of your furniture while you were up there, Mrs. Greeley.

MRS. GREELEY: We did. Many of the pieces were made by a real craftsman who lived in the Vermont hills. Some of the others are family pieces. Some we bought at an auction in Vermont.

MAUNDER: What sort of things did you do there in the summertime?

MRS. GREELEY: There was swimming, by going several miles downhill and several miles back up again. The children used to play in the creek and that sort of thing--picked strawberries and do all the things that people do--but there was nothing except the good, natural things to do. We had no sports or anything like that. We were out amongst the people--the natives who lived there.

MAUNDER: Real New England!

MRS. GREELEY: Real New England. One summer I stayed on with the two younger boys--Molly and Art went back to Washington because they were in high school--just so Hank and Dave could go to the little one room country school to see what it was like. It was the same country school my grandfather had gone to and I thought it was well worthwhile for the boys to see what a difference there was. They even had a water bucket for the water--drank out of the gourd. Our boys had about a month of that--I don't know whether they remember it or not.

MAUNDER: I suppose your husband was back and forth across the country a good deal?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, he was always away in the summertime--that's why I felt justified in being away. He always had a long trip in the summer. That, of course, was the season when he could get out into so much of the country that he couldn't the rest of the year.

MAUNDER: He would go on a long summer field trip?

MRS. GREELEY: He'd be gone probably three or four months in the summer--or three months anyway--and then, of course, in the winter Congress was always in session, so he had to be around Washington and couldn't make so many trips.

MAUNDER: He was very often involved then in working with the congressmen.

MRS. GREELEY: Yes. Bureau Chiefs are, and I've been surprised to see how much Art is having the same experience. He writes about the committees he has to be with and the questions that are asked and how he has to bone up to be sure he gets all the answers--well, that was the same experience his father went through. That's a harrowing experience--to have to appear before a Congressional committee.

MAUNDER: Why, because they probe so sharply?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, and they know so little, so many of them--so little and you have to go into the background to explain--of course, Billy was there in the early days of forestry when people really didn't know very much. They had no real conception of what forestry was or what the Forest Service was trying to do. There was so much opposition to the Forest Service. The people's idea was that the forests were being locked up--people, of course, had used them just as they wanted. To educate the public in proper use of the forests was the hard part of it in the early days, I think.

MAUNDER: Did he come home sometimes feeling it was almost a hopeless cause to try and educate these congressmen?

MRS. GREELEY: Oh, I think he did. Nights he'd come home and lie down on the davenport and sleep. I usually knew whether it had been a very bad day with Congress by whether he had any animation left after dinner.

MAUNDER: Do you remember his commenting about any particular congressmen or senators at that time that he knew personally, or whom he found particularly difficult to deal with?

MRS. GREELEY: I can't remember. There were a lot of issues that came up. One of the worst issues as I remember was the matter of range and stock allowed on the forests. The trouble with the stockmen and the cattlemen was to confine them to areas that they should have and not let the cattle--and the sheep particularly--roam all over the forest. He had a good many experiences in Montana with the Basque sheepherders and the story--I guess you quoted it--about the Basque sheepherder who went from one place just as the forest officers would try and catch him. Sometimes they would just move over the line into the next county and nothing could be done. Those are the kind of things they were always fighting.

MORGAN: During this period he had many opportunities to change jobs at a considerable increase in salary. Did he ever consult you in these matters?

MRS. GREELEY: Oh, you mean my husband . . .

MORGAN: The Colonel, yes.

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, he always talked it over with me.

MORGAN: Did he ever seriously consider leaving the Forest Service prior to 1928?

MRS. GREELEY: I don't think so. He was offered several jobs at different times and a lot of them meant an increase in salary, but he loved the Forest Service. I think the hardest thing that ever happened to him was when he changed and became manager of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association. He was made to feel, I think, by foresters of the Pinchot school that he'd sold out to the lumbermen. It was very hard for him because he'd been devoted to the Forest Service and to what he considered was the best way to handle forestry. Of course, it was just about that time there was a heavy depression--that was 1928 and 1929. The lumbermen, of course, were individualists and it was almost impossible to get them to pull together at first. The whole picture has changed. Lumbermen and foresters work together now.

MAUNDER: What motivated your husband to make the change from the Forest Service?

MRS. GREELEY: Well, he always felt that a man shouldn't stay too long on the job--on a real job. He was made to feel that here was a chance to get foresters and lumbermen to cooperate. He came out with rather an idealistic idea. I think George Long, from Longview was the man who more than anybody else made him realize that this was his chance.

MAUNDER: You knew George Long very well?

MRS. GREELEY: I didn't.

MAUNDER: He did?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MAUNDER: And you feel perhaps that George Long persuaded him to come out.

MRS. GREELEY: I think I heard Billy say it was what George Long said more than anything else that made him feel that this was the chance. But it was an awfully hard break, and as I say, nobody was pulling together--everybody was just competing with everybody else.

MORGAN: Was there any particular person that made the Colonel feel that this was a general feeling in the Pinchot school that he had sold out?

MRS. GREELEY: No. It was just the whole atmosphere--it was that whole school--the Pinchot people who felt that the lumbermen and the foresters had nothing in common.

MORGAN: There were no direct statements of that sort made in publication or . . .

MRS. GREELEY: No, just little jabs and little . . .

MORGAN: Inuendos . . .

MRS. GREELEY: And so forth and so on.

MAUNDER: And he was sensitive to this?

MRS. GREELEY: He was awfully sensitive to it. I heard him say that really the final thing that pulled the lumbermen together was the NRA--such as they all hated it. They had to come into line according to the NRA--and from then on they began to see--even the most rebellious--that there was merit in working together for good forest management.²

MAUNDER: I'm glad to hear that--because I remember the Colonel telling me that years ago and it's nice to have it confirmed from you.

MRS. GREELEY: Well, he did--very definitely--I heard him say that several times. Of course, several of them worked hard together on that. I can't even now tell you who they were, but Corydon Wagner was one of them who worked with him--and Harlen Watzek. I keep meeting men who say, "I worked with your husband on NRA," and I hadn't known who they were at all. You see, so much of Billy's life was something I didn't know anything about.

MAUNDER: When he came home he liked to forget it?

MRS. GREELEY: Really it was after we came over here to live that he talked to me more about his personal reactions to things than he ever had when he was active--he seemed to enjoy it after he got here--maybe he had nobody else to talk to.

²National Recovery Act

MORGAN: I don't suppose there was any correspondence between Colonel Greeley and Gifford Pinchot after 1928, was there?

MRS. GREELEY: I don't think Billy had much correspondence with Mr. Pinchot. As I remember most of it was statements Pinchot made to other people or made in public-- I don't think he ever wrote to Billy--it was just as if he'd written him right off.

MORGAN: No mention of him whatsoever.

MRS. GREELEY: No.

MORGAN: I know in Breaking New Ground he completely ignores the Colonel's existence.

MRS. GREELEY: Mr. Pinchot just had no use for Billy that was all. Billy was a "traitor."

MAUNDER: Well, that animosity went back to the days when they were contending over legislation in the Congress, didn't it?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MAUNDER: In the early twenties when the Clarke-McNary Act and others were up for consideration?

MRS. GREELEY: I think the first break--again I'm not too sure, but the first break was over that--I can't even remember what the legislation was--but Pinchot testified on one side and then the committee called Billy up--I sat in on the hearing and heard him say--they turned to Pinchot and said, "Well, how does it happen that this young successor of yours believes this way?" Pinchot said, "Oh well, he's young," or something to the effect that the lumbermen had "pulled wool over his eyes."

MORGAN: Yes, I think that was the hearing on the Snell bill, which eventually became the Clarke-McNary bill.

MRS. GREELEY: I think I recollect that--my whole idea of what went on is vague.

MORGAN: Of course, Gifford Pinchot wrote an apology which was included in the hearing. However, it was a very backhanded apology--he apologized to Graves and very little to the Colonel for his statement. It was again a typical Pinchot statement . . .

MRS. GREELEY: Of course, he really didn't blame Colonel Graves, I don't think--the whole blame came on Billy. But Colonel Graves, I think, felt exactly as my husband felt about it. He and Billy worked together very harmoniously.

MORGAN: Did Colonel Greeley feel, do you think, that perhaps Graves was an even more important figure in the establishment of American forestry than was Pinchot?

MRS. GREELEY: Oh, no, I don't think so. Of course, Mr. Pinchot was the first one who really made a definite stand for forestry. The Bureau of Forestry hadn't amounted to anything until Mr. Pinchot, who was well trained and a prominent person, developed it. Colonel Graves carried out Mr. Pinchot's forestry ideas. I don't know just how much was original with him, but he certainly organized things and got them going in a more democratic way. Now I don't know--I'm just talking--that's just my impression, that's all. Billy always felt that Colonel Graves never received the credit due him for the way he developed the practical side of the Forest Service.

MAUNDER: What was your husband's feeling toward some of the other great foresters of his day--men like Fernow and Schenck--do you recall how he appraised these men?

MRS. GREELEY: I think he felt they'd made great contributions. He admired Fernow immensely--Schenck got into a lot of difficulty you know, and I remember when Ovid Butler edited the life of Schenck--I think he sent some of the copy out to Billy to see. Billy didn't think too much of it.

MAUNDER: He didn't think too much of Dr. Schenck?

MRS. GREELEY: No, I don't think so, although he knew he was a good forester. It was the handling of the Biltmore question that I think Billy felt was wrong. Schenck used to care more, some of the foresters said, for going out with his dogs than he did for forestry--but you can't tell on those things--you can't tell how much truth there is in that.

MORGAN: He thought quite highly of Austin Cary, didn't he?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, he admired him very much. He and E. E. "Nick" Carter spent a long time out in the woods with Austin Cary one summer. In fact, I think I've got a picture somewhere of Billy and Austin Cary. Austin Cary was a

great character. When we were in New Haven on our wedding trip he came into town and Billy asked him up to our little apartment for dinner. I had never seen him. He was a wild looking kind of a person. And after dinner he threw himself down on the davenport, grabbed his shoes and took them off and said, "You don't mind if I take off my shoes, do you? My feet hurt me!" -- and laid down on the davenport. He and Billy got into quite a discussion and every time he wanted to make a point he'd thump on the wall, "I tell you, Bill! I tell you, Bill!" I thought we would get the landlady in after us.

MORGAN: I imagine as a young bride this came as somewhat of a surprise to you, didn't it, an old woodsman like that?

MRS. GREELEY: It was a little startling. I thought if this was my introduction to forestry it was funny. Austin Cary was very kind. In Missoula when any of the husbands were away he was most kind about coming to see if there was anything he could do. He loved to drive--and he'd take the widows out on a drive--there never in the world was anybody kinder-hearted than Austin Cary.

MAUNDER: He married only late in life, didn't he?

MRS. GREELEY: Seems to me he did marry.

MAUNDER: He did. He married a woman desperately sick with tuberculosis whom he had known when he was a young man.

MRS. GREELEY: Yes.

MAUNDER: And he married her just to see that she was taken care of.

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, you're right.

MAUNDER: She died not too long after they were married.

MRS. GREELEY: You're right.

MAUNDER: He married her and he provided a home for her until she died.

MRS. GREELEY: Isn't somebody writing the life of Austin Cary?

MAUNDER: Yes, a young man in the South.

MRS. GREELEY: I saw that in the last Forest History. Will it be published?

MAUNDER: We hope so.

MRS. GREELEY: He did wonderful work in the South--it was pioneer work with lumbermen.

MAUNDER: Mrs. Greeley, looking around your home and especially the library, I notice that there are a lot of books of history, that there are a good many books of poetry and Dickens--and are these a reflection of your reading interests, or of your husband's?

MRS. GREELEY: Well, it's sort of a combination of both of us. Billy would never read just fiction for fiction--he loved historical novels--and, of course, the history books are all his--the straight history are his. Mine are the more frivolous kind. Billy did a lot of reading aloud. That's one thing we did with our evenings--he'd read aloud--it was before radio or anything else--and I'd do handiwork. I think that's why the Dickens set is so in pieces--because Billy read that aloud. His heroes were Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. His favorite authors were Dickens, Kipling and Shakespeare.

MAUNDER: Did this use to be readings that all the family would take part in, or just you and he?

MRS. GREELEY: Sunday nights he always read to the children--read aloud--oh, quantities of the old standard books--although not Don Quixote, but along that general line--The Three Musketeers--there were some that were awfully heavy it seemed to me. Westward Ho!--books of that type.

MAUNDER: Did the children love this?

MRS. GREELEY: Yes, they loved it. They always looked forward to it. There'd always be a walk Sunday afternoon and then we'd have Sunday supper and then Billy'd read aloud to the children until bedtime. We'd usually end up with hymns and then to bed.

MORGAN: Did he have any particularly favorite author?

MRS. GREELEY: He loved the old standard things--Lorna Doone and things of that sort that the children learned. I don't know whether it formed any taste for them or not--they read just as frivolously as anybody else--as all the rest of us do.



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Dear Reader of FOREST HISTORY:

In the attached issue of FOREST HISTORY you will find published for the first time, excerpts from the World War I diaries of the late Colonel William B. Greeley. The diaries are an important source for scholars of both European and American history. In making them available for general use, the Society contributes toward its goal of preserving and disseminating sources of North American forest history. During 1961 we plan to publish similar works. We also plan to publish more oral history interviews of the kind we published in 1960.

Our readers have indicated a strong preference for this kind of activity on our part and we shall be pleased to give you a bigger and better quarterly publication in 1961. To do this, however, we must have your support in order to meet the increasing costs of printing and distributing. Will you please fill out the enclosed form-envelope indicating your willingness to assist in this task and return the same to me. We would appreciate your enclosing a check so that bookkeeping expenses can be kept to a minimum.

With all best wishes for 1961.

Sincerely yours,

Elwood R. Maunder
Elwood R. Maunder
Director

ERM:mm

**A FORESTER
AT WAR-**

*Excerpts From The
Diaries of*

Colonel William B. Greeley

1917-1919¹

Edited by
GEORGE T. MORGAN, JR.



Colonel William B. Greeley receives the British Distinguished Service Order from General Sir D. Henderson. Colonel Greeley was also awarded the French Chevalier Legion of Honor and the American Distinguished Service Medal in recognition of his outstanding wartime service.

In July, 1919, an American army officer aboard the homeward-bound troop ship, *S. S. Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*, noted in the final pages of his diary, "I regard the A. E. F. [American Expeditionary Force] as a baseball team which has weak spots, makes plenty of errors, loses games frequently, but ends the season with a high average."

The diarist was Lieutenant Colonel William B. Greeley. As Chief of the Forestry Section, Twentieth Engineers,² he had spent nearly two years in France and had played a prominent role in waging a war which a warrior of the old school lamented was "a hell of a complicated proposition."³

The United States had been actively engaged in World War I for only a short time when General John J. Pershing cabled an appeal for the formation of a forestry regiment which could provide the A. E. F. with urgently needed lumber for docks, barracks, warehouses, railroad ties, barbed wire entanglement stakes, fuel wood, and other forest products.⁴ In his memoirs, General Pershing comments: "As the details of our mission abroad developed, it soon became evident that in all that pertained to the maintenance and supply of our armies . . . men with expert knowledge . . . would be necessary. . . . From the start I decided to obtain the best talent available and was fortunate . . . to find able men who were anxious to do their part. The earliest application of the principle came in connection with timber and lumber procurement."⁵

The Forest Service was the logical agency to organize a regiment, or regiments, for this specialized task and General Pershing requested the appointment of Chief Forester Henry S. Graves to take charge of lumber operations.⁶ Graves and the Service responded with alacrity and full recognition of the job before them: "We have the task not only of efficient timber operations to help those on the firing line, but we must also practice forestry."⁷ In order to perform this dual function every effort was made to fill key positions with experienced foresters and lumbermen and both groups were liberally represented in the overseas contingents.

Greeley was at the time Assistant Chief Forester and upon Graves' request was appointed to organize the Tenth Engineers (Forestry). He was commissioned Major, Engineer Officer Reserve Corps, on June 21, 1917, and began organizing a forestry force for immediate embarkation to France.⁸

For the next few weeks his days were filled with the multitude of details arising from recruiting and equipping a forestry regiment. Then, on July 5, 1917, a cablegram arrived from General Pershing requesting that Greeley lead an advance party to France composed of an experienced lumberman, two logging engineers, six forest assistants, a technical forest examiner, a forest negotiator, and an organization expert.⁹

On August 7, 1917, Greeley and his group of experts were billeted aboard the transport, *Finland*, and on the same day heaved anchor for France:

August 20, 1917: An eventful day. . . . About 9:00 A.M. land appeared to southward—bare yellow cliffs. Very soon after our transport gave the signal for a submarine attack and began firing. The fleet scattered out like a covey of quail. Probably 160 shots were fired all told during the next 60 or 80 minutes and the destroyers dropped several bombs. One of the soldiers said he saw a torpedo pass our boat a hundred feet astern. . . . After a time the fleet assembled again, turned sharply to the north and made away at all speed. We seem to have struck the French coast some distance northwest of Saint Nazaire and to be skirting it to the east within a line of shoals. French patrol boats are about us and two French air machines are constantly about. There are many little steam trawlers and innumerable little fishing boats—many of them with red or blue or green sails. . . . About 4:00 P.M. we turned up the broad channel of the Loire River. Every available point crowded with people cheering and waving to the troops. The piers along St. Nazaire locks were thronged with cheering Frenchmen and Frenchwomen. . . . Many in the crowds threw oranges and pears to the soldiers.

August 21: . . . We saw quite a bit of Saint Nazaire. . . . The town itself contains mostly small, dingy stone houses—with very narrow streets. The river front—along the Loire, however, is very well improved and attractive. The town habitants seemed on the whole rather a dingy, runty lot—sailors, long-shoremen, fishermen, and bourgeois. Very few young, vigorous men. Number of women wearing black is pathetic.

August 22: Paris at 8:06 A.M. . . . Located Major Graves' office . . . and went over there in military auto. Found HSG [Henry S. Graves] and Barry [Barrington] Moore. ¹⁰ They went right down to [the] station with me. We commandeered two buses and took ourselves and our baggage to Hotel McMahon near the Arc de Triomphe. After locating in palatial rooms . . . we went down to Major Graves' office and he gave the men a general talk regarding the situation here and the work cut out for us. . . .

August 23: Spent practically whole day with HSG. We went over many matters—especially . . . general situation in negotiations with French govt. This astonished me. There seem to be many political undercurrents with more or less begrudging cooperation with the American forces and a somewhat mercenary spirit in bargaining over details. There is evidently more of this in Parliament than in the executive departments. There is a serious shortage of lumber, railroad ties and fuel for both civil and military use. . . .

August 24: Made up outline of points to be covered in reports on field examination of operating areas. . . . Maj. Graves and I discussed it with the whole crowd of logging engineers and forest examiners, and made assignments of the men to examine four state forests, two working together in each instance. . . .

August 25: In A.M. attended conference with Gen. Lord Lovat—head of English lumbering operations and Gen. Taylor of American Engineers.¹¹ Gen. Lovat very approachable and cordial and seems very keen. . . . He agreed to Americans retaining entire first forest rgt. [regiment] for their own needs—Gen. Taylor agreeing that one battalion from second rgt. and probably one from the third rgt. would be turned over to the British to aid their work in Landes. Lord Lovat also advised centralizing all purchases of wood by Americans—under Army Commander in War Zone and under the joint British-Franco Committee elsewhere. . . .

August 27: Our organization is becoming quite complicated and the red tape danger is looming. I had no idea that so many colonels and majors and captains could be employed on Staff and Supply work for a comparatively small army. We are spread out all over Paris and spend lots of time chasing around to one another's offices in Army autos and motorcycles. . . .

August 30: A third conference . . . on lumber requirements and specifications for railroad and dock construction. Decided on general program, which, if forests can be obtained, will concentrate our rgt. on production of barrack lumber in softwood forests of eastern France (together with some large timbers required for railroads and docks), and another rgt. on production of ry. [railway] ties in the Landes. . . .

August 31: At 9:30 attended our first meeting *Comité Franco Britannique de Bois*—Sébastien and Commandant Chaplain representing French and Col. Sutherland the English.¹² . . . Col. Sutherland . . . reported on several offers of private timber tracts, all purchases of which are handled by this committee. HSG then stated our case. Chaplain agreed to take up immediately with the *Service des Eaux et Forêts* our obtaining a state forest in the Vosges. . . .

September 1: Much parleying about getting forests in Vosges, Savoie, vicinity of Châtillon. Nothing definite yet. I feel like a squirrel in a cage—tired out every night, but with little progress to show for it. The changes and shifts and red tape in our army organization are discouraging. The French seem to be meeting us in a bargaining, shrewd spirit rather than one of earnest cooperation in an emergency. They give no inkling of regarding their national situation as serious. This is far from the state of things which I pictured when in America. I have not gotten my bearings yet.

September 2: . . . Advised HSG to ascertain operating possibilities of state forest of Levier immediately. We must select first mill sites immediately. He agreed that I should go down with Gallaher to do it. . . .

September 3: Meeting of joint committee on timber purchases in A.M. It is now *Comité Interallié de Bois*

de Guerre. We completed arrangements for American representatives to join in examination of desirable forest areas near Vosges. Also secured assent to our making small purchases of timber products in open market without consulting committee. . . .

September 5: Took [train] . . . for Besancon with Gallaher at 7:45. Arrived at 5:00 P.M. . . . Went first to office of *Conservateur de Service des Eaux et Forêts*. Then hunted up . . . an inspector in the Waters and Forests Service, now commandant in the French *Génie*. He was very cordial—gave us much information about Levier and arranged for Lieutenant Comfort, *Centre de Bois* for French *Génie* at Besancon, to go with us to see the forest. . . .

September 6: Saw much of Levier State Forest; examined water sources and mill sites near towns of Levier and Arc; talked over ry. situation with local *chef de gare*. . . . Levier is a wonderful forest of pure fir. . . . Its operation appears practicable as to snow, logging conditions, and water supply. Transportation by rail over one-horse narrow gauge line uncertain. . . .

September 7: Drove to Mouthe . . . [and] met Berry and Kittridge. . . . Looked over state forests of Risol and Mouthe (Noirémont). . . . Risol is nearly pure spruce—high and rugged—much like White Mts. of New Hampshire. . . . Noirémont, also largely spruce, is lower and less rugged. Decided to abandon Risol project altogether for present. . . . We can operate Noirémont next summer—but should insist to French on taking it alone.

September 8: . . . Drove to Andelot—junction point of Levier narrow gauge. Looked over loading and siding facilities. Considerable additional siding necessary. . . . Wrote up report to Maj. Graves on Risol, Noirémont, and Levier propositions. Main point is not to tackle more than one heavy snow operation this winter—Levier is the best of the three. Returned to Paris by train. . . . A rough night. . . .

September 9: Talked over whole Risol and Levier situation with Maj. Graves. He has made no progress with Paris authorities in getting a forest in Vosges. . . . Dunston and Gibbons back from Meyriat Forest near Nantua. Another high, snowy proposition (pure fir) depending upon a narrow gauge ry. . . . It looks as though the French Forest Service were trying to unload their most difficult and inaccessible logging jobs on us. . . .

September 10: More squirrel cage activities. . . . There seems to be a bad cordwood situation at many American camps and posts, with no adequate provision and Quartermasters in ignorance of what to do. Suggested to HSG that some man be assigned to specific job of rounding up and directing whole cordwood supply. . . .

September 11: Drafted tentative statement of wood requirements of American forces for *Comité Inter-*

lié, with general plan of operations under it. . . . HSG and I took [it] up with Col. Sutherland of English Forestry Office at 11:30. He offered no objection to the general program. Practically agreed that English and Canadians should keep out of American zone of operations from the sea to Vosges, also that we should get the large hardwood forest of Der for part of our requirements. . . .

September 12: Attended conference with Col. Sutherland and Sébastien on our operations in Landes. . . . Two large forests tentatively offered us at St. Eulalie and Dax. Got tip that French govt. plans to requisition a large quantity of privately owned ry. ties in Landes and that we might purchase or borrow some of them. Went at once to American Ry. Office . . . and put matter before them. They told us to go hard after all the ties we could get. . . .

September 14: Went over general mill . . . plans with Maj. Graves. It looks like small mills at Camors, Châtillon, and Gien, with large mills at Levier and Gérardmer. . . .

September 15: Drafted report for Maj. Graves on whole fuel situation with A. E. F. including latest estimates of cordwood requirements. Also long letter to Peck outlining plan for procuring fuelwood and putting him in charge of this work in the Army Zone. . . .¹³ Genl. Taylor came in from Chaumont. He is very insistent that we obtain some French sawmills where labor of our troops can be used to increase present output. . . .

September 17: Drove out into state forest of Châtillon—looked over copse of Scotch pine and hardwood coppice designated for our cutting by French Forest Service, also haulage conditions from the various camps to Vanvey. Saw one camp of German prisoners cutting forest products for French Army, also very interesting French charcoal burning. . . . Interviewed *chef de gare* and mayor of the commune. Also located camp site on communal land on edge of town. In P.M. drove to Dijon via Châtillon. Found Moore and Bruce there with instructions to me to report to Paris immediately. Maj. Graves is using every man available to search out French sawmills which we might take hold of. . . .

September 18: Returned to Paris by train in early morning. Found HSG under high tension. Pershing, McKinstry, and Taylor are all pounding to have us take over French sawmills and increase their output. . . .¹⁴ Urged HSG to get out on field work for a few days and get freshened up. . . .

September 20: Maj. Graves went to Besancon—leaving me in charge. He needs the change badly. More squirrel cage activities. Succeeded, however, in course of day and evening, in completing draft of detailed instructions and specifications governing utili-

zation of timber and products to be manufactured by our troops. . . . Had a long talk with Woolsey about our purchases of lumber in open market. We are chasing many will o' the wisps and in other cases are blocked by French authorities who obviously want to do all the market trading themselves.

September 28: We were greatly stirred up over apparent double-dealing of French Ministry of Munitions concerning our earlier requisitions for lumber for urgent needs—before arrival of forestry troops. These were—1,000,000 feet for docks and warehouses at Nantes, Bassens, and St. Nazaire, 1,000,000 feet for base camp at Is-sur-Tille, and smaller quantities for Gondrecourt. First two were not only promised but assurances given that shipments had started. Today were informed that requisitions had never been approved and letter was produced from Gen'l. Pétain objecting to supplies going to Americans on account of great needs of French Army and insisting that all requisitions be approved by himself. Everyone in office from Gen'l. Patrick down hopping mad and pounding their desks.¹⁵

September 29: Hell was popping in office this morning over misinformation on lumber shipments given us by French and the attitude of Gen'l. Pétain toward refusal of all American requisitions. Translations and

memoranda flying thick and fast—and HSG's black eyes snapping more sparks every minute. Late in morning HSG tackled the French officers whom we hold responsible—Commandant Herbillon and Lieut. Sébastien. Herbillon fled at first encounter and refused all day to see any American officers. Sébastien palavered and explained and promised to do his best. HSG told him it would not only be put up to Gen'l. Pershing but would become an international "incident." The fear of God must have sunk in deep for in late P.M. Sébastien telephoned that he had secured telephonic release of the requisitions for Gondrecourt, the three ports which Americans are improving, and Is-sur-Tille, and that instructions had been wired to rush all these shipments.

September 30: . . . French have turned down our request for 2,500,000 ties—except as to possible small doles out of their military supplies from month to month. Discussed with Maj. Graves possible means of forcing things to a show-down with them—either to permit us to purchase products in open market or to requisition the stuff themselves and turn it over to us.

October 2: . . . French have failed us again in furnishing lumber for port improvements at Bassens, Nantes, and St. Nazaire. General Patrick ordered me to go after it hard.

The Tenth Engineers arrived at Nevers, France on October 9, 1917.¹⁶ The well-laid, if harried preparations by the advance party facilitated the dispersal of the units to their field assignments and by late November production operations were underway. The forestry troops sawed their first log in a French mill on November 25, and two days later the first American mill began operations near Gien on the Loire River.¹⁷

From the outset the resourcefulness and know-how of the American lumberjacks and foresters was sorely tested. Equipment shortages necessitated constant improvisation and the men rose to the challenge. Skidding operations were initiated with horse harnesses fashioned out of ropes and old sacks and crude bridles made of nails and wire. Where horses were not available manpower was substituted. Mills were dismantled, moved several miles, re-set, and operating again within a forty-eight hour period.¹⁸ Stream driving was unheard of in France. The Americans at an installation in the Landes considered it the only means of solving their transportation problem so they experimented, it seemed safe, and then a pile of logs sank to the bottom of the river. The perplexed, but determined Yanks experimented further. The tops were left on the trees to draw out the sap and the logs floated. Thus, the American "river pig," in modified form, was introduced to France.¹⁹

General Pershing's original request for forestry troops called for sufficient numbers to provide 25,000,000 board feet of lumber per month. One year later the estimated needs of the expanding American Expeditionary Force had soared to over 73,000,000 board feet per month.²⁰ The lumberjack soldiers, eventually 18,543 strong, bent to their task with a will. Increasing demands stimulated herculean efforts and production records were compiled far in excess of the wildest expectations. Mills rated at 10,000 board feet in a ten hour period produced upwards of 50,000 feet and a "twenty-thousand" mill won honors with a cut of over 175,000 board feet in less than twenty-four hours as the companies vied for records.²¹ Mills highballed night and day, running double shifts of ten hours in most cases and in a few instances operating three eight hour hitches. When preparations for the St. Mihiel and Argonne drives demanded large quantities of ties, planks, and entanglement stakes the men responded by hewing ties after regular working hours and laboring long hours into the night repairing railroad track and mill break-downs.²²

Through the weary months of toil in driving rain or scorching sun the men hit the ball hard and kept their spirits high with contests, jokes, and of course, an occasional sojourn to the nearest French village for short hours of relaxation.

Greeley was most impressed with the "doughboy's" ability to retain his sense of humor, albeit exaggerated at times, under adverse conditions and recorded a number of the widely circulated stories in his diary. One of his favorites took place in the Canadian operations in the Vosges where the timber was being logged under the very critical eye of a French inspector. One day the Canadians accidentally tipped over a tree the inspector had reserved. They promptly set it straight again and tamped the roots down with snow. Their camouflage efforts were barely finished when the inspector passed by and chose that particular tree to lean against while lighting his pipe. Over went the

tree and the inspector into a snow drift. As he emerged from the drift, brushing snow particles from his hair, eyes, and clothing, he tersely commented to a nearby American officer, "Ces Canadiens sont mauvais enfants!"²³ Another tale of wide renown had a "doughboy" earnestly picking the cooties from his shirt. An officer strolled by and solicitously inquired, "Are you picking them out, Son?" "No, Sir," was the quick rejoinder, "I'm taking them just as they come."²⁴

This was the lighter side of war and though Greeley by his own admission believed "if a man does not become a maniac on this work, it is by virtue of preserving his sense of humor," weightier matters pressed heavy on his shoulders:²⁵

October 15: . . . The French officials seem to be muchly at 6's and 7's with one another. . . . We are heartily sick of the delays and obstructions and disagreements we are encountering in trying to get action by them.

October 25: . . . I am very tired of the semi-political, semi-diplomatic *pour parleys* and the unending committee meetings. There is a ton of talk at the *Comité Interallié de Bois de Guerre* for an ounce of action. I have a large job on the straight operating phases of our forestry work and am glad to stick to it. It is surprising to see how, even under the pressure of their great war, the French retain their bargaining instincts and their thrifty way of always providing for the future. . . . The French . . . regard us as wasteful in our use of wood and doubtless think that if they hold us down hard we can get on with much less than we are asking for. Also, they are taking no chances on exhausting their forests and being put to it for an adequate supply of wood after the war.

October 26: . . . Col. Graves told me that the trend of the French letters and *pour parleys* is toward restricting American requisitions or purchases of wood in France . . . to 2,000,000 ft. per month. Even what we produce by running French mills double shift will be charged off against this monthly total. In the last analysis this goes back to Gen. Pétain's insistence on the dire needs of the French army and his demand that the French needs be supplied first. I advised him to put the situation squarely up to Gen. Pershing to settle with Pétain. Nothing will be accomplished by further dickering in Paris. HSG agreed. . . .

October 27: The fur flew today. Col. Jackson had written the French declining to buy our private forests through them and insisting on making the final contract direct with the owner.²⁶ Lieuts. Soule and Detré came to explain and reiterate the French demands to him today.²⁷ Jackson would not budge. . . . Now I suppose it will go to the Generals. . . . We count that day lost which witnesses neither a blowup nor a diplomatic intrigue of some sort.

November 1: . . . More trouble seems to be brewing over the question of the method of buying our forests. Capt. Moore came down today with a wry face, to report that the French would probably block our efforts to make cooperative arrangements with French sawmills—on account of this purchase mix up. . . .

November 5: Capt. Moore and I accompanied Gen. Patrick to conference with Gen. Chevalier. He is a French Major General, formerly Chief of the French Engineers, now head of wood supply under the *Ministre de Armement*. He is rather an old, genial, political type of man. Gen. Chevalier agreed to make no reduction in our allotted 2,000,000 feet of lumber for November. He also agreed in the principle that we should make whatever arrangements we could to obtain lumber by increasing the output of French sawmills. He also agreed—in urgent cases—to give us written authority to begin cutting in private forests as soon as their allotment to the American forces has been approved by the . . . [*Comité Interallié de Bois de Guerre*], leaving prices to be fixed later by the French government. This is a most valuable concession.

November 15: . . . Had long discussion with Col. Graves, Woolsey, and Gibbons on forest of Mirebeau. Decided to purchase or requisition the whole forest, good and bad alike. We are getting less finicky as we realize more fully the difficulty of keeping a large number of forestry troops supplied with timber.

November 17: . . . Dunston back with glowing report on forest of Boisgenceau. By one of the inexplicable turns of the French system of doing things, this timber has been offered, examined, and requisitioned within a week.

December 12: . . . The difficulties and delays in obtaining forests are unabated. Col. Graves is to appear before the Requisition Board in an effort to obtain the forest of Marchenoir. It is badly mixed up with politics. Woolsey advises taking it up with the Premier. The "Old Tiger," Clemenceau, would probably make short work of the politicians on a straight question of vigor in prosecuting the war—like this.

January 2, 1918: . . . Conference this P.M. on tie supply for American railroads in France—prompted by efforts of Hdqtrs. to cut down on wood shipments from U. S. on account of shortage of tonnage. Estimated needs until July 1 are 2,160,000 ties. I estimated possible production of forestry troops at 570,000. . . . I urged strong representation to French to either permit us to purchase in open market at going commercial prices or else requisition much more drastically. This was agreed to and conference requested.

January 7: Drafted letter of instructions to all district and operating officers on scouting for new forests,

making it part of their work but subject to our cooperative agreements with French. Went over it with Woolsey in evening and incorporated instructions on leasing or requisitioning French sawmills. Hope to make this active, local, scouting force an important factor in obtaining the future forests we need.

January 8: . . . In P.M. attended conference at Gen. Chevalier's office on ry. ties. . . . French position was that ties are not to be found. They finally agreed to requisition all we could locate and to put a French officer to work on the job with our representative. I advised Col. Woodruff to assign Barry Moore to this work, which he agreed to do.²⁸ All tie offers were turned over to me . . . and I will start Moore on the job immediately. This will bring things to a show down.

January 12: . . . Woolsey and I arranged lunch for Col. Woodruff to meet Lieut. Sébastien and talk over cooperative wood and forest purchases with the French. Sébastien urged issuance of general order to centralize all purchases of forest products in A. E. F. and do away with present unregulated and more or less competitive buying by various local officers. He also urged handling all our wood requirements in unison with the French as a bloc, requisitioning what we need from them and getting our share of the stocks available. . . . I . . . told Col. W. [Woodruff] frankly . . . that I thought we would get more in the long run by centralized requisitions through the French authorities than by trying to play a lone hand.

January 22: . . . Talked over whole tie situation with Capt. Moore. He reports not over 50,000 available in France outside of contracts made by French govt. Also thinks there are negligible opportunities to obtain increased output under French contracts. Found upon running this down, however, that it is due to unwillingness of French to have us buying ties rather than inability of country to produce them. Started Moore to gathering together data for a proposal to French to have them allot us a fair number of ties per month—we to withdraw from all outside contracting in France. This now seems to me the only way out.

January 26: . . . Attended a tie conference with officers of the T. D. [Transportation Department] in P.M. It centered chiefly around getting the additional forestry troops over here as soon as possible to increase the output of ties. We also persuaded the T. D. officers to take up with French Ry. Dept. the possibility of pooling the common tie and rail resources and thus making more ties available immediately for the A. E. F. The French are reported to have 1,100,000 ties in excess of available steel rails. . . . Cable received that 5th and 6th Bns. of 20th Engineers are

ready to sail as soon as transports are available. This means more frenzied hustling for forests.

January 30: . . . Received an urgent summons from Capt. Moore to attend *C. I. B. G.* meeting tomorrow as French are to attack our policy of acquiring forests well ahead of immediate troop arrivals and also our purchases of cut forest products independently of French authorities.

January 31: . . . A stormy session at *C. I. B. G.* this morning. Lt. Sébastien charged into the A. E. F. on three counts: (1) Acquiring more timber than we needed, with the claim that two or three years would be required to cut out the St. Eulalie group. (2) Independent purchasing of barracks and other lumber products in Landes. (3) Negotiating a barrack purchase in Switzerland pending negotiation of a new agreement covering Swiss lumber exports. I replied on all three. Admitted justice of complaint as to Switzerland and agreed to stop these negotiations immediately. Outlined our operating plans, number of troops and sawmills, and emphasized need for planning these operations well ahead in order to build up organizations and equipment efficiently and get necessary rail connections. Stated that we would work out our forests in ten months to one year, but that it was wrong policy to buy to force operations at a faster rate and crowd several companies together on a small forest. Also outlined our situation as to railroad ties and the French pressure upon us to cut all the ties possible. Urged that Gen. Chevalier should view this whole question in a broad way and cooperate with us, also that French must take our operating plans and efforts to get equipment in good faith. . . . I pointed out that various arms of French govt. are also buying lumber, barracks, etc., independently; that our contracts have had the approval of . . . French *Genie*; and that centralized control of purchases advocated by Chevalier would be ineffective unless the French centralized all of their own purchases and were prepared to requisition the entire output of French mills.

February 4: At the *C. I. B. G.* meeting this morning, Gen Chevalier had instructions announced that further examinations of forests for the A. E. F. would not be made because we had already acquired more than we needed. I got my long letters on the subject ready for Col. Woodruff and made . . . a specific demand that these instructions be changed. Got a wire through to . . . representative in Switzerland . . . to call off all negotiations for Swiss lumber pending conclusion of the new treaty and the arrangement for a centralized purchasing agency with the French. Gen. Patrick telephoned positive orders that everything else must be suspended to cut 200,000 wire entanglement stakes to be rushed to engineers of 1st Division.

On fog-shrouded March 21, 1918, General Erick von Ludendorff threw the German military machine into a final bid for victory. For the next four months the "enemy imposed his will by battle," driving within forty miles of Paris, capturing a quarter million prisoners, and inflicting nearly a million casualties.¹²⁸

Though the American forces in France were not organized as a separate army until the end of July, 1918, the forestry regiment was hard pressed to provide forest products as the Allies made hurried preparations to thwart the German drive all knew was coming.³⁰ By the end of February, 1918, twenty-one mills were operating (eleven more than in January) and produced during the month: lumber, 2,892 M. B. M.; piling, 720 pieces; standard gauge ties, 22,345 pieces; small ties, 14,856 pieces; round poles, 460,662 pieces; cordwood, 12,433 steres; faggots, 200 bundles; road planks, 1,700 pieces; bridge ties, 200 pieces. One month later thirty-four mills produced: lumber, 6,965 M. B. M.; piling, 857 pieces; standard gauge ties, 80,009 pieces; small ties, 60,100 pieces; round poles, 270,496 pieces; cordwood, 15,932 steres. During June and July as the German drive reached its height and then turned into retreat, fifty-nine mills produced: lumber, 50,829 M. B. M.; piling, 10,872 pieces; standard gauge ties, 563,314 pieces; small ties, 322,978 pieces; round poles, 418,607; cordwood, 157,987 steres.³¹

The pendulum of battle swung to the Allies with the launching of a counteroffensive against the German lines between Soissons and Château Thierry on July 18, 1918. During August, 1918, American troops, some 550,000 strong were massed on the Meuse for the Saint Mihiel and Argonne offensives in September.³² The forestry regiment's operations were increased to sixty-six mills in August and eighty in September and production approached maximum capacity during those two months: lumber, 60,908 M. B. M.; piling, 5,587 pieces; standard gauge ties, 902,138 pieces; small ties, 270,039 pieces; round poles, 1,020,274 pieces; cordwood, 310,517 steres.³³

Throughout the month of offensives and counteroffensives, Greeley's efforts to secure the necessary forests to meet timber requirements met with varying success as French officials maintained their vacillating and obstructive tactics:

February 5: More complaints from Gen. Chevalier over independent wood purchases by our officers. Told Col. Woodruff that we are riding to a fall, and that either we must work with Gen. Chevalier's organization or else get the higher French authorities to instruct him to leave us alone. Orders are flying thick for the supply of the 1st Division. We are sacrificing everything to get out the 200,000 wire entanglement stakes. Learned that French have a call for a million and English for two million. This looks like a real German drive.

February 8: . . . We are having a merry time over our order for 200,000 barbed wire posts. I thought a month was the best we could do. But DuBois wires that he can cut 135,000 in 10 days, Hartwick, 35,000, R. A. Johnson about 20,000 and so on.³⁴ Probably 40,000 per week is as many as the 1st Division could handle anyway. It has ended by our holding back our plunging D. C.'s to a total of about 80,000 per week and making them keep up high pressure on railroad ties and lumber.

February 15: . . . Had amusing interview with Com. Navaigne—Chief of French Mission at Paris. It seems that our correspondence with Gen. Chévalier over wood purchases in France has gotten to . . . [the] chief of Franco-American Relations directly under Clemenceau. . . . [He] is dissatisfied with Chevalier's attitude and replies and evidently feels that a much more vigorous and comprehensive policy of centralization must be put into effect by the French themselves. So it is up to us to lie low and do nothing. Something is going to land upon Chevalier.

February 19: . . . Got off a strong letter to Gen. Chevalier—urging speedy action to complete acquisition of *Forêt du Chambord* for us, also another letter to him acknowledging his recent reversal of the decision to quit examinations of forests for the A. E. F.

and giving him the facts regarding all of our arrangements for obtaining the use of French sawmills. Also wrote the D. C.'s regarding the procedure in examining forests desired by the *C. I. B. G.* Under this, all offers and proposed areas must be submitted first to the *C. I. B. G.* and their examination authorized. This can then be made by American officers without presence of French officers. A French officer, however, must be present and participate in every project of intensive forest reconnaissance. . . .

February 22: Monthly meeting of full *C. I. B. G.* at 9:30. A very grand affair. . . . We expected war on our policy of aggressively acquiring forests ahead of immediate exploitation and put up a strong case in our formal statement. To my surprise, Gen. Chevalier expressed himself as in full accord therewith. . . . The affair ended in a love feast except for the periodic French complaint against the use of thick circular saws by the Americans and Canadians.

February 26: . . . We are in the thick of the pressure for wood from all services in the Army, and are nearly gray-haired over the effort to keep priorities straight.

March 17: . . . There appears to be little new in our affairs in Paris beyond Gen. Chevalier's opposition to further forest requisitions for the A. E. F. in the Landes. Woolsey—always suspicious—thinks the English are behind this because we are outstripping them in locating forests. . . .

March 27: Lumber for St. Sulpice! We bid fair to bury the place in lumber. Barry Moore has pulled off a keen stroke in Paris—persuading Gen. Chevalier to cede us 10,000 cu. m. additional lumber in the Landes, and Col. Winters of M. T. [Motor Transport] Service to agree to furnish 100 motor trucks to move it. . . .³⁵ We can about quit worrying over St. Sulpice.

March 28: . . . Piling again to the fore! We have

formal notice that two heavy colonels are coming from GHQ—to “receive and review” a complete report on supply of long piling in Europe. Gen. Patrick says to have something for them—so I light a cigar and dispose of the European piling supply in half an hour. The gist of it is that we can get all the sixty foot piles we need from southern and western France, and seventy and eighty foot piles of silver fir from eastern France—but that longer piles must come from the U. S.

April 3: . . . Laid down policy of distributing our operations in southern France so as not to hit the resin industry too hard at any one point and also of working in cooperation with the local *maires*. . . . Gen. Patrick told me to go right ahead with plans to get out 12,000 piles. . . . Another fine little job for the Forestry branch.

April 4: Instructed DuBois, S. O. Johnson, and Chapman to get to work on piling, dividing the order between these three districts.³⁶ First job is to give me specific lists of new tracts to be acquired or timber to be marked on present tracts, which I will put up to French for emergency requisition. Also wired delegate on *C. I. B. G.* and Maj. Peck to get behind special acquisitions for this project.

April 12: . . . At last we seem to be getting a real centralization of American wood demands. The French have also centralized the wood supply for their whole army in Gen. Chevalier's hands. The French Mission, under Com. Varaigne, a very strong man, is solidly behind this plan and we look for good results.

April 28: . . . The main pressure now is for cordwood and bridge timbers for the front line division, piling for the Nevers cut-off, and piling for the big dock projects. A new dock project is now looming up, at LeVerdon, at the mouth of the Gironde River. Col. Woodruff says that opposite our front line sectors the Germans have used 150,000,000 feet in building bridges, and that we must be prepared to duplicate this *when* we advance.

May 2: . . . Woolsey's report on forest acquisition is discouraging. He and Lord Lovat saw . . . [the Minister of Armament] this afternoon—with reference especially to more liberal cessions of state forests and clear cutting of state pine copses—but did not get far.

May 3: . . . Meeting of full *C.I.B.G.* this morning. . . . The English game seems to be to overpower such meetings by a mobilization of high ranking officers. Discussion mostly perfunctory—except for Gen. Chevalier's exposé of . . . [the Minister of Armament's] views on timber acquisitions in the Landes. The Minister proposes to obtain no more timber in the Landes for the A.E.F. because of the congestion of railroad traffic, because he does not approve (!) of the use of Allied ship tonnage for coastwise traffic in lumber from Bordeaux northward, and because of the in-

jury to the resin industry. Strong protests from the American delegates. After the meeting Col. Woodruff and I talked over the acquisition situation with Gen. Lord Lovat. I was for radical measures—to carry the matter right up to the highest authority in France and force these peanut-politicians . . . into a real “win-the-war” policy. Lord Lovat counselled moderation and said that the way to get results from the French was not to start a row—but keep up a steady, consistent pressure.

May 17: . . . Went over the whole acquisition situation with Maj. Woolsey. In central and eastern France, things are moving well. All the copses we asked for in the forest of Amboise have been requisitioned, also the important St. Julien Centre in Cote d'Or and several smaller areas. Col. Joubaire has also secured for us the forest of Val in northern Haute Marne, with probably ten or twelve million feet of tie timber.³⁷ In the Landes, however, things are going very badly. The local advisory commission has not yet been appointed and nothing is being done on our pending requests. Furthermore, . . . [the Minister of Armament] has decreed that no more acquisitions shall be permitted west of the Bordeaux-Bayonne railroad because of the large amounts already obtained in that region. Woolsey and I decided to advise Gen. Langfitt to take this whole question up personally with M. Clemenceau. . . .³⁸

May 23: Learned that Gen. Langfitt was unable to see M. Clemenceau about the Landes acquisitions—but saw . . . [the Minister of Armament] instead. They evidently had a stormy interview and got nowhere. Gen. Langfitt wanted a letter prepared . . . which I did in red-hot language—summarizing our timber needs at Bordeaux, our success in transporting the products of our operations, and the new forests which we must have immediately. . . .

May 27: Got wire from Capt. Berry that Landes Commission on Acquisitions meets in Bordeaux tomorrow. . . . This is first meeting of this com'n. and may have important bearing upon our future acquisitions in the Landes. So I called off my planned trip to Gien and Orleans on tie locations and got together everything bearing upon our needs and prospective acquisitions in the Landes to take to Bordeaux.

May 28: . . . English cases occupied the entire morning session. I entertained Col. de Lapasse—*Conservateur des Eaux et Forêts* and president of the commission, at lunch and had a mighty pleasant chat with him about forestry and the situation in the Landes.³⁹ Tried to impress upon him our desire to recognize the forest interests of the region and do good work technically on the areas we cut. De Lapasse seems very friendly and anxious to back us. Berry and I finally went before the august commission at 3 P.M. Aside from de Lapasse and Col. Buffault, the *Directeur of the Centre du Bois*,⁴⁰ there were representa-

tives from the Chambers of Commerce at Bordeaux and Mont-de-Marsan, two *propriétaires silviculteurs*, a *conseiller générale*, apparently a big gauge lawyer of Bordeaux, a representative of the *Syndicat des Resiniers*, and two others. To my surprise, there appeared to be but one obstructionist in the lot; the rest were keen to help the armies and very broad in their point of view. They put through the acquisition of the timber we asked for at Sabres without reduction and approved the acquisitions requested at Captieux, Bias, and Castets with but slight reductions in quantity or temporary reservations for further data. Thereupon I plunged in regardless and made a speech, (in French) about the effort we are making to get a large army over here rapidly, the need for docks and warehouses and car and boat material, the large demands near Bordeaux itself, and hence the necessity for expanding our operations in the Landes. I hate to think what I did to the French language in the process, but I think I got the main ideas "across." I wanted to give them a broad understanding of the whole situation with reference to our future demands upon the com'n.

May 30: . . . Met Com. Arteuse of . . . [the Minister of Armament's] office and went over my tabulation of the Landes construction projects, timber now acquired, additional timber needed, and schedule of tonnage shipments by operations during June, July, and August. Showed him also a production and shipment statement for May showing that we shipped during the month more lumber and ry. ties than we cut. M. Arteuse said *tres bien* and agreed to recommend . . . the immediate requisition of the four additional forests we are now asking for. . . . Arteuse seems to be of the right sort and evidently has great influence. . . . I am glad to have gotten acquainted with him.

June 13: . . . Everyone has approved our new cessions in the Landes . . . but they are now held up for estimate and appraisal by the French Expert Com'n. We got hold of Lieut. Sébastien and finally arranged for the estimating to begin immediately and for our troops to begin cutting behind the estimators. . . . Things are pretty tense in Paris. Fresh throngs are leaving the city. The feeling is general that the Boches will not capture Paris, but will get near enough to bombard it heavily with large calibre guns. . . .

June 15: Col. Woodruff told me that eight divisions are being massed in Paris sector for the defense of the capital. This is playing havoc with the system of supply depots previously laid out. Gievres is to become an advance depot—forwarding one supply team daily to each of these eight divisions. The Engrs. are bending every effort to equip Gievres for this function—and our section is rushing ties there from every possible point. Also a new depot must be developed in hot haste . . . for the supply of our northern divisions.

June 17: . . . Got word that Gen. Chevalier has or-

dered our coppice cuttings in St. Julien group of forests be stopped because Expert Commission has not yet estimated it. This timber has been requisitioned more than a month. A clear case of French delay and lack of business push. Wrote the General a strong letter urging that our cutting be allowed to continue and the scale of material cut taken as basis for payment to the owner. Meanwhile the cutting goes on.

June 20: . . . Prepared amendment to "Forestry Instructions" on upkeep and repairing of roads making it incumbent upon every operating commander to keep his roads in good condition and restore them to their original state after hauling is finished. They are enjoined also to confer with local highway officials and make specific agreements where necessary covering the road work which will be done by the forestry troops.

July 2: . . . Found a telegram from British Director of Forestry with reference to our request for the state forests near Rennes. Gen. Lovat is unwilling to approve this cession to us because of the British needs in that region. He claims that their former source of supply in Normandy and Picardy is exhausted. He also referred to the matter now being before Gen. Chevalier for decision, in a way I did not like. I immediately prepared a wire to Gen. Chevalier reasserting our demand for the Rennes state copses and our need for this timber at the American base ports in western France. . . .

July 5: Grand C.I.B.G. meeting at 9:30 this morning—about three-fourths perfunctory and grandiose. I made a strong plea for greater speed in the French estimates—offering to furnish as many young foresters from our regiments as could be used and urging the general adoption of the unit of product cut—as determined by scale after falling—instead of the present system of advance estimates. Col. Joubaire—Chief of the *Comité d'Expertises* accepted the first and agreed to the latter as far as concerns coppice cut for fuel. He was unwilling, however, to apply this principle in their purchases of saw and tie timber. . . . We had lunch with Col. Joubaire and . . . discussed the perplexing situation at Ambois where Com. Hirsch, himself a wealthy and influential member of the C.I.B.G., is opposing the requisition of his timber and threatening to fight it out in the courts and to raise hell generally. Joubaire is afraid of his influence and wants to proceed *doucement*. This sort of French selfishness and political weakness raises the American ire. I wanted to fight the thing to a finish—but finally concluded that a policy of proceeding *doucement* would get us more in the end.

July 24: . . . Woolsey telegraphs that Sébastien has reported to the Minister of Armament that the A.E.F. has obtained enough timber to fill its program—with some evident mistakes in the facts; that because of this the permanent wood committee has turned down all our pending requisitions. . . . De-

cided to go to Paris and have it out at the meeting of the *C.I.B.G.* tomorrow morning. . . .

July 25: Met with Executive Committee of *C.I.B.G.* at 9:30. Put our situation before them as clearly as I could. We have acquired to July 24—2,367,795 cubic meters and have cut 541,241. The balance will cover our construction needs for only 5½ months—without a reserve for placing new troops, or giving each mill set an adequate supply, or permitting selection of the class of materials needed at the time for the projects of greatest urgency. I said that we must have 2,600,000 cubic meters of timber continuously ahead of us—to prepare for 3,000,000 American troops by May 1. . . . In P.M. I had a long talk with Sébastien. He professed a keen desire to get for us all the timber needed. He said that the chief difficulty in Gen. Chevalier's mind was shortage of transportation. . . .

August 7: Gen. Jadwin is back from high pow wow . . . on the whole wood supply situation.⁴¹ The French claim to be very short on railroad ties. They have a reserve of 1,200,000, are using 750,000 per month and are cutting 300,000 per month including 50,000 cut by 7th Bn., 20th Engrs. They fear a "tragic" situation if the Allies get the Hun on the run this summer and are unable to follow him up for lack of railroad ties, and begged to have the A.E.F. cut a large quantity of ties for the Allied pool. They offered to give us "any quantity" of lumber if we would increase our output of ties. Gen. Jadwin took them up on this and named me to confer with a French representative on utilization of their stocks of lumber. . . . I started Granger to compiling our unfilled orders for lumber, by dimensions and shipping points, as a basis for getting to brass tacks with the French on the deal proposed by them in Paris. . . .⁴²

August 22: Moore wires that . . . [the Minister of Armament] has accepted the proposal to increase our cut of railroad ties 260,000 pcs. per month in return for 40,000 cu. m. of lumber. He is wiring the location and specifications of the lumber turned over to us as fast as the French give him the data. . . .

August 26: Got telephone message from Woolsey that things are going badly in Paris. No action yet on La Chaise Dieu forests and the Permanent Wood Committee adjourned to end of September. It looks as though we might have to appeal to the Premier again. . . .

September 3: Joined . . . party of Gen. Lovat and started off at 8 o'clock. . . . We went first to . . . two Canadian mills . . . , one now dismantled for lack of timber and the second about to cut out. We went up to the logging operations on a cable car—and then went right down again, the French officials deciding without looking at the uncut cospes of fine timber adjoining that they cannot be exploited because of poor regeneration.

September 9: . . . Frantic telephone messages from Bauge hdqtrs. today over failure to obtain . . . [two forests] needed soon for moving the Le Lude and Vibrage detachments. I followed with frantic telegrams to Woolsey. It is another instance of petty French politics clogging the wheels of war.

September 10: . . . More bad forest fires in the Landes. 100,000 tie trees burned near Pontenx, and the French are fairly throwing them at us. The Lord moves in mysterious ways, His wonders to perform.

September 12: . . . The bad situation as regards small areas in the Bauge district has righted itself suddenly, due to Woolsey's persistence and the diplomatic intervention of Col. Joubaire.

September 21: . . . There appears to be a systematic propaganda in the French newspapers—directed against the "devastation of French forests" by the British and American armies. It appears to be particularly an attack upon Gen. Chevalier for his "senseless requisitions." The Minister of Agriculture has appointed a *Député*, M. Compere Morel, as *Commissaire d'Agriculture de Forêts*—apparently to supervise and regulate the cessions of both state and private forests to the Allied armies. I am much alarmed by this move—but Woolsey's friends in the *Eaux et Forêts* assure him that M. Morel is all right and will help us. . . .

September 22: We had an indignation meeting at the *C.I.B.G.* this morning. Lt. Sébastien said that he was ashamed of his compatriots in the Department of Agriculture. Col. Sutherland and I agreed on demanding through Gen. Chevalier, a meeting . . . to settle if possible the policy of the French govt. upon ceding timber for army needs during the next critical month of the war. . . .

September 27: High meeting of *C.I.B.G.* this morning. . . . The meeting was quite perfunctory. Our statement of the needs of the A.E.F. up to Oct. 1, 1919 (calling for 1,700,000 cubic meters of additional timber) was presented with little comment and apparently accepted by the French representatives. The British and American delegates joined in an earnest demand for more positive action by the French in the matter of prices, urging them to fix maximum stumpage prices on both state and private timber—once and for all—and hold to them for the duration of the war. . . . It is a bad situation, but it is obvious that the French will do nothing about it. . . . I . . . talked to Col. Joubaire, who told me that a bad situation exists in Haute Marne—because of the poor character of some of our cuttings on the forest of Der, large timber having been felled into coppice. This has come to the notice of some of the high French generals and has created an extensive local opposition to our exploitations which may affect future acquisitions. Col. Joubaire urged me to inspect this situation personally as soon as possible, which I agreed to do.

October 6: . . . Peck, Badre and I motored to St. Dizier this afternoon and had dinner with Com. Demorlanie, the French forestry officer in charge of our Haute Marne operations.⁴³ We discussed the work on the forest of Der which Col. Joubaire had complained of. Demorlanie said there was nothing to the complaint, beyond minor points which had been corrected. A mistake was made in the first place in giving the A.E.F. a contract which permitted the removal of all trees down to seventy centimeters in circumference. This resulted in too heavy a cutting which was the cause of all the adverse comments regarding the American operation in Der—but Demorlanie admitted fully that the French were responsible for it. . . . Everyone agog over report of Germany's request for peace—and betting on suspension of hostilities by Christmas.

October 7: Took Com. Demorlanie to Eclaron and went over part of *Forêt du Der* with him. We did some poor work at first when large timber had to be felled into coppice on account of shortage of labor and the necessity for getting out timber of special dimensions for dock and other orders. These copses are now being rapidly cleaned up. In all recent cuttings, the coppice is cut first, then tie trees, then sawlog trees, and lastly limb and top wood. This makes four complete operations. The negro labor troops are doing good work and Demorlanie is well pleased with our later cuttings.

October 8: . . . Gen. Jadwin came up from Tours this morning and at 4 P.M. we met an imposing array of Frenchmen. . . . Gen. Jadwin presented a memorandum showing our additional needs of timber . . . and emphasized necessity for prompt cessions in order to provide for our incoming forestry troops. I pressed for an immediate cession in state forest of Orleans. The French said that a forest census had been ordered as a basis for supplying the demands of the Allies—and assured us "satisfaction" albeit for periods of a few months at a time only. Gen. Jadwin pressed his point, and . . . [was] finally assured . . . without reserve that we would get all of the forests needed. The French then opened up on us on the subject of railroad ties. They claimed that we had not lived up to the agreement of last August under which they had ceded to us 40,000 cu. meters of lumber in return for our increasing our cut of ties 520,000 during two months. While our cut of ties had been increased, the A.E.F. had used part of the increase itself without referring the matter to the Military Board of Allied Supplies. They claimed that their tie reserve had been reduced to 900,000, and also brought up the French advances of 750,000 ties to the A.E.F. which have never been repaid. Gen. Jadwin claimed that the A.E.F. must take care of its own urgent necessities first and that the French were still much better off than we are since they have a reserve of 900,000 against our 262,000. He would not give in a point,

and the meeting broke up rather inharmoniously. After the meeting, I advised Gen. Jadwin to offer to give the French 100,000 ties outright during October and to agree to take up the question of a further repayment on Nov. 1. He finally decided to do this.

October 22: . . . I am still writing letters to M. [Andre] Tardieu about railroad ties and explaining that we cannot give the French . . . 350,000 ties per month but will set aside for them the maximum number of ties possible on the first of each month. And I am still writing letters to Gen. Chevalier explaining that we cannot reserve—wholesale—every high grade oak and ash log in our forests for French artillery and aviation stock, but that we will be glad to take up specific propositions with them. There are times when these Frenchmen drive one frantic with their childishness. . . .

October 26: Plunged into the thick of the *C.I.B.G.* jungle today. . . . Had another long conference with Gen. Chevalier. He has just come back from inspecting the operation on forest of Der. He complained that the lugs on the wheels of our big tractors were tearing up the . . . roads badly—also that the road used by the Canadian decauville line had become impassable on account of our use. I agreed to correct both of these conditions immediately. The General then asked me to let the French reserve from five to seven cu. m. of small trees on the uncut portions of Der. His administration is evidently seriously embarrassed by the criticisms of our heavy cutting. I promised to take this up with Major Spencer and to do what we could. . . .⁴⁴ I also made a plain statement of the position of the A.E.F. as to future forest acquisitions (which are now being held up by *C.I.B.G.*) *to wit*: that we have ordered our additional troops relying upon the promise . . . to provide the timber asked for, and that we would continue to file our requests for individual forests with the *C.I.B.G.* whether the same took any action on them or not. I said that we looked to the *C.I.B.G.* to furnish this timber, under some procedure or other, that they were responsible for meeting the situation. I think the General was scared a bit. He said that until M. Morel took over the allotment of forests on Jan. 1—he was authorized to give us only the equivalent from month to month of what we cut, but that he would construe this authority as liberally as possible. . . .

October 29: Further epistolary fencing with M. Tardieu's office on the subject of railroad ties. We get two letters per week on the subject and every reply says exactly the same thing—that we will set aside for them on the 1st of each month all the ties we can spare.

November 7: . . . All the villagers agog with the news that Germany is sending representatives to treat for an armistice—and everyone hailing it as the end of the war. Much cheering and waving and throwing of kisses along the road. . . .

November 9: The C.I.B.G. appears to have gone crazy over the prospect of an armistice with Germany. . . . Wrote Woolsey a long letter to effect . . . our acquisition and cutting program cannot be changed until we know just what will be required of A.E.F. during next six months; meantime he must sit tight. Also asked him to get an immediate statement from the C.I.B.G. of what timber, if any, they want the A.E.F. to cut for the French during our period of waiting in France. . . .

The cessation of hostilities meant an immediate reduction of the heavy demand for forest products. It did not mean speedy return of the forestry regiment to the United States, nor an abatement of negotiations with the French. Mill equipment had to be disposed of, roads repaired, cutting operations cleaned-up to the satisfaction of local inspectors, and financial arrangements completed as to the disposal of surplus forest products and the re-sale of state forest lands to the French government.

These matters occupied Greeley's attention for six months after the armistice and were eventually concluded to the satisfaction of both governments.

Greeley preceded the last components of the Twentieth Engineers home by less than a month, arriving in Hoboken on July 18, 1919. Unlike many of his compatriots he had survived two years of battle with neither physical nor mental scars. The constant difficulties over acquiring French forests were exasperating and at times his patience was strained to the breaking point, but he did not leave France a confirmed Francophobe as did many departing veterans. On the contrary, he analyzed the wartime relations between the two countries and in the process reveals a mature understanding of the underlying factors in Franco-American disputes:

July, 1919: It is unfortunate that four-fifths of the A.E.F. officers are returning with strong prejudices against the French. . . . The reasons for this go back to our attitude toward France up to our entrance in the war. We put the French people on a pedestal. Afar, not knowing the French people, ignorant of their human faults, we saw only their heroism and we glorified them. We came to France expecting to find the same universal white heat for winning the war that existed in America. Also we were pretty much on a pedestal ourselves. . . . No people on earth will stay on a pedestal for any length of time. Instead of glorifying the French people from afar, we had to live with them intimately for two years, to eat and drink, buy and sell, give and take with them in all the manifold social, industrial, and military phases of the huge war. Bringing our goddess down to earth was a hard jolt. We found her very human, with the average proportion of human faults in her make-up. Our own faults as a people, too, did not fail to appear. . . .

For the very reason that our former conception of the French was pitched far too high—so now the psychological process of reaction has thrown us far to the other extreme. . . . For many generations the bulk of the French people have only made ends meet by a degree of thrift and economy unknown in America. They win their living by making the most of small things. Bargaining is instinctive with them. The great bulk of French daily trade—even in most stores—is conducted not on fixed prices, but by bargaining. The shop keeper puts a price on an article which he hasn't the slightest idea of your paying. He expects you to name a lower price—and to match his wits against yours in knowing when to say *vendu*. He accepts one-half or two-thirds of his first price without

November 11: Spent much of the day working out a schedule of changes and retrenchments in our operations—in order in which they should probably be made when hostilities cease. Following tip from Col. Woodruff I plan to retrench first in southern France. . . . All Tours, civil and military, turned out tonight to celebrate the signing of the armistice. Bands played, crowds sang and danced. There were torch-light parades and fireworks—all very spontaneous and very much *a la Francais*.

the slightest embarrassment. It is perfectly good business ethics to sell at the first price, although exorbitant, if the customer is foolish enough to pay it. . . . The careless, freely-spending Yank—unfamiliar with the currency or customs of the country or the bargaining ways of its people, and looking at every Frenchman through glasses colored with idealism—walked right into this state of affairs like a fat fly into a spider's web. The two—Frenchman and Yank—failed absolutely to understand each other. The American appeared foolishly careless with his money, paying any price put upon goods without question. Small wonder that the French got the impression . . . that all Americans were rich and cared little what they paid for things. . . .

The same . . . thing occurred in the dealings between A.E.F. officers and officers of the French Army and government, each group influenced by its own national traits—and faults. In the rush of the A.E.F. to get all sorts of enterprises started—necessarily drawing heavily upon French supplies of material—little question was raised about price. . . . The terms were left to the French authorities to fix. . . . Small wonder then that the French government got the idea that we did not care about cost. . . . The Forestry Section was offered some timber in the state forest of Châtillon and sent two men to examine it. The local *conservateur* expected that we would make our own estimate of the wood and then bargain with him *a la marchand du bois*. So he raised his own estimate fourteen per cent deliberately. We were not estimating the timber, but looking into logging conditions only—and we accepted the *conservateur's* figures without question—regarding them as the official and trustworthy estimates of the French Forest Service. Later

our scale showed up the discrepancy and we demanded an adjustment—which the *conservateur* readily granted. . . . He simply played the game at the outset as he was accustomed to play it with Frenchmen. . . .

The *Directeur des Eaux et Forêts* . . . said in open meeting to me and the English representatives that it was the chief duty of the *Eaux et Forêts* to conserve the forests of France and that practically no more could be given us in the Jura District—and this in mid-summer of 1918 while the Germans were still threatening Paris. This national individualism—which resisted wartime coordination . . . was incomprehensible to Americans. It was responsible for much of the difficulty which we encountered. . . . On the other hand, this same individualism has produced the great French leaders and given them their peculiar power. . . . Nearly every American service could point to some individual French officer or two whose personal ability and energy and courage found a way through (usually around) most of their difficulties. It was so with the Forestry Section. Time and again—when we seemed to be beaten in getting an important forest or some other important concession—Col. Joubaire or Col. Mathey would put it through for us—by sheer personal force and magnetism and often by indirect methods—not at all according to the prescribed rules.⁴⁵

As for the rest—the overcharging, the frequent profiteering, the frequent selfishness, we must take the French as they are—plain human folks with weaknesses as well as strong points and not forget these things: (1) The totally different temperament of the French—bred by generations of forced economy. (2) That similar faults are not lacking among many of our own people. Witness the cost of officer's uniforms in the U.S. Witness the experience of the French Expeditionary Force in 1779. (3) That on the other hand there have been countless acts of kindness, generosity, and hospitality toward the Americans by the French. These are too easily forgotten. (4) That France has suffered from the war to a degree which we in America cannot at all appreciate. . . . With . . . five years behind them and the memory of their dead constantly before them, it is not surprising that the French now appear to give America insufficient credit for the part she took in the war. . . . It is puerile to fume about it. The French know in their hearts just what the coming of the American soldiers meant to them in the summer of 1918, as well as the A.E.F. campaigns. They will do us full justice in time. . . .

Footnotes

¹ The Greeley collection in the University of Oregon Library includes four diaries dated May 18, 1917-July 19, 1919. The following excerpts omit a large part of the detailed information contained in the daily entries. Ellipses have been used to indicate such omissions.

² The Tenth Engineers were combined with the Twentieth Engineers on October 18, 1918. See "Organization of 20th Engineers (Forestry)," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1110.

³ Unpublished Diary of William Buckhout Greeley (University of Oregon, Eugene), July 2, 1918.

⁴ Henry S. Graves, "The Forest Engineers," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1109.

⁵ John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York, 1931), I, 105.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Henry S. Graves to District Foresters, May 23, 1917, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of the Chief (National Archives, Washington). The British and French Missions to the United States had requested the organization of a regiment prior to Pershing's appeal.

⁸ F. A. Silcox to Graves, June 11, 1917, *ibid.*

⁹ Greeley Diary, September 21, 1908. Members of the advance party were: Stanley L. Wolfe, Clarence E. Dunston, Theodore S. Woolsey, Donald Bruce, Swift Berry, R. Clifford Hall, Ralph C. Staebner, Fred B. Agee, William H. Gibbons, Joseph Kittredge, and W. H. Gallaher.

¹⁰ Graves and Moore arrived in France in June, 1917.

¹¹ General Harry Taylor, Chief of Engineers, A.E.F.

¹² Lieutenant Maurice Sébastien and Colonel John Sutherland.

¹³ Lieutenant Colonel Allen S. Peck.

¹⁴ Brigadier General Charles H. McKinstry.

¹⁵ Major General Mason M. Patrick.

¹⁶ "Organization of 20th Engineers (Forestry)," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Percival S. Ridsdale, "How the American Army Got Its Wood," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1141.

¹⁹ Oral History Interview with Inman F. Eldredge by Elwood R. Maunder, February 3, 1959.

²⁰ W. B. Greeley, "The American Lumberjack in France," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1093.

²¹ Ridsdale, "How the American Army Got Its Wood," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1141.

²² Alfred H. Davies and Perez Simmons, eds., *History of the Twentieth Engineers* (Portland, 1920).

²³ Greeley Diary, December 21, 1917.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July, 1919.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, December 21, 1917.

²⁶ Colonel Thomas H. Jackson.

²⁷ Lieutenant Léon Detré.

²⁸ Colonel J. A. Woodruff, Commanding Officer, 20th Engineers.

²⁹ C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1934), 503-06.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 556.

³¹ "Organization of 20th Engineers (Forestry)," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1110.

³² Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War*, 556.

³³ "Organization of 20th Engineers (Forestry)," *American Forests*, XXV (June, 1919), 1110.

³⁴ Major Coert DuBois, Lieutenant Colonel R. A. Johnson, and Major E. E. Hartwick.

³⁵ Lieutenant Colonel William H. Winters.

³⁶ Major S. O. Johnson and Lieutenant Colonel C. S. Chapman.

³⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Armand Joubaire.

³⁸ Major General William C. Langfitt.

³⁹ Lieutenant Colonel Louis de Lapasse.

⁴⁰ Lieutenant Colonel Pierre Buffault.

⁴¹ Brigadier General Edgar Jadwin, Director of Construction and Forestry.

⁴² Major Christopher M. Granger.

⁴³ Commandant Louis Badré.

⁴⁴ Major F. F. Spencer.

⁴⁵ Lieutenant Colonel Alphonse Mathey.

10/14/17 -

May Woods - lumberman from Se Leghach-
nails - reported. At Leghach, Virginia, Staungen,
Ka bonds, and 5 clerks at Southampton.

Worked up long letter to FINE Bureau regarding
my about nails small operations of 100 lb bags.
Also drafted memo for Gen. Patrick - outlining
distribution of a pct. of regular sugarcane for
penalty operations -
7 companies in total at R.R. cutting and
wood.

1 Company in central France cutting poles.
3 Companies in the Kanawha cutting ties
and lumber.

Checked up a lot of miscellany, including
sawing letters. Then to read letters come
from a lot of clerks and just my O.R. Myric
of Engineers U.S.R. sent at end of letter and
on outside of envelope. [Mass of letters letters
on to girls and several letters and letters my
well miscellany letters. Our result, ended.
"You are the dearest and sweetest girl in all
the world." I put under it O.R. and S. Major etc.]

I started to cut out only 1 sentence as far -
RE Hall forgot to give me and notes from the
in which I am to work for a box of lumber sugar for
then was a small amount of it. [Name]

10/15/17

Col. Stano just the plan for using a regiment
of regular engineers up to Col. Jackson. The
part is much in doubt.

but one specific actions and operations
plans with Myric done.

got Col. Jackson's approval to appointment
of additional men from combatant units (as
assistant engineers - for handling detached
troops on special operations. It was already
taken in a visit. College for this purpose.

Protracted discussion in C.I. B. G. on
purchase of tools of Motor air. Finally got
that this R.M. by payment by cash - with
separate prices for 4 different type classes
of motor firing.

The fund officials seem to be muddy as to
and it's with one another. The day of type-
culture is might be cause by two but little
once in the forestry matters and operations
to beds no more that parts for cutting. Her-
bollen is especially of out with operation.
When finally one of the delays and substan-
tions and doing the presents was an success -
being in trying to get action by them.

W B GREELEY
FOREST SERVICE,
MISSOULA, MONT.

PERSONAL DIARY
MARCH 2, 1909
to
SEPT. 28, 1909

too largely to run themselves. Conferred with Supr. Bunker on permanent improvement work. Who is anxious to secure a "Maintenance Fund" for repairs on exting improvements. See no reason why it should not be granted. Conferred with Special Agent H.J. Atwell of G.L.O. on Bicket H.E. on Blackfeet N.F. for which hearing has been set on Mar. 18. He is anxious to dismiss the protest. Applicant is widow, very ill, has sold claim to Lumber Company, and will lose all she has if she cannot secure patent. Has not lived on place since husband's death - but has evidently done as much cultivation as she was able. Agreed to take case up with Aittsen and withdraw F.S. protest if possible. in P.M. took train for Helena via Shelby.

3/10/09

Arrived Helena 6:30 P.M. Spent evening with Supr. Bushnell, Ranger Holbrook, and Wallace Perrnie of District Grazing Office.

3/11/09

A M. in conference with Supr. Bushnell of Helena N.F. Went over his estimates for next fiscal year. Bushnell has asked for 11 permanent rangers. Will give him one for each 80,000 acres, none too many for a Forest with as much and as varied business as this.

Look into question of office quarters. Present rooms are small and rather crowded. Cautioned Bushnell to keep rental within \$40 per month.

Talked over plans for work at Elkhorn Nursery - where I plan to put a Planting Assistant in charge April 1st.

Met expert Miner, McIlroy.

Read over Montana Assembly Bill # 59 - relating to state lands and forestry. Provides for State Forester and Assistant; for state fire warden system, including Forest Supervisors and Rangers as voluntary Wardens; for expenditure of funds to extinguish fires; and for sales of timber only from state lands. This bill has passed state legislature - but has not yet been approved by Governor. At 2:30 P.M. interviewed Gov. Norris. Suggested appointment of Forest officers as Deputy Fire Wardens under new act. He heartily approved - said that he thought funds for extinguishing fires outside of the N.F. would be available. Promised to have the new State Forester take this matter up with me as soon as appointed.

Norris very cordial. Expressed desire to see state lands within the N.F. segregated into a solid body - in accordance with G.P.'s suggestion.

Met Henry Arare, acting state Game Warden - expressed desire ~~of~~ of Service to cooperate heartily with his Department.

In P.M. by train to Missoula.

3/12/09

Conference with Silcox on matters in District Office.

R.Y. Stuart leaves on April 1 to become Chief of Operation in District 2. Scaling difficulties with Blackfoot Milling Co. have been settled and settlement accepted by the Company. Their total scale was reduced 300 m feet to cover defective material scaled against them.

Forester has approved proposed draft of instructions to Supervisors on fires outside of N.F. Has asked me to meet Thos. Cooper, Land Commissioner of N.P.R.R., on his way west this month - to discuss cooperative agreement with the N. P. to prevent fires along right of way.

Went over Bicket H.E. on Blackfeet N.F. with Aitken. Wired ~~X~~ Atnell to ~~just~~ ^{post} prove hearing - and wrote Supv. Haines to ascertain if he had any additional proof of lack of cultivation more than what was offered at the final proof hearing.

Discussed timber sale conditions on Blackfeet N.F. with Cooper. He will instruct Cott to remain there long enough to supervise cleaning up merchantable dead and down timber in the Eureka Sale.

Discussed also timber sales inspected by Cooper on the Deerlodge N.F. He has reorganized whole marking system - and will have timber left mainly in large, ~~compact~~ ^{compact} ~~bun~~ ^{bun}

4) Using same skidding trails as long as possible.

Conference with Sloane, Allotting Agent of Flathead Ind. Reservation - on appraisal of allotments included in proposed bison range. Arranged for him to meet Engineer Martin to make the appraisal as soon as survey of fence line is completed. Wrote Supv. Haines to secure full account of his transactions with Ct. N.Ry. and prospective timber purchases - with reference to securing special freight rates on dead timber.

Wrote Dunker, and Smith explaining recent decision of Sec'y of Interior as to June 11 applications on land classified as coal lands, or withdrawn pending classification. We will list as heretofore when requested by applicant is under burden of proof to show the land more valuable for agriculture than for mineral deposits.

Forester writes, in reference to recent decision of Sec'y of Interior as to status of unsurveyed state sections within N.F. that June 11 applications for such lands will be accepted prior to approval of survey, but that no timber could be sold from them as heretofore.

3/29/09 Allen Co. has requested extension of time until April 10 to make the total payment which was due on Mar. 10. Allowed this extension - on showing from Aithen that it would not affect validity of land.

Discussed with C.H. Adams - proposed cooperative plan with Potlack Lbr. Co. covering areas of mixed government and private land in Palone Division of Coeur D'Alene N.F. Will draw up two agreements as follows:

- 1) Giving F.S. control of entire area - but dividing receipts between two parties in ratio of their holdings, F.S. to issue fire permits to stockmen who show receipts from the Potlack Co. for grazing fees.
- 2) Dividing area between the two parties and giving each entire control of a portion of the whole range. This is what Potlack Co. wishes. We will include however provisions limiting the amount of stock which may be grazed on government land, providing range ~~for free stock of homesteaders, retaining authority of forest officers over range in such matters as fire protection, timber sales, etc, and requiring enforcement of all the F.S. grazing restrictions.~~ for free stock of homesteaders, retaining authority of forest officers over range in such matters as fire protection, timber sales, etc, and requiring enforcement of all the F.S. grazing restrictions.

Both agreements will be submitted to the Potlack Company. If they approve neither - the range will be handled under on and off permits - leaving permittees to make their own peace with private owners.

Wrote Forester regarding cooperative plan for ~~XXXX~~ Nez Perce Timberlands, urging that F.S. begin immediately at least protection of such lands from fire and administration of the timber, if the other features of the proposed agreement could not be put into effect.

Approved application of Eureka Lumber Co. to eliminate Sec. 31 from their sale. I cruised over this section when on the Blackfoot N.F. and the elimination will mean \$1.50 or \$2.00 per n. feet more for the dumpage - within a year or two.

Stuart returned from Kootenai N.F. He recommends that some technically trained man as Skeels or Preston, be put in charge of that Forest. - there being no local man of Supervisor's caliber.

3/30/09 Arranged with S to send circular letter to Supervisors in District on the new policy in timber sales - instructing them to increase timber sale business as far as possible without cutting in upon needed local supplies.

Arranged with Silcox to attend Meeting of Pacific NW Forest Protection and Conservation Ass'n, in Spokane on April 5, as representative of this District of the Forest Service. Immediately after this meeting, Sil will make thorough going inspection of the Akaroka and Beartooth - with special reference to the charges of drunkenness and graft which were made against Langtry last year and were investigated and which have since been restated by forest users in the Fryer Mts. District, and to the general character and efficiency of Russell's work.

At District Committee meeting,

- 1) Discussed advisability of general appointment of forest officers as game wardens. General feeling of office chiefs against it because of hostility created among forest

users in many cases, friction between forest officers and state game officials, and interference with N.F. business. Agreed that Service should cooperate with State Game authorities by reporting violations of law - but that any further steps should be left to judgment of Supervisors.

2) Discussed present system of news items. Office chiefs are all opposed to grinding out news items periodically. Urge adoption of the system first followed in this District to have news items prepared when real news material is secured - and sent directly to newspapers by the District Office.

3/31/09 Potter, Chief of Grazing, and MacNean, Chief of Occupancy, in the Washington Office, arrived. Spent the day mainly in routine work and in general conferences with Potter and MacNean. Potter agreed that details of adjusting rates for new grazing periods should be left to District Office. Is contemplating establishing a scheme of monthly rates - with proper percentage increases or decreases for periods of different length and covering different seasons of year - so that all grazing rates can be fixed by the District Office.

Approved H.B. Gumaer-Free Use - for timber within right of way of county road to Priest Lake - in Kaibitsu N.F. Approved Mossback and Eiche sale - 50,000' feet - on Absaroka N.F. - at \$3.00 per Mft. Most of this timber has already been marked by Preston - making a light improvement cutting.

4/1/09 In A.M. - long conference with Supv. Marshall, Silcox, and Mason on the Minnesota N.F. Forest includes 200,000 acres - classified as pine lands, on which timber is to be sold under the 5% and 10% laws by Sec'y of Interior - proceeds to go to the Indians. Land then to revert to N.F. by payment of \$1.25 per acre plus value of remaining timber. 96,000 acres now cut over and all work completed. Remainder will be sold - after 6 mo. advertisement probably within a year - and will require marking and supervision of logging and slash piling by Forest Officers.

Forest also contains 25000 acres of land classed as agricultural, mostly timbered however, which revert to N.F. upon payment of \$1.25 per acre, and 10 sections of heavily timbered pine lands around Cass Lake which revert to N.F. upon payment of full value of timber plus \$1.25 per acre. Is no immediate - timber sale work. Discussed special uses along the lakes and water ways - on lands reserved for overflow purposes by War Department. Directed Aitken to prepare letter to Forester to determine to what extent and under what conditions this land may be administered by the Forest Service.

Discussed grazing cooperation with land owners in Palouse Division of Coeur D'Alene N.F. with Potter and Adams. Agreed to submit two cooperative agreements to such owners - and to accept either if satisfactory to them.

1) Placing all grazing land under administration of F.S., free permits to be issued to stockmen showing receipts for fees paid to private owners. Capacity of all lands to be fixed at one sheep for 2½ acres.

2) Dividing total area into 2 districts, proportional to pro rata ownership of government and private owners. Each part to administer its own lands in each District - but to give priority to stockmen holding permits or leases from the other party. Each to actually patrol and enforce the regulations on our district only.

In P.M. had long conference with MacNean on Occupancy week. Following decisions reached,

1) We can enforce immediately plans of suspending action on June 11 applications for non timbered land of doubtful agricultural value until applicant has demonstrated its agricultural possibilities under special use permit.

2) Is little chance to secure non-speculative provisions in stipulations covering Interior Irrigation permits, under act of 1891, because act itself requires completion of construction within 5 years.

3) Local Land Offices should be notified of all requests made by F.S. to suspend action on claims pending additional examination or reexamination and report.

4) Is policy of Washington Office to turn all R.R. stipulations over to District Office immediately - and handling of all power permits as soon as revision of permit and of "operation" charge is worked out.

Forester's approval of Baird for Supv. of Superior N.F. received by wire. Allotment increased \$1500 for guards on Superior during rest of this fiscal year. Forester wires conditional approval of Skeels as Supervisor of Kootenai N.F. In P.M. discussed status of OL and its work with Capt. Adams and MacVean. They approved my suggestions.

- 1) To retain OL as a Section under O, but to relieve the Chiefs of O of routine office work by authorizing Section Chiefs to sign routine classes of mail.
- 2) To throw examination of claims almost wholly upon Supervisors, retaining in District force simply one June 11 Examiner, one mineral examiner, and a special agent, Jones, for working up cases against fraudulent timbered homesteads in western part of District. Discussed possibility of throwing much of OL work upon the Supervisors - uses, claims, settlements, ranger stations. I agreed to submit definite recommendations to Forester by May 1.

4/6/09

Arranged with O to send necessary instructions to Baird to begin organization and administration of Superior N.F. on April 12 - and to secure for him all necessary records and N.F. equipment.

On consultation with O and S - arranged for J. Warner's transfer to O - to be assigned to Helena N.F. as Deputy Supv. on May 1. On same date - W. Holbrook is to be transferred to Jefferson N.F. as D.S.

Discussed with Capt. Adams - form of fire cooperative agreement submitted to N.P. Ry. He approved it throughout - with exception of modifying the patrol clause - to make the patrol by the F.S. twice a day except as specifically agreed by the Supervisor and Division Sup't. in each case. Capt. Adams also thought that a clause should be added, guaranteeing the Ry. from prosecution for fire damages as long as the agreement is complied with.

At District Committee meeting - Capt. Adams discussed general plan of throwing more responsibility and more routine work upon the Supervisor's. Following points suggested by office chiefs.

- 1) Having Supervisors retain all records in Supervisor's Special Use permits - and no longer forward copies of permit and report to the District Office.
- 2) Authorizing Supervisors to recommend withdrawals directly to the G.L.O. and report claims cases directly to the Chief of the Field Division.
- 3) Giving Supervisor's less detailed improvement allotments, based on estimates, and having all records of transfers etc. kept in their offices only.

It was not considered advisable by office chiefs to abolish present system of checking grazing notifications and timber cutting reports in the District Office.

In evening discussed many points of policy with Capt. Adams, especially field inspection by members of District Office. He does not agree with G.P., but would make it field Supervisor rather than inspection, the officers retaining their administrative authority and settling matters in field as far as practicable. Thought we should not attempt to have members of our office inspect work of another office to any extent.

4/7/09

Silcox and Ch.H. Adams returned from Spokane. They secured an excellent cooperative grazing agreement with the private owners in the Palouse Div. of Coeur D'Alene N.F. - which authorizes F.S. to issue all permits and control the use of the range, public and private - a proportion of the receipts to be paid to the private owners equal to the percentage of their land of the entire area.

Silcox also secured approval of North Idaho Protective Ass'n to the form of cooperative fire agreement outlined above with addition of two features, both of which Capt. Adams and I approved.

- 1) One man, either ranger or warden, to be designated in each District - to have charge of fire fighting in that District after he reaches the ground.
- 2) Agreement to be made in advance between local representatives of F.S. and Ass'n, establishing a wage scale - to be paid to temporary laborers.

Discussed with Rutledge, Stuart, and Capt. Adams - many routine matters in operation, viz * Handling of eligible lists and appointments for rangers and clerks, property accountability system - method of condemning unservicable property - method of disposing of salable condemned property and handling receipts,

Colonel William Buckhout Greeley

Born at Oswego, New York, September 6, 1879. Of New England parentage, Scottish descent. Went to California, with family, in a sailing ship around Cape Horn, 1890. Grew up on a ranch in Santa Clara Valley.

Graduate of University of California, 1901, degree of Bachelor of Science. Graduate of Yale Forest School, 1904, degree of Master of Forestry. In June, 1927, was given degree of Doctor of Laws by University of California and Master of Arts by Yale University.

Entered United States Forest Service in 1904 as Forest Assistant, working in Southern Appalachians, in New England, and in California. Forest Supervisor, Sequoia National Forest, California, 1906 to 1908. Regional Forester in Montana and Idaho, 1908 to 1911. Went through terrible forest fires of 1910 in that region. Assistant Forester in charge Forest Management, Washington, D.C., 1912 to 1917. Directed comprehensive study of lumber industry, 1914 to 1916, and wrote Forest Service bulletin, "Some Public and Economic Aspects of the Lumber Industry," 1917. Directed sales and appraisals of National Forest Timber, 1912 to 1917.

Helped organize 10th Engineers, A.E.F., 1917. Served in France 1917 to 1919, Major and Lieut. Col., Engineers. Directed Forestry Section, Service of Supply, with up to 20,000 troops and cutting 600,000 feet French timber. For his war work received a citation for meritorious service, the D.S.M. (U.S.), the Legion of Honor (France), and D.S.O. (Great Britain).

Chief, U.S. Forest Service, 1920 to 1928. Participated in nation-wide hearings of Clarke-McNary Forestry Committee of U.S. Congress and enactment of Clarke-McNary cooperative forest protection act, 1923 to 1924.

Secretary-Manager, West Coast Lumbermen's Association, Seattle, 1928 to 1945. Worked hard to get \$3.00 excise tax on lumber imports, 1932; also for grade-marking West Coast lumber. Participated in development and administration NRA Lumber Code, 1933 to 1934; small homes promotional campaigns, 1935 to 1940; West Coast Tree Farms, beginning 1941; Keep Washington Green, beginning 1941; consumer advertising of West Coast woods, 1943 to 1945; War Production Board and OPA activities during World War II.

Since 1945, Vice President and Trustee, West Coast Lumbermen's Association; Advisory Director, Industrial Forestry Association; Chairman of the Board, American Forest Products Industries, Inc.; member of Farm Forestry Committee of Kitsap County, Washington; Vice Chairman, Washington Institute of Forest Products. Participated actively in Washington's inventory of unused woods, 1948 to 1950; Vice President, Keep Washington Green Association, Inc.

Main activities: Nation-wide promotion of Tree Farms and of tree-growing and educational activities of A.F.P.I. Consultation with individual companies on forestry programs.

Wrote "Forests and Men," 1950 (Doubleday and Company), a story of American forestry written from standpoint of private industry.

Was a member in college of Delta Upsilon fraternity, and scholarship society of Phi Beta Kappa. Is a Fellow and former President of the Society of American Foresters. Has been a Director and President of American Forestry Association. In 1946 received Schlich memorial medal, highest honor in forestry profession. Awarded American Forestry Ass'n. Conservation Award, 1950. Is a member of the Boone and Crocket Club, New York; and Cosmos and Federal Clubs of Washington, D. C.

Lives on 37-acre tree farm, Gamble Bay, Washington, and spends all time possible planting and thinning trees, gardening, and herding 11 grandchildren.

Main interest is to aid progress of farm and industrial forestry and cooperation of forest industries with state and federal forest agencies.



THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1928.

Dear Colonel Greeley:

The Forest Service of this Department has made very substantial progress under your leadership. You have made a record as its Chief, of which you may well be proud. It should be especially gratifying to you that during your administration and largely due to your efforts cooperation in forestry between the Government, the States, and private timber land owners has been so comprehensively provided for and carried out under the Clarke-McNary Law. Your advocacy of more comprehensive plans for forest land acquisition and forest research have also been effective as indicated by the general public support given them. In many other respects you have demonstrated your grasp of the nation's forest problems and of your ability to win support to your constructive recommendations for meeting them.

It has been a pleasure to me to cooperate with you in every way possible and I can say unhesitatingly that your recommendations to me in Forestry matters have been sound and always directed toward the policy of developing and preserving our forest wealth for the advantage of all.

I accede to your wish, as expressed in your memorandum of April 21, and accept your resignation, effective April 30, 1928, with great reluctance. I am sure you will always retain an interest in the work of the Forest Service and support its policies. I wish you well and hope you make yourself as invaluable in your new work as you have to the federal government.

I am confident that under Major Stuart's leadership the work of the Forest Service will be maintained on its

- 2 -

present high basis and I trust you will continue to find
bountiful opportunities to cooperate with him and with me.
I shall always be glad to see you during the coming years
and to hear of your continued progress.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W H Justice". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Colonel W. B. Greeley".

Colonel W. B. Greeley,

Forest Service.

OUR NATIONAL FORESTS

XLVI.

FOREST SERVICE CHIEFS: GREELY

By CHARLES E. RANDALL

"Bill Greeley," as he is known to his fellow foresters, was the third Chief of the U. S. Forest Service. He was born in New York, but went to California as a child with his parents, in a sailing vessel, round the Horn. He entered Yale Forest School and on his graduation entered the Forest Service.



WM. B. GREELY

He worked in successive steps as inspector, supervisor, district forester, assistant forester and Chief Forester in 1920. Up to the time of his resignation in 1928, Greeley

the defense against fire. The nine years of the Greeley administration were fruitful in the stimulation of private forestry, in forest fire control and efficient national forest management, in Federal cooperation with States in protection from fire, in tree planting, and in farm-forestry extension. The research work of the Forest Service advanced along four lines—forest protection and management studies, forest-products investigations, forest-economic investigations, and range investigations.

On May 1, 1928, Col. Greeley resigned to accept the position of Secretary-Manager of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association. He was succeeded as Chief Forester by Robert Y. Stuart.

The lumber business is mighty important to the welfare of the Northwest, where Col. Greeley is now working. Shortly after Greeley began work in the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, Freeman Tilden, in *WORLD'S WORK*, wrote * * * "The Northwest is looking with hope in the direction of the ex-forester—the tall, spare, spectacled man with a Yankee shrewdness of face and singular frankness of mind and speech—who sits in

had given a quarter of a century of his career to Government Forest work.

The national forest policy of protection and development, begun and continued by Pinchot and Graves, was carried still further by Greeley. In 1921, the national forests of Alaska came into the limelight. On January 1, of this year, an Alaska District was established, and the possibilities of a paper industry on a permanent basis in the Territory were investigated. In 1921 also the Forest Service announced its plan to establish forest experiment stations in each of the important timber-growing regions.

In 1922, two main features of the forest problems were made more clear: (1) the rising cost of timber products due primarily to heavier transportation charges from more and more distant sources of supply. (2) the unproductive condition of immense areas of land which are not adapted to agriculture.

In his annual report, Chief Forester Greeley said: "The large sawmills of the country are in full migration westward to the last great virgin timber supply on the Pacific Coast. The problem of unproductive land left in the wake of the sawmills or abandoned by the farmer has assumed enormous proportions."

During the early '20's, fire protection in the National Forests was constantly strengthened. The Forest Service began the use of aircraft for the protection of the national forests, and airplanes have now become an important part of

the Stuart Building in Seattle."

The sole objection that the Forest Service would have to this is the word "ex-forester." Whatever else he may be, "Bill" Greeley will always be a forester.

(To be continued)



See bio-photos, Greeley



Greeley + Mrs. Edna Crocker,
See to the Forester

See Bro-Photos, Greeley



See bio-photos, Greley

Information Service

Biography - 2
National Lumber Manufacturers Association

1319 Eighteenth Street, N. W.

Washington 6, D. C.

For Release Sept. 6, - A. I.
NL-155 9/4/45

H. V. SIMPSON, WASHINGTON MANAGER, TO HEAD
WEST COAST LUMBERMAN'S ASSOCIATION

Washington, D. C., September 6 - Harold V. Simpson, since 1942 manager of the Washington, D. C., office of the West Coast Lumberman's Association, an affiliate of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association, has been named secretary-manager of the West Coast association to succeed Col. W. B. Greeley, former U. S. Chief Forester.

Simpson's work in the nation's capital terminated with the war and the Washington office will be closed when he moves to Seattle to assume his new duties. He has been highly praised in the industry for his efforts to co-ordinate the lumber demands of the Army and Navy with the West Coast industry's manpower and equipment problems.

Born at Ashland, Oregon, July 18, 1897, Simpson made his home there until he left to serve with the artillery in France in World War I. He graduated from the University of Oregon in 1923, B. A. in Business Administration. He was active on the university's undergraduate publications and a member of Delta Tau Delta, Beta Gamma Sigma, and Beta Alpha Psi fraternities.

He learned lumbering from the ground up, working in sawmills and then selling lumber in the tough New York market. He gained long experience in the lumber export field, including a considerable period of trade promotion in the United Kingdom

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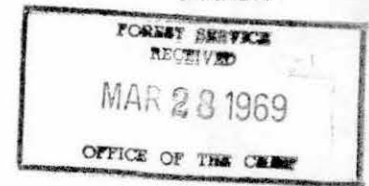
and South Africa, and finally as secretary and assistant manager of the Seaboard Lumber Sales Company, Ltd., Vancouver, British Columbia.

Col. Greeley, the retiring secretary-manager, will remain with the West Coast Lumberman's Association in an advisory capacity, particularly on forestry. As U. S. Chief Forester from 1920 to 1928, he advanced approved industrial forestry practices from the National Forests into the larger area of timberlands under private management.

TELEPHONE 261-8266
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K.G. FENSOM
FORESTRY AND WOOD PRODUCTS CONSULTANT

P.O. BOX 5072 POSTAL STATION E
VANCOUVER 13, B.C.
CANADA



March 24, 1969.

Mr. E.P. Cliff,
Chief Forester,
U.S. Forest Service,
Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Cliff:

Some years ago, about 1927 I believe, Col. W.B. Greeley was made an honorary member of the Canadian Society of Forest Engineers -- now the Canadian Institute of Forestry. I am writing a history of our national professional body, and would like very much to have a photograph and some biographical details for publication in that document.

I would be most grateful if you could forward this material, or alternatively advise as to how it could be got.

Yours sincerely,

K.G. Fensom
C.I.F. Historian.

KGF/jf

(Copy sent for information by Regional Forester, Portland, Oregon. Copied from article published in the "Post-Intelligencer," Seattle, Washington, September 15, 1940.)

OPERATORS REPLY IN FOREST DEBATE

LUMBERMEN'S POSITION ON TIMBER PROBLEMS
GIVEN IN ANSWER TO WALLACE

EDITOR'S NOTE--Recently THE POST-INTELLIGENCER published two comprehensive articles on the Northwest's vital forest industry. Written by Henry A. Wallace, then secretary of agriculture, they set forth the problems of the industry and offered what Mr. Wallace believed were their solution.

The articles were written in the form of letters to John Boettiger, publisher of THE POST-INTELLIGENCER, and resulted from an insistent demand by this newspaper that the federal government set forth a program for the Northwest's timber.

Today Col. W. B. Greeley, secretary-manager of the West Coast Lumberman's Association, speaking for the timber owners and operators, replies to Mr. Wallace in a letter to THE POST-INTELLIGENCER, and gives the views of his group on how the forest problem can best be handled.

Dear Mr. Boettiger:

I appreciate the opportunity to comment on the articles concerning forest problems of the Pacific Northwest, by Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace. These were published in THE POST-INTELLIGENCER on August 25 and September 1.

The forest-borne industries of the Pacific Northwest have the same goal as Secretary Wallace. We want to create a permanent forest economy like that of Finland or Sweden. We are ready to do our part. To a large extent, we check the secretary's itemization of the situation. But, like other sincere and zealous men who prescribe at long range, Secretary Wallace does not "get" some practical fundamentals of West Coast forestry.

One is the tremendous wastage from leaving old-growth forests to pass into overmaturity and decay without cutting. Wastage in logging is evident. Much less evident but just as real is the wastage in virgin forests of prime, old-growth trees turning into dead snags or decaying on the stump because they have passed the time for cutting. There are many thousands of acres of Cascade timber which should have been logged a hundred years ago.

Today these areas of overripe trees, infected with rot, often beyond salvage, constitute one of the hardest problems we have--both in cutting the old forest and starting a new one. What is gained by applying to these areas any measuring stick of sustained yield, based on theoretical calculations of growth?

Another practical factor in the Northwest is the sheer engineering job of cutting and moving trees that weigh from ten to thirty tons; of taking off from rugged ground 200 to 500 tons of ripe old timber to the acre. From the ox team to the steam skidder, from the high-lead cable to the caterpillar tractor, the West Coast logger--if he would log at all--has had to match powerful machines against tremendous obstacles. And you can't make omelets without leaving eggshells.

A third problem of our industry is recognized by Secretary Wallace. That is the financial insecurity of most West Coast forest properties. It is a combination of accumulating yearly taxes on the same crop; of mounting interest charges over long holding periods; of limited markets and decreasing national consumption; and of oversupply for all current needs--both of standing timber and cut lumber.

The secretary himself says:

"In many instances, the forest lands of Washington and Oregon are a financial liability to the owner."

But elsewhere, he naively refers to the "failure (of these same financially pressed owners) to adhere to sound forest practices which are essential to sustained yield of timber."

Men conserve things of value. The world over--few investments of capital require as high a degree of economic security as forest-growing enterprises, with crop periods of fifty years and up.

The forest fire is always mentioned in discussing Northwestern timber. But few people who have not "eaten smoke" in the woods realize how it dominates our timber thinking and forest practices; how insecure it still leaves the whole scheme of timber cropping; or how largely it is beyond control of the forest operator. Ninety-five per cent of the forest fires in the Douglas fir region are not of his starting.

Secretary Wallace refers to the Tillamook Burn in Oregon, where one fire, which got out of hand on a bad day, killed sufficient standing timber to maintain the entire cut of the Douglas fir region for two years. There have been other fires of equal severity in the Pacific Northwest, both before the advent of white men with axes and since.

This one "burn" of more than 300,000 acres symbolizes the overhanging menace of the forest fire to West Coast forestry, whether you think of it as carrying standing timber on a graduated rate of cutting or of holding and recropping cutover lands.

Early in 1934, Secretary Wallace himself presided over a congress of lumbermen and foresters in public service. Our purpose was to chart a great forward advance in forestry. The industry assumed, under its industrial recovery code, an obligation to reforest its cuttings. We asked that the government, and specifically the department of agriculture, do its share also. That was to carry through the cooperative system of fire prevention provided under the Clarke-McNary act.

As the secretary says, the industry has gone right ahead. But federal cooperation in preventing forest fires remains substantially where it stood in 1934--less than 25 per cent of adequate defense for the forest lands of the United States.

Another cooperative proposal of great promise in the conference of 1934 has also remained a topic of conversation only for six years. The secretary refers to it:--a law which would enable his department to set up cooperative sustained yield units, including partly public and partly private land. A federal policy of this kind would aid powerfully in stabilizing forest industries at a dozen places in the Pacific Northwest.

The past should bury its own dead. But the past must be understood to deal intelligently with today. The things I have named--forest fire hazard, financial insecurity, vast stands of decadent virgin timber and engineering problems of huge proportions--these have profoundly influenced the structure of the West Coast lumber industry. Nor should we forget that it was cast in the mold of the great westward movement of American people and capital.

It was created in the days of land grants to transcontinental railroads, of successive gold rushes, of the demand of the West for people and pay rolls and the exploitation of natural resources.

It was a pioneer industry, bent upon acquiring and converting the natural wealth of the West--like all the other pioneer industries which built our towns, our railroads and harbors. Only this one, as the secretary of agriculture points out, laid the "foundation" of Northwestern economy. We can't overlook the fact that the cast given the lumber industry at that time, through the investment of private capital, has NECESSARILY controlled its course down to the present.

West Coast lumbering has been wasteful. Whether more wasteful than the yearly loss of decadent, rotting timber in our old-growth forests--may be debatable.

INDUSTRY SUPPLIES SINEWS OF WAR

At all events, it has been the only kind of lumbering possible in this region under its geographical handicaps. It has created the means of living for the Pacific Northwest. And again today, as twenty-three years ago, this industry is supplying the United States, both in volume and quality, with the forest-borne sinews of war.

The clear cutting of Douglas fir started from the necessities of engineering. It went far in the sweep for mass production. But the first inkling of forestry in the Douglas fir region was the realization that the heavy slashings left in logging must be removed--to make even a start toward fire safety and the next crop. Slash burning is destructive and unsightly, like the logging of old timber. But it is the only possible method of making cutovers safe from forest fire.

It was soon discovered that the combination of clear cutting and slash burning, which exposed the mineral earth, is good Douglas fir forestry. The one other essential is a seed supply, from standing green trees, near enough to spread over the logged land. For many years, of course, the leaving of seed supply was accidental. In the sweep of mass logging and of fires from many sources, seed sources were often obliterated.

But the fact remains that clear cutting and slash burning have grown practically all the new crops of Douglas fir in the Pacific Northwest. Pictures like those which accompany this letter can be duplicated in every section where logging has been under way for twenty years or more.

Surveys of the forest service show over seven and one-half million acres of growing stands of Douglas fir, bearing trees from six inches in diameter at breast height and upward. Practically all of this second growth has sprung from clear cutting and slash burning. Many of these areas today are producing timber at the rate of 500 to 1,000 board feet per acre per year.

SELECTED LOGGING NOT REFORESTATION

Clear cutting and slash burning have been--and as far as I know, are still--the only methods of Douglas fir forestry generally recommended by the United States forest service.

The demonstrations of selective logging we have yet seen, on either private or federal land, are not examples of reforestation. They simply show how the cutting of old stands may be STAGGERED, taking out now a few trees per acre that pay a profit and leaving the rest that would not pay cost.

A commendable business practice without question; but it is not timber cropping and has no relation to sustained yield. To have sustained yield from a forest, as from a farm, YOU'VE GOT TO GROW THINGS--not just store up part of a former crop.

There is, probably, a limited place for selective logging in GROWING West Coast forests. We all hope so, notwithstanding the fact that the storms of the first or second winter after logging, or runaway fires, have wrecked most of these cuttings so far.

Undoubtedly methods of timber culture in the Pacific Northwest can be vastly improved; and the private owner should be alert to improve them. But let us at least give clear cutting and slash burning the credit of providing a method of reforestation adapted to the engineering problems of West Coast logging; widely effective where fire has been kept out, and furnishing a carry-over from pioneer exploitation to a permanent forest economy.

Today Northwest lumber is putting down roots. It is working toward a stable industry resting upon the timber crop. Of necessity, the change is gradual. It could not take place until the period of timber speculation and pyramiding timber investments had partially run its course.

LANDSCAPE PORTRAYS CHANGES IN CROPPING

But Secretary Wallace is right in saying that we should look to the stable before the horse is gone; that we should weave the new order of timber cropping into the old order of timber liquidation. Many lumbermen have set their eyes on that road.

The Northwest landscape of today portrays the changes in timber cropping as well as its hazards. One may select pictures of cutover land to suit his taste. If he is looking for examples of promising second growth, he finds them aplenty. If he is looking for examples of devastation, he also finds plenty of them, although inquiry will often show that the "devastation" is the result of burning AFTER the logger's work was done.

While its progress is slow and ragged, the industry's outlook is forward. The forestry codes of Oregon and Washington have largely grown from the tree roots, out of the experience and leadership of progressive loggers.

The compulsory protection of forest lands originated in associations who pooled their patrols for mutual protection. Then it was written into state law and made the obligation of every owner of forest land. And so, step, by step, from the woods to the state legislature, the forestry codes have grown.

The compulsory burning of slashings; the equipment of logging camps with adequate fire-fighting pumps and tools; the felling of snags (in Oregon) because of their danger as fire spreaders; the vesting of power in the state forester to close logging operations altogether during periods of extreme hazard.

Few states in the Union have systems of forest protection as far-reaching or as restrictive on the operator as that of the Pacific Northwest.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY PAYS MOST OF BILL

Not only has it been largely self-imposed upon the industry; the industry pays most of the bill. Private expenditures for forest protection in the Douglas fir region run close to \$1,300,000 annually; while the state expenditures are less than \$250,000 and federal expenditures, under the Clarke-McNary act, are about \$300,000. This does not include, however, costs of protecting the national forests or other federal holdings; or the maintenance of CCC camps.

In its consistent drive on the forest fire, the lumber industry has done the first thing first. But it has not stopped there. In the industrial recovery code, the industry agreed to leave its cutover lands safe from fire and to provide seeding for another crop. When the recovery act passed out and our code of forest practice lost its legal sanction, the loggers' and lumbermen's associations declared that they would carry on--by power of precept and education.

Independent checks show that a large proportion of the Douglas fir forests cut today comply with the industry's code in fire safety and reseedling.

A year ago, the same organizations of West Coast loggers and lumbermen expressed their purpose to write into state law an obligation that forest owners leave their cutover lands safe from fire and adequately provided with seed trees. They declared their readiness to accept the control of the state departments of forestry.

SPECIFIC LEGISLATION
TO BE RECOMMENDED

They named but one condition: that the state and federal governments ALSO CARRY THROUGH the cooperative prevention of forest fires--particularly in relation to the public fire hazard--so that the new forest order for the Pacific Northwest would be built upon rock and not upon sand.

The conservation committee of the industry associations is working on this program now. It is studying the forestry codes of Oregon and Washington. It will recommend specific legislation--first, to make our prevention of forest fires adequate; and second, to require that every commercial operator provide for the recropping of his lands--under supervision of the state department of forestry.

The lumber industry believes with Secretary Wallace, that our forest lands present one of the paramount problems of the Pacific Northwest. We invite the secretary and all the agencies of his department to support the forest industries of this region in a forthright program.

Very likely more forest land in Oregon and Washington, in addition to the 50 per cent which the federal government already owns, should become the property of Uncle Sam in order to play its part in a permanent forest economy.

It is our conviction, however, that the forestry we work out here should provide the maximum opportunity for private initiative and free business enterprise. Next to that, it should encourage state forests and other helpful activities of our local governments.

That is to say, just as far as possible, let our forestry be homegrown, representing the initiative, resourcefulness and responsibility of our own people.

As the immediate step, may we hope for the support of the federal department of agriculture in vigorous laws for state control of cutting practices in Oregon and Washington?

Sincerely yours,

W. B. GREELEY,
Secretary-Manager.

(Copied from article published in "The Post Intelligencer,"
Seattle, Washington, of August 25, 1940.)

WALLACE ANALYZES FOREST PROBLEMS

URGES NORTHWEST TO LOCK BARN DOOR 'BEFORE TIMBER HORSE IS STOLEN'

Editor's Note -- THE POST-INTELLIGENCER has frequently pointed out the grave need in the Northwest for a national forest policy and has urged the federal department of agriculture to outline its idea of what such a policy should include. In response to this request, Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture, has written two letters to John Boettiger, publisher of THE POST-INTELLIGENCER. The first letter is published below and the second will appear shortly, probably next Sunday.

Dear Mr. Boettiger:

I welcome your request for an analysis of the forest problems of the Pacific Northwest, and for a frank statement on what I think must be done to solve them. Indeed, one of my final tasks before leaving my post as secretary of agriculture and carrying my share of the load in the coming campaign, is to write you two letters. This one will analyze the situation as I see it. A second one, which I shall write within a day or two, will suggest a program of action.

The forests of Washington and Oregon are the foundation of your economy. Fifty-eight per cent of all industrial payrolls in the two states come from the forest industries. Forest products comprise about 64 per cent of the value of all net exports from Oregon and 54 per cent from Washington.

Your forests are also of national importance. The Northwest has the greatest and one of the last reserves of virgin timber in the United States. One-third of our remaining saw-timber is in Western Washington and Oregon. This is more than the stand on all the forest land east of the plains. Over one-third of our national lumber cut now comes from your states. Your lumber reaches practically every market in the country.

Will the Northwest join in an effort to lock the forest barn door before the timber horse is stolen? Will the states of Washington and Oregon, with the help of the federal government, act immediately and in a big enough way to do what has never been attempted elsewhere -- save half a century of effort by starting sound forest management with extensive virgin forests, rather than having to rebuild partially wrecked forests or devastated lands?

You, of course, know that the forests of the Northwest fall into two distinct regions. The Douglas fir region west of the Cascades contains about twenty-six million acres of forest land and 600 billion board feet of timber. The pine region east of the Cascades contains about eighteen million acres and 141 billion feet.

In general the land now in forests cannot be used economically for any other purpose. Consequently, your problem -- like the forestry problem elsewhere -- is how to keep these lands producing forests continuously. It is how to create

and maintain a permanent forest economy as an integral part of a broad land use or agricultural economy. It is also, let me say, how to contribute to national defense on the social, economic and military front.

One does not need to abandon the American tradition of private ownership to reach the conclusion that excessive private ownership is one major forest problem of the Northwest.

Before the creation of the national forests arrested the process, the whole effort of our people was to acquire public domain forests, and of our government to push these forests into private ownership for "development." This effort lasted too long. Of the forty-four million acres of forest land in the two states, twenty-one million are privately held.

N.W. FOREST LANDS OFTEN LIABILITY TO OWNERS

The abuse of these twenty-one million acres began with their passage to private ownership. As Eastern forest regions were cut out early in the century, speculation in Northwestern timber began. Stumpage values increased some six times during the ensuing twenty years, and then leveled off. Great holdings were built up. Four companies now control 2,400,000 acres, and thirty owners hold nearly five million acres.

As carrying charges mounted, private owners concluded that they would have to unload. They decided that the way to unload at a profit was to cut out and get out.

Today, in many instances, the forest lands of Washington and Oregon are a financial liability to the owners. That is, of course, disturbing. But even more disturbing from the public standpoint is the fact that the private timberlands now dominate the whole forest situation in the Northwest -- public and private. Private timberlands contain about one-half of the remaining timber and furnish about 87 per cent of the current timber cut.

These lands are generally more accessible than the public lands. In fact, private operators control two-thirds of the ACCESSIBLE timber while the public controls seven-eighths of the INACCESSIBLE timber. Private timberlands dominate much of the public timber in still another way: Private individuals own many of the key areas.

That is why I believe that excessive private ownership is one of the principal forestry problems in your area.

As I say, many private owners have followed and still do follow the cut-out and get-out philosophy. This constitutes a second major problem. Arguments about causes and justifications of this philosophy may be of interest to a relatively few individuals. But the fact remains that, carried to its conclusion, the philosophy will pauperize a region.

Under the extreme form of this philosophy, holdings are built up solely for the maximum returns from the virgin timber. Ownership shifts rapidly, is characteristically unstable, and forms exceedingly complex patterns. Lands are commonly sold for uneconomic uses after cutting or they are allowed to go tax delinquent.

The cut-out and get-out philosophy is by no means confined to the land. To handle the temporarily large cut, excessive investments are made in oversized manufacturing plants and in temporary transportation systems. These must be depreciated in from ten to twenty years.

Douglas fir logging has used the most powerful and expensive equipment the world has ever known, and the most destructive to the forest. Financial structures are frequently so unsound for short-period operations as to cut heavily into profits and sometimes even to eliminate them.

One result is the overrapid and disorderly depletion of a major resource. In the Northwest this problem has two parts. First, the over-all rate is somewhat too high. Second, the geographic distribution of cutting is extremely bad. The resource back of community after community is being liquidated. Forest industries are disappearing.

Each disappearance is a solar plexus blow to the community, to the region. The Grays Harbor, Puget Sound, Lower Columbia, Klamath County and Deschutes districts in your region are headed directly toward the trouble that hit Pennsylvania, the Lake States, and the Missouri Ozarks. Those areas were successively cut out and left stranded for generations while a new crop took time to grow. While your region has gone far down the wrong road, it can yet turn back.

Still another major problem in the Douglas fir forests is the distance to the chief consuming markets. Transportation costs are so high that only high-grade material from the more valuable species can be handled at a profit.

TRAGIC WASTE CAUSED BY METHODS, WRITER SAYS

The result is that private owners, desiring only the best in the forest but nevertheless practicing clear cutting, have caused a tragic waste exceeding that in any other forest in the world. That is a strong, but very true statement.

The waste is made up of low-grade logs left in the woods, and of the smaller Douglas fir trees and the less valuable species knocked down in logging. Then what slash fires do not destroy eventually rots.

Now, I am not condemning all clear cutting or advocating selective cutting for every situation. I am condemning all destructive forest practices and I am advocating for every situation the practices that will perpetuate the forest and lead most rapidly to sustained yield of timber, sustained jobs, sustained incomes.

Certainly it is true that cut-out and get-out owners cut the forests with little or no regard for the future. Everything that is merchantable is taken and the rest is destroyed. Clear cutting of large areas in the Douglas fir forests has frequently wasted a third or half the volume of the stand.

The first noticeable crack in the armor of the cut-out and get-out philosophy came with the forest-practice rules recommended by the department of agriculture and included in the NRA lumber code at the insistence of the President.

The NRA soon passed out of existence, but the codes have survived on a voluntary basis. This has led to some improvement in both the Douglas fir and the pine regions. In the former it has led to better fire protection, including the general cutting of dead snags, and to a more frequent provision for seed trees. In the latter it has led to much more general use of a minimum type of selective cutting.

But here we must consider together the crazy-quilt ownership pattern, excessive plant investments, and the whole philosophy of land holding and management: Obviously we all would like to see virgin timber managed on a sustained yield basis.

In the Douglas fir region, however, the existing set-up is such that not more than two private operators can really achieve that objective on their own holdings. None can do it in the pine region. They cannot do it even though sustained yield, the ultimate test of forest management, is essential to the future welfare of the region. Certainly a drastic change of the present set-up is needed.

Fire protection on private land, under the cut-out and get-out philosophy, has centered primarily on virgin timber and around logging and manufacturing plants. Protection of the young growth, with its assurance of a future forest, has been badly neglected.

Fortunately, though, private owners are rapidly becoming more conscious of the importance of fire protection, including the protection of young stands. The CCC camps have made a valuable contribution to protection. Public contributions under the Clarke-McNary law have also increased somewhat.

This is all to the good. But we must never assume that fire protection alone is a solution to the forest problem. Nor should we be lulled into too much satisfaction by our progress just in protection. The area burned annually in Washington and Oregon is two and one-half times that permissible under what is commonly thought of as satisfactory forest management. Fire protection on private lands is still far from satisfactory.

One of the best criteria of forest management is the condition of the cut and the burned-over forest lands. In the Douglas fir region about three million acres in private ownership has poor to unsatisfactory restocking; it is practically idle land. Half a million acres in the pine region has no young growth.

A substantial part of a much larger area of young growth in both regions is purely voluntary and cannot be credited to any human effort.

Serious social and economic problems follow forest depletion as inevitable as night does day.

Many private owners have lost heavily in the vicious cycle of excessive ownership, the cut-out and get-out philosophy, distant markets, and poor forest practices. But the public is invariably the heaviest loser in such an un-economic situation as you now have in the Northwest. The Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission states that seventy-six towns in four Northwestern states first boomed, then busted, and finally were abandoned as virgin timber was exploited. The population in seventy-seven additional towns has declined following the abandonment of mills.

In your own state the annual lumber cut has dropped from a peak of seven and one half billion feet in 1926 to an average of four billion for the last five years, and you know that this is only the start.

The public pays the cost of unemployment which results from forest destruction and the closing down of forest industries.

HUGE DECREASE IN ANNUAL LUMBER CUT IS CITED

The public pays the penalty for the drastic reduction of the tax base. In 1933 you had in the Northwest 4,697,000 acres of tax-delinquent forest lands; in 1938, you had 7,024,000 acres.

And the public has to shoulder all or a large part of the cost of restoring partially wrecked or devastated forests.

Federal and state efforts to help solve the problems on private lands have not been all they should be.

Take fire protection, for example. Disregarding the federally supported CCC camps, the federal and state governments now contribute about half of current expenditures. If we really want to do a good fire-control job, we must admit frankly that our present efforts are only about half adequate.

Single insect attacks over large areas in the pine region have commonly caused losses of 20 per cent or more of the mature timber. Public insect control is now limited almost entirely to public lands.

One of the largest annual charges which the forest owner must meet is the property tax. Both Oregon and Washington have tackled this problem, but I am not at all certain that a fully satisfactory solution has been found.

While considerable forest research has been done by public agencies, especially by the federal government, a large number of important problems remain to be solved. We need to know much more about Douglas fir management, for example.

Research gets nowhere, of course, unless the results reach those who should use them. Public effort to educate the thousands of owners on how to grow timber crops is pretty sketchy at present.

Public action in some fields is lacking altogether because the necessary legislative authority is lacking. This is true of cooperative management on a sustained yield basis of units comprising both private and national forest lands. It is true of credits especially suited to permanent timber growing operations. And it is also true of public regulations to insure forest practices which will keep private lands productive.

Because of the rough mountain topography and because much of the national forest area lies above timberline, the area of national forests in the Northwest suitable for growing commercial timber is only about fifteen million acres. Even much of this supports species of low value. Furthermore, two-thirds of the timber is economically inaccessible for the time being.

Sound management of the national forests, including their wise use in such a way as to stabilize the forest situation in the public interest, is further handicapped by large interior private holdings. Miscellaneous interior holdings total about four and one-half million acres. Too often these are key tracts which hamstring both national forest administration and beneficial public influence on practices followed on private lands.

For example: Northern Pacific Railway grant lands in the Washington national forests total more than three-fourths of a million acres of checkerboard odd sections. This intermingled ownership decreases the value of the government land to community welfare simply because we find it impossible to work out effective plans for management under these circumstances.

Another example: Two and one-half million acres of heavily timbered Oregon and California railroad grant lands in Western Oregon have reverted to federal ownership; these are administered by the department of the interior. Odd sections are intermingled in part with national forest lands under department of agriculture jurisdiction and in part with a complex pattern of private holdings. This constitutes a problem in the heart of the greatest reserve of saw timber in the United States which clearly must be solved.

LARGE VOLUME OF INACCESSIBLE TIMBER DISTURBING FACTOR

Finally, we in the department of agriculture may be to blame for the fact that we have not been able to obtain funds for administration that are really adequate. Nor has state and community forest administration been adequately financed.

No analysis of forest problems would be complete without bringing them into focus in the more important forest districts of your states.

The timber of the Puget Sound and Grays Harbor districts in Western Washington is largely on gentle slopes accessible to tide water transportation. As a result these were the first parts of the Douglas fir region to be heavily exploited and depleted. Rapidly increasing lumber production contributed largely to the development of Seattle, Tacoma, Everett, Bellingham, Hoquiam and Aberdeen.

The Grays Harbor slogan for many years was "Production of Two Billion Feet or Bust." Production did reach a peak of two billion. But the virgin timber of the Grays Harbor district is now rapidly approaching exhaustion and its people are desperately searching for some other means of support.

In 1920, 390,000 acres of Grays Harbor timberland was assessed at \$18,248,000, or roughly 40 per cent of the total for the county. Ten years ago it had shrunk to 151,000 acres, assessed at \$7,481,000. Today, one-third of the county is classified as recently logged, devastated by fire, or not satisfactorily re-stocking.

In the Grays Harbor and Puget Sound districts about half a million people are still dependent directly or indirectly on the forest industries. Logs are beginning to come from as far as the Willamette Valley and the Oregon coast. Most of the remaining Puget Sound mills -- many have already gone to the sawmill graveyard -- have less than two decades of Douglas fir left at the current rate of logging.

The Puget Sound towns and even the larger cities of Bellingham, Tacoma and Seattle, are threatened with the loss of an important part of their economic support, and that in the not far distant future.

Now let's look at Western Washington as a whole. The situation here simmers down to some pretty cold facts. Half the timber is gone. Some of what remains is inaccessible. Some is of the less valuable species. Some is in national parks. And some is in national forests which are managed on a sustained yield basis. Most of the privately owned timber is owned or controlled by operating companies. One company controls more than one-fifth of all the privately owned saw timber.

Two-thirds of the Douglas fir is gone. Of what is left, sixty billion feet is in private ownership, forty billion in public ownership. Some of that is of doubtful accessibility. Even during the last five years the average cut of lumber alone was more than three and one quarter billion. Plain arithmetic will tell you what is bound to happen in fifteen or twenty years to what is left of your great industry.

For most of the area the pinch will come earlier, if it hasn't already. Only twenty-two holdings of saw timber will last more than ten years at the present rate of cutting. Cut-over lands will be unable to furnish a sizable second crop much short of eighty years. And the fact that Oregon still has lots of nonoperating timber won't help much.

This is not a very rosy picture. But what I and, I am sure, you want to do, and what everyone else must do, is to face the facts. Boil it all down to one sentence: For over thirty years, beginning in 1905, Washington led the country in lumber cut, a dubious distinction that has now passed to Oregon.

Oregon contains more timber than any other state -- nearly one-fourth of the national total. More than three-fourths of Oregon's timber, or 340 billion feet, is in the Douglas fir region. That sounds very good.

The first disturbing factor, however, is the large volume of inaccessible timber -- about two-fifths of it under present conditions.

Second, three Northwest counties that were once heavily forested -- Columbia, Tillamook and Clatsop -- have already been largely stripped of their timber and their tax base. The Tillamook fire alone took a toll of about ten and one-quarter billion feet in two days. The remaining virgin timber in these counties will be about gone in another ten years at the present rate of depletion.

Most of the land in these three counties is good only for timber. It is too rough for much cultivation. Cutting and fire have left a large part of it idle.

Clatsop County illustrates the financial situation of the three. Assessed valuation dropped from \$41,550,000 in 1920 to \$27,296,000 in 1931. I do not have more recent figures available. In a typical timber school district the assessed valuation dropped from \$328,000 to \$99,000 in ten years; in 1931, a twenty-five mill levy raised less money than an eight mill levy in 1921.

Portland, one of our greatest lumber manufacturing centers, still derives most of its economic support from the forest. A substantial part of that economic base is now seriously threatened. Portland's log supply is coming from greater and greater distances, and at the expense of other communities.

Accessibility to water transportation determined the location of initial exploitation. The lack of transportation helps to explain why much of the Douglas fir forest remains in the rest of the state. How long will it remain?

This brings me to a third disturbing factor; namely, the present migration of the forest industries from Western Washington to the uncut timber of Western Oregon. The stage is all set for a repeat performance: Excessively rapid, destructive exploitation. In fact, the play has begun.

ADEQUATE MANAGEMENT FOR SITKA SPRUCE CALLED VITAL

Sitka spruce -- in both states -- requires special mention because of its importance for airplane construction. The requirements for airplane material are very exacting as to size and quality, and can be met only from the largest, best, and oldest trees. For many years, the annual cut of Sitka spruce has greatly exceeded the annual growth. We have only a small remaining stand.

Despite this excess cutting in the small remaining stand, we do not have adequate management of this essential resource. Indeed, except for fire protection, there is a very general lack of provision for the future production of Sitka spruce.

The forces of liquidation are at work also in the ponderosa pine region. In nearly every lumber producing district the sawmill capacity exceeds the growth, so much so that the private timber supply will be exhausted within fifteen or twenty years. Even though public timber were thrown into the liquidation hopper it could help prolong the boom period in only about half the producing districts.

In the Klamath Falls area the annual cut is about three times that which can be maintained permanently. In a few years the lumber industry will fail to support the community it founded.

In the Bend area, where some 8,000 people depend almost wholly on lumbering, the annual cut is more than twice what it should be. A drastic reduction in lumber output far beyond anything probable is the only means of preventing a serious jolt to one of the most substantial and prosperous communities in Oregon. The Baker, La Grande, Omak and Spokane timber supply is inadequate to a more or less degree. And new mills from distressed regions go in every year to accentuate the problem.

In a democracy, individual understanding of problems and an aroused public opinion are essential to constructive action. It is my considered judgment that in the Northwest true understanding of the forest problems and the development of an aroused public opinion have been delayed mainly by the hired men of the forest industries who have been adroit in issuing misleading propaganda.

Actually the purpose is to justify with some kind of rationalization cutting practices dictated by conventional and short-term investment and dividend considerations. These, and not good forestry practice based on public interest, are the determining considerations.

These men, including some foresters, attempt to justify over-optimistic conclusions in various ways. They include growth on inaccessible forests which can be of significance only after those forests are accessible. Again, they include high theoretical possibilities of growth instead of the much lower actual growth on slaughtered forests.

Millions of acres of denuded lands are not reproducing or making their potential forest growth. Moreover, private owners are largely clear cutting the best timber and the accessible timber while actual growth is of poorer quality material.

There will be a long gap in time before a new crop, merchantable under present standards, can be produced. That means impoverishment for many individuals and communities.

Finally, cutting is much more in excess of growth for certain species than for the forest as a whole. Species of special value to the nation -- of special value for defense, of special value in emergencies, of greatest value for special uses -- are being steadily depleted.

SELECTIVE LOGGING TERMED IMPORTANT FOR NATION

Let us remember three things:

First, clear cutting frequently wastes a third or half the volume of sound wood in the existing stand. It destroys the smaller and young trees of the better species as well as the trees of the less valuable species. So an entirely new forest must be started.

Second, the Northwest lives on exports of high-grade material to distant markets. These exports cannot continue if the virgin forests are destroyed and low quality logs from young stands become the sole reliance.

Third, excessive cutting is completely unsocial. It does not recognize the obligation to maintain communities, many of which the industry itself has established.

Forest service research, demonstration on national forest timber sales, and the experience of a few outstanding private operations have shown that there is a large opportunity for selective logging in much of the Douglas fir region. The old idea that selective logging is impossible simply must be discarded. Where selective logging is possible, it will save half a century in quantity growth and a century in quality growth; it will help to perpetuate communities.

Where selective logging isn't possible, delayed operations until better markets are available or a reduced rate of liquidation are the answers. Cut-out and get-out cannot be justified on technical grounds. Neither can it be justified economically or socially.

Pine spokesmen say that enough seed trees are left and that "other conservation measures are practiced to make certain that future generations will be provided with a continuous supply of these popular soft pines," and that the industry is "based upon a perpetual timber crop production." This is a misleading half-truth, as I think I have already indicated.

For making your columns available for a frank discussion of the forest problems of the Pacific Northwest, I want again to express my very deep appreciation. With the facts known, I have an abiding faith that the public will support the necessary action. In fact, they will insist upon it.

And, as I said when I started this letter, I'll submit to you within a day or two my own ideas of what that action should be.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. WALLACE,
Secretary.

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William B. Greeley

A PRACTICAL FORESTER

by
George T. Morgan, Jr.



Preface

The public career of William B. Greeley from forest assistant in 1904 to Chief Forester in the 1920's, spanned a quarter century of the conservation movement in the United States. Entering private industry in 1928 as secretary-manager of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association he continued to be an influential figure in the development of the nation's forest policy and forest practice until his death in 1955.

Like his more well-known predecessor in the Chief Forester's post, Gifford Pinchot, Greeley's career was very often the subject of controversy. To some he was a "traitor," to others he was *the* "statesman" of forestry. It is not the purpose of this study to revive old controversies; it is my hope that I have faithfully captured Greeley's character and have objectively reconstructed his role in the forestry movement. I have concentrated on his public career because of the conviction that his most significant contribution was made in engineering the passage of the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924 and that the progress made in forestry since the enactment of that legislation is a direct result of the principles included in its provisions.

I have relied heavily on the Greeley papers which were placed in the University of Oregon Library by his family and the West Coast Lumbermen's Association. While the bulk of these materials are concentrated in the period 1930-1955, there is much material on Greeley's earlier activities which was invaluable in tracing the development of his philosophy of forest policy.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Forest History Society, Inc., of St. Paul, whose pioneer work in the field of forest history provided the stimulus for the initiation of my research project. I am also very much indebted to the Society for its instrumental role in the placement of the Greeley papers in the University of Oregon Library and for making possible a personal search for additional materials in the National Archives and the Library of Congress.

During the course of my research I have talked with many foresters and others who either knew Greeley intimately or by reputation. These conversations invaluablely supplemented the written record and though it is impossible to give individual credit I wish to at least make general notice of my debt to those concerned.

I am particularly indebted to the Greeley family for their consistent

assistance and cooperation. Colonel Greeley's widow, Gertrude Jewett Greeley, was especially helpful and was unfailing in her support of the project from its inception to its conclusion. David T. Mason, Colonel Greeley's long-time friend and colleague, very generously allowed free use of his personal diaries and donated much of his time through personal interviews, lengthy correspondence, and critical reading of the completed manuscript. I also wish to thank Richard T. Ruetten, Franklin C. West, and Arthur W. Schatz who read portions of the manuscript and made many suggestions for improvement. My thanks also go to Joseph A. Miller who compiled the index to this study and to the Weyerhaeuser Company for granting permission to use Fred Ludekens' painting of Colonel Greeley on the book cover.

The faculty of the University of Oregon Department of History gave immeasurable aid in the way of encouragement, suggestions, and manuscript criticisms. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Wendell Holmes Stephenson whose skillful direction and authoritative counsel are responsible for whatever merit this study possesses. Others who have contributed to my research efforts are: Harold T. Pinkett and staff, Martin Schmitt, C. Raymond Clar, Arthur Priaux, Arthur Roberts, William D. Hagenstein, and Dr. Edwin R. Bingham.

Finally, I wish to express special thanks to my parents and my wife whose self-sacrifice and determination were a constant spur to my own ambition.

GEORGE T. MORGAN, JR.

Foreword

Because I knew William B. Greeley intimately from 1908 until his death in 1955, I am honored by the invitation to speak of my long-time friend here in George T. Morgan's excellent biography, which presents so well Greeley's character and some phases of his work.

I first met Greeley in the Forest Service Washington office in July, 1908. In December of that year the national forest western districts were established, with Greeley in charge of the Northern Rockies District including about twenty-five national forests, averaging about a million acres each, located mainly in Montana and Idaho with headquarters in Missoula, Montana. In the Missoula district for several years I spent much time with Greeley in the office, on field trips and in our homes. Greeley's greatest problem in Missoula days was fire protection—truly a tremendous problem. Being a wise and practical man, he sought the cooperation of private owners of forest land intermingled with or adjoining national forest land. After months of patient, skillful, persistent, tolerant effort, Greeley succeeded in establishing cooperative fire protection; thus he experienced the procedure and efficacy of cooperation—a lesson to him of great future importance. After Missoula, Greeley and I worked together many times in many places—in the Forest Engineers in France, each as manager of adjoining western lumbermen's associations, and later as members of the group which composed the Lumber Code of the NRA.

In his early days in the Forest Service, Greeley was, like practically all foresters of that time, a follower of Gifford Pinchot in his crusade to awaken the American people to the need for forestry practice. In this crusade Pinchot attacked lumbermen as "devastators," "monopolists," and operators of a "lumber trust." Beginning in the Missoula days, Greeley had intimate contact with lumbermen and their problems; he came to understand the economic situation in this field, and the need to assemble and publish facts upon which to base sound opinion of the industry. Soon after his promotion to the Washington office, he brought about an intensive economic study of the lumber industry covering the more important main regions of timber ownership and lumber production and national lumber distribution. His report just before World War I showed that the "lumber trust" was a myth and that on the contrary excessive competition, like that of farmers, was mainly respon-

sible for the then low standards of utilization and management of the forest.

This economic study convinced Greeley that for better forest management cooperation was needed between public agencies and forest operators to create a favorable economic climate, including reduction of the hazards of fire and taxes. This fundamental difference in point of view between Pinchot and Greeley led eventually to the battle in Congress over the Capper bill proposing federal regulation of the lumber industry sponsored by Pinchot, and the Clarke-McNary bill featuring the cooperative approach advocated by Greeley. The fight was won by Greeley with the enactment of the Clarke-McNary Act in 1924. In my opinion, although Greeley served forestry and the forest industry in innumerable important ways, his greatest contribution was the establishment of effective cooperation between government and industry.

It is appropriate to recognize that the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, which Greeley managed for many years, the Industrial Forestry Association of the Douglas fir region, fathered by Greeley, and the Forest History Society, of which Greeley in his later years was a director, have joined in publishing this book. As a director of the Forest History Society, Greeley as usual cooperated in the important work of stimulating the conservation of the history of forests, of their utilization and of forestry in the United States.

DAVID T. MASON

Portland, Oregon
May 4, 1961

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WILLIAM GREELEY
A PRACTICAL FORESTER

CHAPTER I

A Return to the Forest

On a September morning in 1908, a lanky young man with a determined set to his jaw, accentuated by piercing blue eyes behind round steel-framed spectacles and a nose of rugged cast, stepped off the train at Missoula, Montana, deposited his young wife in the Florence Hotel, and hurried off to assume his duties as District Forester of newly created District One of the United States Forest Service.¹ In the midst of this flurry of activity his thoughts may have led him to wonder how a one-time schoolteacher, and the son of a Congregational minister, had come to be one of the first of "Gifford Pinchot's Boys." And he was now the guardian of over twenty-five million acres of one of the most primitive and heavily forested areas in the United States.

William Buckhout Greeley was descended from devout New Englanders who had been among the first settlers in the virgin forests of New Hampshire. Andrew Greele[y], the patriarchal forebear, arrived in Salisbury, Massachusetts, sometime around the year 1640, and subsequently settled in Seabrook, New Hampshire, where he built and operated a grain mill. At mid-century he constructed a sawmill which remained in the Greeley family until 1747. Bill's grandfather, Stephen S. N. Greeley, preferred the ministry to business pursuits, and became an ordained pastor of the Congregational Church at Gilman-ton, New Hampshire, in 1839. His father, Frank Norton Greeley, also heeded the call of the church, and became an ordained Congregational pastor at Orville, New York, in 1877.² Poor health sent Frank Greeley, usually accompanied by his small family, throughout New England in search of a more friendly climate. After years of fruitless wandering, he abandoned the ancestral ground in 1890 for a trip around the Horn

¹ Unpublished Diary of William Buckhout Greeley (University of Oregon, Eugene), September 21, 1908. The six Greeley Diaries are dated September 21, 1908-September 8, 1909, and May 18, 1917-July 19, 1919.

² George Hiram Greeley, *Genealogy of the Greeley-Greeley Family* (Boston, 1905), 1-4, 537-38, 849.

on the merchantman, *H. G. Johnson*, to the sunny land of California, where he settled with his wife and two boys on a small prune ranch in the Santa Clara Valley.³

The valley in the 1890's had not yet been completely subdued by the farmer's axe, nor decimated by the advance of civilization. Bill Greeley's boyhood days were spent close to the virgin wilds, roaming the woods and fishing the sparkling streams of the valley. In an undated journal compiled during a hunting expedition into nearby Carmel Valley, he gives unwitting testimony of his growing love for the forest. For one month and three days he led the Spartan existence of the woodsman—hunting, fishing, trapping, and indulging in a daily plunge in the cool invigorating pools of the Carmel River. Bill described this last activity as the "best tonic out," and in the normal adventurous spirit of youth, enjoyed the cold baths doubly as much with the knowledge that "Papa" thought them unnecessarily dangerous. He reveled in his solitary tramps in the woods, and returned in the evenings to record in his journal, with an intensity which was ever his dominant characteristic, Wordsworthian glorification of the magnificence God had wrought. The "deep narrow gorges with trickling streams . . . densely wooded with oaks, madrones, and pines . . . where the rising sun lights up cañon after cañon," were more than lovely views; they were an awe-inspiring legacy, worthy of enduring struggle to preserve and protect. These weekday activities were abandoned on Sunday, and the minister's son, true to his training, "out . . . in the wilds far from church life or Christian atmosphere," spent the day reading the Sunday School lesson and *The Life of Christ* which had been packed in his satchel by the loved ones at home. It was not, however, simply a matter of obedience, for this lad was experiencing a growing religious conviction. Sunday, which he had feared would "hang rather heavy" on his hands, proved to be "one of the pleasantest days of the whole week." A philosophy of religion was already apparent: "Way off . . . in the wilds God can be worshipped most acceptably through his glorious works of nature." This idyllic existence where one was "lulled to sleep by the never ceasing roar of the Carmel," to enjoy a slumber such "as does not visit the couches of kings," could not continue indefinitely. A sense of duty to parents who had done so much to give him a pleasant vacation dictated return home to all its "pleas and interests and associations."⁴

³ Interview with Gertrude Jewett Greeley, November 24, 1956; Gertrude J. Greeley to author, January 25, 1959. The West Coast Lumbermen's Association, *Industrial Forestry Association News Release* (Portland, Oregon), August 27, 1956, erroneously reports the voyage was made on the *Morningstar*, a missionary ship.

This experience, while not forgotten, was relegated to the background in the coming years. After a year at Leland Stanford University he enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley in 1898, to pursue a course in history and English.⁵ His chosen profession of teaching was to be a disappointment, but the years spent at the University were extremely rewarding. He gained distinction as a scholar, evidenced by election to Phi Beta Kappa, and he excelled as a member of the University's debating team.⁶ Collegiate football at the turn of the nineteenth century was not yet big business, and the prestige of the debating team on the campus was equal to that of the football squad. The meetings between California and arch rival Stanford in the Intercollegiate and Carnot Medal Debates were as hotly contested by the participants, and as avidly supported by the "rooters," as the "Big Game" between the two schools today.⁷ The Carnot Medal was presented annually to the student who displayed the highest merit as a debater on a topic connected with contemporary French political affairs; attainment of this award symbolized the pinnacle of success for a debater.⁸ Greeley competed in the debate in 1900, and again in 1901, and while he did not win the medal in either year, he asserted years later that the experience was the most prized and valuable of his college career.⁹ The future brought events and positions in which his skill as a debater stood him in good stead. These he could not foresee, and at the time he could only know the disappointment of failure, but some compensation could be gained from the knowledge that as a loser he acquitted himself well. In the debate of 1900 his argument was "direct, carefully wrought-out, and convincingly delivered. . . . He impressed all by his earnest and finished delivery and his well systematized argument."¹⁰ He was described as a "very easy speaker, with considerable persuasive power," who united "graceful style of address with well-thought arguments."¹¹ The debate of 1901 was his last opportunity to win the

⁴ Unpublished Journal of William Buckhout Greeley, July 5–August 7, Greeley Papers. The Journal was probably recorded in 1896 or 1897.

⁵ Transcript of Academic Record of William B. Greeley (University of California, Berkeley), 1898–1901.

⁶ *The Daily Californian* (University of California, Berkeley), April 12, 1901, pp. 1–2; *The Occident* (University of California, Berkeley), XL (February, 1901), 77.

⁷ *The Blue and Gold* (University of California, Berkeley, 1902), 172.

⁸ *University of California Bulletin, 1900–01* (Berkeley, 1900), 90.

⁹ Interview with Gertrude J. Greeley, January 1, 1957.

¹⁰ Alfred G. Skaife, "The Sixth Carnot Debate," *Occident*, XXXVIII (February, 1900), 111–20.

¹¹ Monroe C. Deutsch, "The Carnot Team," *ibid.*, 90.

coveted medal, and in a losing attempt, "for fire and slash, and solidity of argument, he was remarkable."¹² In the partisan opinion of the school paper he was "easily the best of the California speakers" and "deserved the medal."¹³

Further recognition of his ability came when he was selected by President Benjamin I. Wheeler as one of fourteen student speakers at the last school assembly on April 19, 1901. Each was to speak for two minutes on the topic: "What can each of us do for the University?"¹⁴ His faculty for organization would make him invaluable as a leader in the young and untried forestry movement, and now in the twilight of his student days this quality led him to choose as his topic the need for a well-organized forensic program if the University would be successful in debating contests.¹⁵ As a climax to his collegiate career, he was appointed one of the Commencement speakers, and shared the stage with ill-fated President William McKinley, who was struck down by an assassin's bullet four months later in Buffalo.¹⁶

On May 14, 1901, Greeley received the Bachelor of Letters degree,¹⁷ and in the following September embarked upon a short-lived career as a history teacher in the Alameda, California, public school system. He soon realized that the cloistered life of a schoolteacher, so far removed from the wonders of nature, was not to be his life work. As his discontent with a teacher's existence increased with each passing day, he yearned more ardently for the free life of the woodsman in which he had reveled so heartily. With those pleasant memories fresh in his mind, he recalled a long chat with Bernhard Fernow, Dean of Cornell Forestry School and an early forestry enthusiast, who had told him he would make a good forester because his "long legs would take . . . [him] through the woods and help . . . [him] scramble over logs." Greeley made the most important decision of his life: he would abandon teaching for a graduate course at the Yale Forest School.¹⁸

The next two years were busy ones for Bill Greeley. To supplement what little financial aid his parents could contribute, each free moment from the study of sound forest management was spent waiting on

tables in the Commons or typing term papers for fellow students.¹⁹ In the summer of 1903, he received his first appointment with the Bureau of Forestry as a student assistant. For services rendered during a summer's stint he received the then magnificent sum of \$300. At the time he applied for the position he hoped his assignment would take him to the Rockies or the Pacific Slope.²⁰ Such an assignment would make possible a visit with his parents with no added expense to an already restricted budget, but his hopes for a western tour of duty did not materialize.²¹ Equipped with heavy boots, a large supply of woolen socks, rough clothes, and the woodsman's indispensable poncho, the one-time teacher returned home to the woods of New Hampshire.²² A summer of tramping through the White Mountain forests passed all too quickly. He returned to Yale and to the forestry texts that culminated in the long awaited moment of graduation and the degree of Master of Forestry. On July 1, 1904, he became an official member of the Forest Service,²³ and, though the Missoula assignment was four years distant, a career was launched which would span a quarter century and elevate him from one of many forest assistants to Chief Forester of the United States.

¹² Interview with Gertrude J. Greeley, November 24, 1956.

¹³ Overton Price to William B. Greeley, May 7, 1903, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of the Chief (National Archives and Records Service, the National Archives, Washington).

¹⁴ Greeley to Bureau of Forestry, January 18, 1903, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Price to Greeley, June 9, 12, 1903, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Price to Greeley, June 22, 1904, Records of the Forest Service: Correspondence of the Office of the Chief.

¹² *Ibid.*, XL (February, 1901), 77.

¹³ *Daily Californian*, February 11, 1901, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1901, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1901, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1901, p. 1.

¹⁷ Transcript of Academic Record of W. B. Greeley.

¹⁸ William B. Greeley, *Forests and Men* (Garden City, 1952), 242. His decision to become a forester was also influenced by an uncle, Dr. W. A. Buckhout, who for many years taught botany and dendrology at Pennsylvania State College. See Greeley to John F. Lewis, August 11, 1953, Greeley Papers.

The Formative Years

"I am against the man who skins the land!" With these words Teddy Roosevelt threw down his manuscript and strode across the stage, his fists tightly clenched and his jaw jutting pugnaciously.¹ The declaration echoed throughout the auditorium filled with delegates and interested onlookers at the American Forest Congress of 1905. The effect upon the audience was varied. Lumbermen were indignant,² while members of the Bureau of Forestry were exultant at the thrilling challenge reverberating in the silent hush.³ At the time the Bureau was little more than an agency for the dissemination of technical advice on forest management but was looking forward to better days. This might be the prelude to a "Golden Age."

When Congress gave the President authority to create forest reserves by an Act of March 3, 1891, jurisdiction of such lands was assigned to the Department of Interior. The reserves were to be just what the term implied. They were not managed forests, but rather closed areas. Since they were "locked up," withdrawals from the public domain under the Act were very unpopular. Despite this odious reputation President Benjamin Harrison and his successor, Grover Cleveland, withdrew almost forty million acres in the next six years. During the Democratic administration this was done "with a suddenness that created much western opposition."⁴ There the clamor to "open the land to settlers, miners, stockmen, and lumbermen" forced Congress to respond in 1897 and open the reserves for use. The Act of

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Forest in the Life of a Nation," *Proceedings of the American Forest Congress* (Washington, 1905), 10-11. The recorded version is, "I am against the land skinner every time." Roosevelt did not give the speech exactly as recorded. The version quoted herein may be found in Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 64, 72.

² J. P. Weyerhaeuser to W. B. Greeley, March 28, 1950, Greeley Papers.

³ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 64.

⁴ Shirley W. Allen, *An Introduction to American Forestry* (New York, 1938),

that year provided that the Secretary of the Interior could "make such rules and regulations and establish such service as will insure the objects of such reservations; namely to regulate their occupancy and use and to preserve the forests therein from destruction." The detested reserves were now open, but unfortunately no one in the Department of the Interior had even the slightest notion how to practice forestry. The Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture knew how, but had no forests to supervise; it could only gather facts. The dilemma was obvious; yet nothing was done. In his first message to Congress in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt urged that this absurd situation be remedied by transferring supervision of the reserves to the Department of Agriculture. Congress dallied and then acted four years later. The Forest Service celebrated its birth on February 1, 1905; a conservation milestone had been passed.⁵

Now the crusade could begin in earnest and seldom has a movement been more singularly blessed with leaders of the caliber of the new champions of conservation, Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot. They were kindred spirits with a common purpose—to save our most abundant national heritage from the forces of destruction.

Gifford Pinchot enjoyed the distinction of being one of only two American-born professionally trained foresters in the United States at the turn of the century. He had taken over the Division of Forestry in 1898, was at its head when it was elevated to Bureau status, and now became the first Chief Forester of the renamed and more powerful Forest Service.⁶ He was much more than just a forester. A crusader equipped with the ability to inspire his followers to the heights of endeavor, his genius molded a small group of "college-trained foresters, cattlemen off the ranges, and lumberjacks fresh from the woods" into a unified force dedicated to public service. So dominant was his personality and the sincerity of his beliefs that he could convince the young men who met at the "Temple of Conservation" on Rhode Island Avenue of the alleged mercenary character of the average lumberman.⁷ He was the Prophet of conservation and they were his disciples carrying the word of an impending timber famine to the American public.

The specter of this possibility was nothing new to Americans. As

⁵ Robert K. Winters, "The First Half Century," *Fifty Years of Forestry in the U. S. A.*, ed. Robert K. Winters (Washington, 1950), 1-5; Lyle F. Watts, "U. S. Forest Service," *ibid.*, 167-68.

⁶ Winters, "The First Half Century," *ibid.*, 6, 9; Allen, *Introduction to American Forestry*, 253; Watts, "U. S. Forest Service," *First Fifty Years of Forestry*, 167, 168.

⁷ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 66, 118.

early as 1817 a visiting French naturalist, F. Andre Michaux, had bemoaned the "alarming destruction of . . . trees" in America.⁸ Thirteen years later J. D. Brown warned that we were seriously depleting our forests. "Where," he demanded, "shall we procure supplies of timber fifty years hence?" Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, lamented in his annual report of 1875 that within twenty years we would not have enough timber for "our home necessities." The Department of Agriculture reported in 1884 that it was "difficult to find timber of the best quality" in any portion of the country. At the turn of the century a more optimistic investigator forecast a supply of only fifty more years.⁹

Long dormant public opinion began to stir. The devastation of destructive logging was naked to the eye. The exposé of timber frauds involving public figures heaped added fuel on the flames of indignation just as Roosevelt and Pinchot were drawing up their campaign to avert national disaster. By executive order millions of acres were added to the reserves. When western opposition attached a rider to the Agriculture Appropriation Bill of 1907, taking from the President and reserving to Congress the authority to create reserves in six western states, a determined Chief Executive deftly circumvented the problem. The bill languished on his desk for the seven days between Senate passage and the last possible moment for signing it.¹⁰ In the meantime, Pinchot summoned his assistants, Bill Greeley amongst them. In clipped sentences he outlined the situation and snapped, "Now we get busy." And they did. Each man was assigned a state or part of a state. They studied available reports on its public lands and pored over maps. Wherever they could find plausible evidence of forest cover, they redrew boundaries. Wires flashed back and forth to supervisors and rangers in the western states and midnight oil burned profusely in the Forest Service offices.¹¹ Before signing the bill rescinding his authority to create reserves, Roosevelt affixed his signature to thirty-three proclamations adding almost sixteen million acres to the reserve system.¹²

Thus a vast expanse of national forests was created. As the small force of young foresters began the exodus into the woods they were

⁸ Gilbert Chinard, "The American Philosophical Society and the Early History of Forestry in America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXIX (Philadelphia, 1945), 469.

⁹ Stanley F. Horn, *This Fascinating Lumber Business* (New York, 1943), 34-35.

¹⁰ Winters, "The First Half Century," *Fifty Years of Forestry*, 10; Watts, "U. S. Forest Service," *ibid.*, 169.

¹¹ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 65.

¹² Winters, "The First Half Century," *Fifty Years of Forestry*, 10; Watts, "U. S. Forest Service," *ibid.*, 169.

guided by the dictum of Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson. The public domain was to be administered "for the greatest good of the greatest number."¹³ To accomplish this aim they coined the term "multiple use" which meant the forests would be managed so as to make the most of several possible enterprises. Lumbering, grazing, recreation, and wildlife would receive equal attention. If there was not a regulation in the *Use Book* to cover a specific case they temporized until the discrepancy could be corrected. The oldtime loggers, lumbermen, and stockmen were often appalled at the suggestions made by some of these "pismire superintendents."¹⁴ One young assistant in the Washington office answered a request from the Southwest for a shift in spring lambing grounds because of unusually cold weather with the reply to "postpone lambing for two weeks." Such was the limitless bounds of their zeal—but to Greeley this was the "joy of it," for "the men on the ground were running the show, and they stood or fell on over-all results."¹⁵

He was present at the Forest Congress of 1905 and he too had "thrilled" at the words of Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁶ He had just returned from the hardwood forests of the South where the apparently sincere desire of the lumbermen to practice sound forest management and especially to establish a reliable fire protection system had favorably impressed him.¹⁷ But a crusader's spirit often has the power to sway even the most steady and practical mind, and despite this earlier impression he joined the ranks of "Gifford Pinchot's Boys." He did not succumb completely, however. He could not distrust every move of the lumbermen nor believe they were "lock, stock and barrel" dedicated to a philosophy of "cut out and get out." Fundamentally his disposition was that of the scholar seeking to understand every facet

¹³ Winters, "The First Half Century," *Fifty Years of Forestry*, 9; Watts, "U. S. Forest Service," *ibid.*, 169. Later in 1907 the title of the reserves was changed to National Forests in order to rid them of the stigma of being "locked up."

¹⁴ Stewart Holbrook, "Greeley Went West," *American Forests*, LXIV (March, 1958), 58. An early forester, Inman F. Eldredge, describes their reaction as "hostile." "Settlers . . . were against you because you closed up their lands. The cattlemen were against you because you were going to regulate them and make them pay. . . . The lumbermen were against you from the lumberjack up. They thought you were a silly ass—the lumberjack did—and the people at the top thought you were a misguided zealot." See Oral History Interview with Inman F. Eldredge by Elwood R. Maunder, February 3, 1959 (typescript copy, Forest History Society, Inc., St. Paul).

¹⁵ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 73-74.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁷ Greeley to Thomas Sherrard, July 25, 1904, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of Management (National Archives and Records Service, the National Archives, Washington).

of the game in order to know why it operated as it did. He was not a crusader unswervingly convinced that "right" was on his side in a battle against "evil." However, for the moment he was in the crusaders' camp and he went forth with the rest "starry-eyed over . . . the thrill of building Utopia."¹⁸ The glow of the "Great Crusade" dimmed for him as the years sped by, but never the excitement and adventure of being a member of the team that established forest management as a sound practice in the young West.

In July, 1905, his hopes for a western assignment bore fruit. He was assigned to California to organize and inspect timber sales on the reserves in that state. Also he was to do a selling job to reluctant lumber companies on the practicability of such Forest Service policies as selective cutting and the piling and burning of slashings.¹⁹ The opportunity to return to the Pacific Coast had arisen in the previous year when Gifford Pinchot recommended him for a position with the Diamond Match Company in San Francisco.²⁰ While the confidence of his chief was gratifying, Greeley was very reluctant to sever connection with the Service. He was especially hesitant because of his ever growing desire to work eventually into the administration of forest reserves on the Pacific Coast.²¹ Nothing more came of the offer and he returned west still in the public service.

During the next year he rode his big sorrel mare from Ventura, across the San Joaquin Valley, and up the length of the Sierra from Walker Pass to Mount Lassen.²² He was constantly in the forest, marking timber for proposed sales and working up experiments on burning of slashings. In fact, so much of his time was spent in the woods, he felt it necessary to write to Washington requesting a Forest Service Badge which might be useful "if any occasion arose to make an arrest."²³ As his duties took him throughout the state of California, he made almost daily contact with the lumbermen. He grew to like and respect these men, and as he came to know something of their "problems and harrassments" the old doubts as to their naturally destructive nature assailed his mind anew. "It was not all beer and skittles"; perhaps there was "another side to the 'forest devastation'" so

¹⁸ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 66; Greeley to John F. Lewis, August 11, 1953, Greeley Papers.

¹⁹ U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Expenditures, *Agriculture Department Appointments*, 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1907, Document 439, p. 254.

²⁰ Gifford Pinchot to Greeley, July 27, 1904, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of the Chief.

²¹ Greeley to Pinchot, August 2, 1904, *ibid.*

²² Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 74.

²³ Greeley to A. K. Chittenden, August 9, 1905, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of Management.

often talked about in conservation circles.²⁴ During his study of southern hardwoods, his immediate superior, Thomas H. Sherrard, had detected his promise as a competent forester and had taken the time to render a word of caution and advice. Sherrard told him it was not enough to tell the lumberman what ought to be done; he had to be shown how to do it economically. Most of all he wanted him to be able to tell "just how to do the things . . . [he] recommended," and to be willing to "follow to the bitter end the effect of the measures . . . [he] recommended upon the cost of logging."²⁵

Now this advice came back to him. He tried it and became convinced of its sagacity. One of the supervisors had made a forty-acre trial sale to a prominent lumberman whose temper was all but exhausted over selective marking, or what he called "pulling up steel and leaving good timber behind."²⁶ Finally Greeley persuaded him to spend a day with them in the woods. They were marking an exceptionally fine stand of ponderosa pine with the plan of cutting two-thirds of the footage in large old trees and leaving a young forest which would be ready to cut again in twenty or thirty years. As the marking proceeded, the buyer became more irate. "No timberman in his senses would try to log on such a long-haired, pink-tea proposition," he thundered.²⁷ Calmly, Greeley continued his work, keeping a running tally of the timber cut and the timber left. That evening they sat down together and went over the results. Eventually the lumberman began to see the point; through selective cutting he was getting the cream of the crop in volume and quality. The second point won him over. "By George!" he exploded, "the way you cut will give me a bigger percentage of shop and selects. My boy, you've got something there."²⁸ A convert had been won—not through pressure, but by a process of education. Whenever it was feasible thereafter, Greeley endeavored to take prospective buyers into the woods.²⁹ The lad who had discovered the deeper meaning in God's "glorious works of nature" found in his maturity that the "trees . . . lend an understanding" not present in an office talking about diameter rules and selective logging.³⁰

²⁴ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 76.

²⁵ Sherrard to Greeley, November 14, 1904, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of Management.

²⁶ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 75; Greeley to John F. Lewis, July 22, 1953, Greeley Papers.

²⁷ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Greeley to M. H. Collet, March 7, 1951, Greeley Papers.

³⁰ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 75.

While he did enjoy some success in this manner, he was ever cognizant of the tremendous job ahead of the embryonic Forest Service. The lumbermen might be persuaded that it was possible to practice selective cutting and to grow trees on government lands where everything was done "for posterity." But they clung tenaciously to their belief that a private timber owner simply could not afford it. If Greeley so much as suggested otherwise, he was greeted with an outburst of "expletives about taxes and carrying charges, mill investments to be liquidated, and stockholders demanding dividends."³¹ At this stage in his career he was not prepared to make recommendations which he could "follow to the bitter end."³² Prudence demanded silence until further study of the industry could buttress his nascent conviction that the Service contracts were pushing the operators too hard.³³ For the present he would be satisfied to help lead the way in "some of the first things, like co-operative fire patrols and lookout towers, and . . . [making] every timber sale an example of the ABC's of good cutting practice."³⁴

A year of experience in the forests of California prepared him for further advancement and on October 1, 1906, his long awaited ambition was realized. He was appointed supervisor of Sierra South National Forest in ^{Central} northern California.³⁵ This forest of some two and a half million acres surrounded the Sequoia National Park and included several stands of giant redwoods. His headquarters were at a ranger's cabin deep in the timber where the luxuries of civilization were non-existent. For companionship he relied upon his two horses, a pack mule, and a sheep dog. Scant company indeed, but nonetheless his bliss was unabated. Now he had the opportunity to prove his mettle and to play an even greater role in advancing "some of the first things" than had previously been his lot. Lookouts, fire trails, and means of communication were conspicuously absent when he assumed command. His determination to succeed was not diminished by the long grueling hours in the saddle required to alleviate this lack. In the following months he drove himself and his rangers hard constructing

³¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

³² Sherrard to Greeley, November 14, 1904, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of Management.

³³ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 76. Greeley voiced this opinion in 1909 during a discussion between the lumbermen and Forest Service officials at the Seventeenth National Irrigation Congress in Spokane, Washington. See "Lumbermen at the Irrigation Congress," *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, XL (August 20, 1909), 36.

³⁴ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 77.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Expenditures, *Statement of Expenditures of the Department of Agriculture, 1908*, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., 1909, Document 1157, p. 260.

lookout towers, stringing telephone lines, and clearing trails. Within a short time a fine crew of rangers who could do anything "from shoeing a horse to surveying a township line" had established the essentials of an efficient fire organization.³⁶

During his tenure as a timber inspector, he became acutely aware of the strong political influence of certain land companies throughout the state. He was apprehensive of their manipulations to control certain areas "as their exclusive range," and flatly stated the joy it would give him to see their "monopoly of public range . . . broken up."³⁷ Little did he know that he would not only see it, but would have the added satisfaction of aiding materially in their demise.

The leading industry on the Sequoia was livestock grazing. The Secretary of the Interior had yielded to the plea of municipal water users some years previous and prohibited sheep grazing. The Basque herders met the closure with a noncommittal "no comprend Anglesh" and continued their transgressions unconcerned with the technicalities of the law. Such an attitude could only result in disrepute for the entire system of controlled grazing which the Forest Service had worked diligently to establish. The situation was serious, and Greeley acted with speed, firmness, and considerable subterfuge. The Forest boundary lines were resurveyed and posted with "no trespass" signs in English and Spanish. Hidden rangers quietly observed the grazing sheep and when the herders, lulled into false security, drove their charges into forbidden territory they were quickly arrested. Three herders were left to tend the 9,000 sheep and the remainder were hustled off to appear before the United States Commissioner in Bakersfield. Attorneys known for their association with the large land companies came forth to represent the sheepherders. They contested the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate grazing on public lands, but to no avail. The court case went on for many months and reached the Supreme Court where the public interest was upheld. In the meantime, the problem had been settled permanently on the ranges of the Sequoia.³⁸

Always supremely confident of his ability, Bill Greeley was never plagued with the self-doubt which often renders otherwise competent men incapable of action. He was not a braggart nor was he accustomed to riding roughshod over justifiable opposition. His confidence

³⁶ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 77-79. Gifford Pinchot renamed the forest, "The Sequoia National Forest."

³⁷ Greeley to Chittenden, November 14, 1905, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of Management.

³⁸ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 78-80; Oral History Interview with Inman F. Eldredge by Elwood R. Maunder, February 3, 1959.

was inherent in his procedure. He did not make snap judgments; he gathered the facts, studied them, and then acted accordingly. He expected a man to give the best he had and would be satisfied with nothing less. He applied this standard to his subordinates, associates, and most of all to himself.³⁹ These qualities in any man are universally admired, but at the same time they are often misinterpreted both by well-meaning men and those with an "axe to grind." E. T. Allen, first state forester of California and later Secretary of the Western Forestry and Conservation Association, was a man of the first type.

Greeley's assignment as a timber inspector precipitated the first meeting of the two men. In future years they developed a mutual respect for one another's ability and formed a team largely responsible for the Clarke-McNary legislation of 1924. No such harmony existed at this time. One investigator suggests the friction was due to disagreement over their relative spheres of authority.⁴⁰ This is only partially true. The real source of their differences was an unfortunate, but probably an unavoidable, clash of personalities.

In addition to his competent self-assurance, dedication to his work, and demanding standards, Greeley's heritage was Puritan. Even with the mellowing effects of maturity, throughout his adult life he had a "terrible New England conscience." He was the natural product of his background and youthful training. At this time he was a beginner at the pipe-smoking art, and seldom partook of alcoholic beverages, or used profane language.⁴¹ To Allen, such a young man could easily appear austere, pompous, and bigoted in his beliefs. By the same token, Greeley could only look with stern disfavor upon some of Allen's personal habits.

Whatever the cause, the misunderstanding was present and it led Allen to a particularly tenuous estimation of the younger man. Upon his resignation as state forester, he evaluated the possible successors to

³⁹ Samuel T. Dana, a contemporary of Greeley's, states that, "He had such very high standards and no mercy on anybody. . . . Greeley felt that he had a duty, he was responsible for certain things. He had a conscience about it and if he had to sacrifice . . . anybody . . . doing it, it was too bad, but it had to be done." See Oral History Interview with Samuel T. Dana by Elwood R. Maunder, January 13, 1960 (typescript copy, Forest History Society, Inc., St. Paul).

⁴⁰ Lawrence Rakestraw, "A History of Forest Conservation in the Pacific Northwest, 1898-1913," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1955), 219.

⁴¹ Interview with Gertrude J. Greeley, November 24, 1956; Gertrude J. Greeley to author, January 25, 1959; interview with David T. Mason, January 15, 1957. Inman F. Eldredge describes Greeley in 1906 as "A very earnest man with a well-developed sense of humor. . . . Bill . . . never drank or smoked. In later years I know he did, because I made a big business of riding him about it." See Oral History Interview with Inman F. Eldredge by Elwood R. Maunder, February 3, 1959.

his office. In his opinion Greeley was "probably as competent technically and practically as any man who could be found." He had the additional advantages of being a Californian and of holding a higher rank in the Forest Service than other potential candidates. He was not, however, "especially fortunate in manner, for he gives the impression that he is a trifle conceited and intolerant of other people's views." Allen believed this could be due to "rather sudden advancement in the Service," but feared he would not get along well with the politicians and would "make a bad break."⁴² The shortsightedness of this last evaluation must have caused him considerable discomfort as he watched Greeley's meteoric rise as an administrator, working closely with many and sundry politicians.

There was more merit in Allen's impression that Greeley's manner was "a trifle conceited." At times his native modesty and humility were subjugated by his enthusiasm. But the spirit with which he could accept a rebuff belies a charge that conceit was an integral part of his character. The cattlemen on the Sequoia had overstocked the ranges and they stalled effectively whenever the Service requested a round-up to ascertain the exact count. The impasse was finally broken when Greeley gave his assent to the idea of holding a round-up of their own. After a week of "wild riding and rough tumbles," the tally corroborated their assertion that too many cattle were on the ranges. The grazing permittees were assembled and after a lengthy discussion a compromise figure was reached for the next year's herds. During the controversy one cattleman complained that a neighboring supervisor was allowing a much larger number. Greeley retorted that it made no difference. "On *my* national forest the range is in bad shape and the numbers of stock have got to be cut." Very casually one of the older stockmen leaned back in his chair, propped his feet on the table, and took out the "makings." As he expertly poured the Bull Durham into the paper he drawled: "When the young supervisor just now talked about *his* national forest, it sort of reminded me of the time when the old Devil took Jesus Christ to the top of a high mountain. He offered Christ all the kingdoms of the earth if he would fall down and worship Satan. All of 'em, mind you. The old s. o. b. didn't own a damn acre!"⁴³ A conceited or pompous man would have found little humor in such a frank rebuttal—Greeley humbly accepted it as a "squelch of a lifetime" and never forgot its homely message.

While his work had its compensations, life in an isolated ranger's

⁴² E. T. Allen to A. B. Nye, May 18, 1906, Governor Pardee Papers (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

⁴³ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 81.

cabin with only his animals for company could be lonely. As an undergraduate at the University of California he had watched a comely young coed performing before the footlights of the University stage.⁴⁴ He dated Gertrude Jewett and found they had much in common. She, too, was the child of a Congregational pastor and was preparing for a career as an educator.⁴⁵ Their friendship continued after graduation while they taught in the public schools. When Bill departed for Yale, the courtship lapsed. For the next five years they went their separate ways. She continued teaching and he dedicated himself to his new profession.

Alone in his cabin, the day's work finished, he had ample time for contemplation. Since leaving Yale he had applied himself with single-minded purpose, taking no "thought or time for wives or anything but his profession."⁴⁶ Diligence had brought its reward. Promotion had been rapid. At twenty-nine he was well established in the Service and there was no reason to believe that the future held anything but further success. Perhaps now he could give some time and thought to other things.

During the summer of 1907, the long postponed romance was renewed and by the season's end they were engaged.⁴⁷ Each year the Yale Forest School brought in an experienced man to conduct a short course in practical field problems. Bill learned he was to be the lecturer for that winter's session. Here was a wonderful opportunity for a honeymoon trip. Hurried preparations were made and on December 30 the young couple were joined in wedlock in a ceremony conducted in the Jewett home. The fathers of the bride and groom, the Reverend H. E. Jewett and the Reverend F. N. Greeley, were the officiating clergymen.⁴⁸ With these blessings they entrained for New Haven.

Bill had left the preparation of his lectures for the train trip, not realizing in the naïveté of a groom "how much time a wife took up." Fortunately, his bride was equal to the occasion and served as amanuensis. The lectures at Yale were launched satisfactorily, and she received her "first real education in forestry."⁴⁹

He told his new spouse many tales about his experiences in the woods, and the people she would meet. Her enthusiasm to be a super-

⁴⁴ *The Blue and Gold* (University of California, Berkeley, 1900), 48, 51.

⁴⁵ Frederic C. Jewett, *History and Genealogy of the Jewetts of America* (New York, 1908), II, 829-30.

⁴⁶ Gertrude J. Greeley to author, September 11, 1958.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *San Francisco Call*, December 30, 1907, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Gertrude J. Greeley to author, September 11, 1958.

visor's wife was kindled by his stories of administering first aid to "ax cuts on settler's feet" and putting "splints and tape on broken arms." And they laughed as he recalled his near baptism as a midwife.⁵⁰ She looked forward to meeting young women like the ranger's wife who had made her husband's anticipatory apologies to Greeley for the inevitable beans for supper unnecessary by roping, slaughtering, and butchering a steer during their absence. It might even prove interesting to meet the woman cook at one of the many mining camps in the Sierras who didn't care if the men "stow[ed] . . . [their] chow with . . . [their] pants off and barefoot."⁵¹ But, the needs of the Service forestalled her anticipation. On the return trip from New Haven they stopped in Washington. Bill was ordered to close out his duties on the Sequoia and report back by June 1 to take over as associate forester in charge of National Forest timber sales.⁵²

These were the formative years for the Forest Service — and Bill Greeley. They had grown out of their swaddling clothes together and now stood on the threshold of their prime. The Service had dominated but now the balance was beginning to change. As one promotion followed another his ability, assurance, and convictions developed apace. He was growing in stature, and growth would eventually bring conflict with the leader he ever admired with genuine sincerity — Gifford Pinchot. But, before the break came he would undergo an ordeal which burned into him the undeniable knowledge that forest fire prevention was the primary task of American forestry.

⁵⁰ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 83.

⁵¹ Francis Blakely, "Colonel Greeley Recalls Nicest, 'Wustest' Women," *Portland Oregon Journal*, July 20, 1951, p. 1.

⁵² Gertrude J. Greeley to author, September 11, 1958.

CHAPTER III

Maturation By Fire

Over three thousand fires were burning in District One. Through May, June, and July, Bill Greeley and his rangers constantly scanned the sky, silently praying for rain. None came. The forests were tinder-dry by mid-August, but with the aid of loggers, army troops, and derelicts from the "skidroads" or northwest cities, Greeley's small force had the major blazes controlled. Weary men relaxed apprehensively, for a hot dry southwest breeze blew through the ravines and gullies threatening further disaster should it increase.¹

On the morning of August 20, 1910, the wind approached alarming velocity. Men, women, and children throughout the vast timberlands of Montana, Idaho, and Washington anxiously eyed the pale haze obscuring the sun. The gale became a hurricane. With savage ferocity the wind-driven holocaust swept through the narrow mountain gorges, ravishing all that stood before it.² To the District Forester, "a green youngster" thrust into calamity, "the whole western sky seemed afire with a smoky, yellow glare." At midday it turned dark as night, and a great roar sounding like "a hundred freight trains rolling over high trestles" drowned out the crackling of the nearest flames.³ In six hours the greatest part of the damage was done although the fires continued to burn and smoulder for days afterward. The *New York Times* reported that citizens in distant Boston complained of the smoke and dust particles which caused the sun to resemble a "copper ball."⁴

Tales of quiet courage, heroic deeds, and human tragedy emerged from what was to this point the greatest inferno in the history of a

¹ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 15-17.

² Betty Goodwin Spencer, *The Big Blowup* (Caldwell, 1956), 61, 79-80. An official of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and Puget Sound Railway supposedly timed the speed of the blaze at seventy miles per hour. See G. W. Ogden, "A World Afire," *Everybody's*, XXIII (December, 1910), 756.

³ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 17.

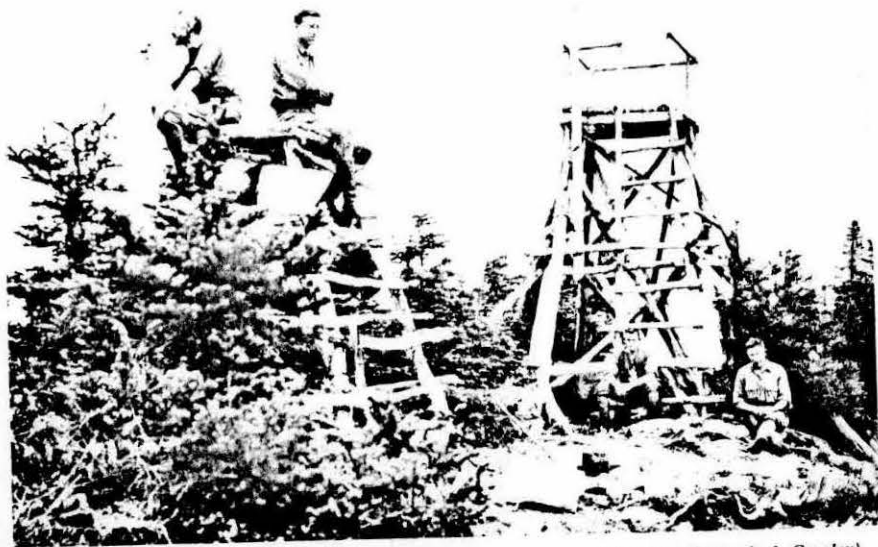
⁴ Ogden, "A World Afire," *Everybody's*, XXIII (December, 1910), 758; *New York Times*, August 26, 1910, p. 4.



(Courtesy U. S. Forest Service)
Student foresters E. E. Carter, Greeley, and teacher, Austin Cary.



(Courtesy Gertrude J. Greeley)
Lieutenant Colonel Greeley receives British Distinguished Service Order from General Sir D. Henderson.



(Courtesy Gertrude J. Greeley)

woods-burning people. The loss in virgin timber and human life was appalling: over three million acres burned and eighty-five lives lost.⁵

Looking back to this moment in his career, Bill Greeley believed it was in the smoking forest of District One that he "first understood in cold terms the size of the job" confronting the forestry movement. For him the "Great Crusade" had ended. He forced the lingering "haze of student days" and the enthusiastic ideals of inspirational leaders "down to earth."⁶ Henceforth one thought spurred him on—to drive fire from the timberlands. If the state and private landowners would not accept federal regulation, cooperate with them.

Greeley's nascent philosophy of cooperative forestry had matured. The catalyst for maturation was the great blaze in 1910, but he had been developing his concepts since the first days in the Forest Service. The past two years as District Forester had given him the opportunity to submit his growing faith in cooperation to the test of experience.

When the Forest Service was reorganized into six administrative districts designed to eliminate the delays of long-distance control and to place administration of the national timberlands nearer to the forests, Bill Greeley received command of District One.⁷ His arrival in Missoula on September 21, 1908, went practically unnoticed by a citizenry inclined to consider foresters as men with foolish new notions who could be tolerated but never encouraged.⁸ Oblivious to their indifference, Greeley was concerned with the task of administering a district covering over twenty-five million acres of national forests. The "Great Lone Land" encompassed northeastern Washington, Montana, northern Idaho, and parts of North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Minnesota, and Michigan. This panoramic region of deep canyons, high plateaus, cold water lakes, expansive grasslands, and rugged timbered slopes represented the challenge he had eagerly awaited.⁹

As District Forester it was his responsibility to provide efficient

⁵ Spencer, *The Big Blowup*, 258. Of the eighty-five lives lost, seventy-nine were fire fighters. See U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings, Deficiency Bill*, 61 Cong., 3 Sess., 1911, p. 134. Greeley is quoted in Spencer, *The Big Blowup*, 264, as rebuking the committee chairman's charge that he had wasted District funds with, "Would you stop when you spent all the money—or let all the towns burn?"

⁶ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 18.

⁷ Lyle F. Watts, "U. S. Forest Service," *Fifty Years of Forestry in the U. S. A.*, 170. The reorganization occurred in 1908. District headquarters were established in Missoula, Montana; Denver, Colorado; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Ogden, Utah; San Francisco, California; and Portland, Oregon.

⁸ Greeley Diary, September 21, 1908.

⁹ Rodney C. Locher, ed. *Forests for the Future: The Story of Sustained Yield as Told in the Diaries and Papers of David T. Mason, 1907-1950* (St. Paul, 1952), 22; Spencer, *The Big Blowup*, 31-34.

administration of this far-flung empire, to coordinate the numerous tasks the Service set for itself—timber sales, investigation of homestead entries, forest planting and research, planned cutting, and controlled grazing. To fulfill this multitude of responsibilities Greeley drove himself unmercifully. Never a desk-bound administrator, he was constantly traveling from one forest to another, inspecting a timber sale on the Clearwater, investigating a fraudulent homestead entry on the Coeur d'Alene, rectifying a personnel problem on the Kootenai, launching a planting experiment on the Lolo, or soothing the ruffled temper of a lumberman on the Kaniksu.¹⁰

Of more critical importance than these routine matters was the deficient fire protection system then existing throughout the region. Writing in regard to forest fires in the Adirondacks, H. M. Suter, an early forester, compounded what is probably the best statement pursuant to forest protection: "To extinguish small fires promptly and thus avoid the great expenditures inherent in well-nigh hopeless struggles with conflagrations."¹¹ Bill Greeley knew and believed this simple truism. The problem in his district could be as easily defined, but not as effortlessly solved. The primary deterrent to establishing a protective system based on this maxim was the absence of cooperation between the federal, state, and individual landowners. The property of each was scattered intermittently throughout the region, bordering one another and merging in a crazy-quilt pattern. Such a complicated maze made teamwork a prerequisite to the establishment of fire safeguards. As a fledgling in the Bureau of Forestry, Greeley had noted a sincere desire by the lumbermen to provide protection from the woodsman's most destructive enemy.¹² Fear of this ancient menace had accentuated their "cut out and get out" philosophy and reinforced their belief that only the government could afford the risk of growing trees. Reduce the threat of fire, Greeley believed, and the intelligent lumbermen, seeking their own interests, would flock to the banner of planned forest management. With quiet purpose he embarked upon a campaign to provide comprehensive fire protection in the forests under his control.

The inherent danger in the existing system of each interest's sole concern with protecting its own property was brought to his attention in a rather bizarre fashion shortly after he assumed command. The

¹⁰ Greeley Diaries, *passim*, September 21, 1908–September 28, 1909.

¹¹ H. T. Gisborne, "Forest Protection," *Fifty Years of Forestry in the U. S. A.*, 32–33.

¹² Greeley to Sherrard, July 25, 1904, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of Management.

supervisor of Kootenai National Forest had allegedly been accused by a barber in Libby, Montana, of playing cards in a saloon while a fire was burning on the southern outskirts of town. Another rumor maintained he had ignored the fire for ten days because it had started, and was then burning, only on patented land. Not content to censure one of his men on the basis of unsubstantiated gossip, and aware of the deficiency in existing regulations, Greeley conducted an investigation of his own. Going directly to the source of the allegations he obtained an affidavit from the barber repudiating authorship of the negligence charge.¹³ Conferences with other government officials and merchants in the area further discredited the accusation. Armed with this information he discussed the entire matter with the supervisor. Greeley told the forester he was not "open to criticism, since the fire at no time threatened National Forest lands, and since he did everything possible to extinguish it and protect the Forest where the fire reached dangerous proportions." But, Greeley continued, "He would have shown better judgment to have put the small fire out to protect the general public and also prevent the possibility of a widespread conflagration which might ultimately have reached National Forest lands." Then he informed the interested parties in Libby that the "existing instructions only were at fault," and the supervisor was free of any negligence. It was Greeley's opinion that "field officers should have broader instructions . . . authorizing the putting out of fires in outside lands—when endangering the interests of the general community." His next report to the Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, contained recommendations to this effect. Pinchot concurred in his position and ultimately the *Use Book* was revised to provide greater freedom of action in this respect.¹⁴

Due to Greeley's insistent urgings an intolerable discrepancy in Service regulations had been corrected, and a small stride forward was made in coordinating the activities of the Service with the needs of fire protection in the district. But this was only a short step—giant strides were required. In the ensuing months Greeley played an important and effective role in blazing the trail toward establishment of cooperative fire protection agreements between the Service and various timber protective associations in the locality. The blazes of 1902 had provided the impetus for organizations of lumbermen hoping to mitigate the

¹³ Greeley Diary, November 15, 1908. Greeley's personal estimation of the supervisor was that he was "thoroughly interested in his work, conscientious, and . . . very reliable. Not a man of very broad ideas—but . . . he will grow." *Ibid.*, October 12, 1908.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, November 16, 18, December 21, 1908, February 2, 25, March 12, 20, 1909. The *Use Book* contained rules and regulations for the management of the national forests and governed the activities of Forest Service personnel.

destructiveness of future fires.¹⁵ Between 1906 and 1908 the major lumber interests, led by George S. Long of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, had joined forces to establish pioneer protective associations in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁶ These associations afforded Greeley a nucleus with which to work. One by one he negotiated cooperative agreements which culminated in a fairly comprehensive protective system for the forests of northern Idaho.

The lumbermen indicated a disposition to cooperate when they invited Greeley to attend a conference of lumbermen to be held at Spokane on January 4, 1909.¹⁷ He responded with alacrity and his influence and leadership became manifest at the meeting.

Looking towards the long range future, the convention delegates appointed a committee, with Greeley and E. T. Allen, who was now District Forester of District Six, serving in an advisory capacity, to draft recommendations for uniform fire laws in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana.¹⁸ The report of the committee reveals the fine hand of their guidance. Recommendations were made for "compulsory slash piling and burning; permanent ownership of state timber lands and acquisition of cut-over lands; and strengthening of state fire warden system[s]." A member of the committee was to "push these matters in his own state."¹⁹ Greeley did so in both Idaho and Montana with eventual and significant success while Allen and his successor,

¹⁵ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 20; Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency; The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, 1959), 31-32; Eloise Hamilton, *Forty Years of Western Forestry; A History of the Movement to Conserve Forest Resources by Cooperative Effort, 1909-1949* (Portland, 1949), 29.

¹⁶ The Coeur d'Alene and Clearwater Timber Protective Associations were organized in 1906, the Potlatch Timber Protective Association in 1907, and the Pend O'Reille Timber Protective Association, the Washington Forest Fire Association, and the North Idaho Forestry Association in 1908. See "Timber Resources of the Inland Empire," *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, XL (June 18, 1909), 32-33; "The Idaho Forestry Association," *ibid.* (February 19, 1909), 30-31; Hamilton, *Forty Years of Western Forestry*, 31-34; Oral History interview with Charles S. Cowan by Elwood R. Maunder, October 30, 1957 (typescript copy, Forest History Society, Inc., St. Paul); John H. Cox, "Organizations of the Lumber Industry in the Pacific Northwest, 1889-1914," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1937), 178. Cox traces the genesis of the protective associations to the destruction of a large acreage of Weyerhaeuser timber in 1902 and stresses the lumbermen's subsequent drive to obtain state aid in protecting private lands.

¹⁷ Greeley Diary, December 30, 1908.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, January 4, 1909. The committee members were Frank H. Lamb, Clark W. Thompson, G. W. Millett, and J. P. McGoldrick. See "Pacific Northwest Forest Protection and Conservation Association," *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, XL (January 15, 1909), 35; Hamilton, *Forty Years of Western Forestry*, 9.

¹⁹ Greeley Diary, January 5, 1909.

Charles S. Chapman, pursued an equally successful campaign in Oregon, Washington, and California.²⁰

The inability to provide adequate fire protection because of the irregular pattern of landholdings was Greeley's most provoking problem. He discussed it freely with the lumbermen at the conference and found them "very much in earnest on fire protection—both to protect green timber and conserve young growth." This was the only persuasion Greeley needed. He promised to put his men at work immediately preparing district maps of the areas containing contiguous property holdings of the Service and the lumbermen.²¹ To solidify the promise of eventual cooperation evident in the lumbermen's attitude, and to dispel any suspicion that he was not serious, Greeley made the definite proposal that in any resultant cooperative fire districts, patrols be divided between Service officers and Association wardens. He further suggested that the cost of extinguishing fires in the tentative districts be prorated on the basis of acreage held by each. With a definite concrete program for consideration the conference adjourned on the heartening note of inaugurating "steps . . . for permanent organization of stumpage owners in the 4 states for better fire protection and forest conservation."²²

Greeley now pushed completion of binding cooperative agreements vigorously. Tentative drafts were completed and forwarded to Washington, D.C., for the Chief Forester's decision on their legality.²³ His reaction was favorable, but he doubted the plausibility and legal status of the proposal to prorate the expenditures for extinguishing fires.²⁴

²⁰ Hamilton, *Forty Years of Western Forestry*, 3, 5, 20-24, 34, 36; "Forestry Work in Oregon," *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, XL (April 30, 1909), 33; *ibid.* (November 12, 1909), 33.

²¹ Greeley Diary, January 4, 1909.

²² *Ibid.*, January 5, 1909. The Pacific Northwest Forest Protection and Conservation Association representing Washington, Idaho, Oregon, and Montana was officially organized on January 5, 1909. California joined the northern states in 1910 and the name of the organization was changed to its present title, Western Forestry and Conservation Association. Two years later British Columbia formed a league with the Association and its motto to protect the forests "Under Two Flags" was adopted. E. T. Allen, who with George S. Long is often credited with founding the Association, became its first forester on December 1, 1909, and continued to be a leading figure in advancing cooperative forestry until his death in 1942. See Hamilton, *Forty Years of Western Forestry*, 3-46; *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, XL (November 12, 1909), 33; "E. T. Allen; 1875-1942," *Journal of Forestry*, XL (July, 1942), 574.

²³ Greeley Diary, *passim*, January 14-February 27, 1909.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1909. It should be noted that cooperation with private timberland owners in fire protection and other forestry matters was at least the announced policy of the Forest Service from its inception. Chief Forester Pinchot, for instance, expressed the opinion before the lumbermen attending the Seven-

Undaunted by this negative opinion, Greeley continued to formulate a definite policy, secure in the knowledge this was "a big proposition," and the details could be arranged if allowed to "incubate a while."²⁵ After conferences with his staff and visiting dignitaries from the national office, he devised a policy, which, with two additions by the lumbermen, became the standard form for agreements with the northern Idaho protective associations:

1. The District Forester and representatives of the Associations would establish protective districts based on areas owned by each and agree upon a prorated division of expenses for *large* fires.
2. All expenditures for *large* fires would be recorded on Service vouchers and receipt forms.
3. All Association wardens would be appointed forest guards at a nominal salary.
4. Supervisors and local Association representatives would arrange practical division of fire patrols.
5. Proper division of *normal* fire fighting expenses would be determined by a forest supervisor, or by a warden or ranger operating under his instructions.²⁶

Leaders of the lumbermen added provisions that:

1. One man, either a ranger or warden, would have charge of fire fighting in each district.
2. Local representatives of the Service and Association would agree in advance to a wage scale for temporary laborers.²⁷

The Chief Forester approved this standard policy in its entirety — in-

teenth National Irrigation Congress that "there is nothing, whatsoever, standing in the way of the closest kind of cooperation . . . [between the Service and the industry.] It seems to me it is a waste of opportunity and against all good business principles . . . not to work together for the things that we both want to bring about." See "Lumbermen at the Irrigation Congress," *Mississippi Valley Lumberman*, XL (August 20, 1909), 37. An interesting, though brief, analysis of Forest Service policy from 1905 to 1940 may be found in J. A. Smith, "State Forestry Under Public Regulation," *Journal of Forestry*, XXXIX (February, 1941), 99-103. Smith finds a particularly noticeable gap in avowed and actual policy between 1905 and passage of the Clarke-McNary Act in 1924. During that period, he asserts, "The policy of the federal government was entirely one of cooperation with the privately owned lands but . . . the primary objective . . . was increased federal ownership. . . . While . . . the importance of private lands was recognized, action directed towards improvement upon those lands was granted only as a matter of expediency apparently when the recommendations for federal ownership met resistance."

²⁵ Greeley Diary, January 28, 1909.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1909.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1909.

cluding the prorating of expenses for extinguishing large fires.²⁸ At a joint meeting of the northern Idaho protective groups held in Spokane on May 6, 1909, the delegates voted unanimous approval and the general agreement was executed "on the spot" by Greeley and the lumbermen.²⁹

The incubation period was over. All that remained to make fire cooperation an actuality on the forests of District One was the laborious task of developing specific programs for each cooperative district. For the next month, Greeley devoted the majority of his time to supervising the drafting of detailed agreements for final execution by each Association.³⁰

Bill Greeley was extremely anxious to take full advantage of this "splendid opportunity for strengthening the Service in Northern Idaho," and to make the cooperative fire work "a thorough success." To this end, he scheduled conferences with the supervisor of each forest and personally directed the drawing of boundary lines for each fire district. He took special pains to eliminate possible failure of the cooperative agreements through human frailty, and cautioned his rangers to "take the right attitude . . . and cut out friction or jealousy . . . between them and employees of the Association."³¹

Now he settled down to the task of concluding final agreements with the individual Associations. At Sand Point, Idaho, in the last days of May, he negotiated and executed a subsidiary agreement with the spokesmen of the Pend O'Reille Timber Protective Association. Three cooperative districts were established: Pack River and Grouse Creek on the Pend O'Reille, and Priest River on the Kaniksu National Forest. In addition to perfecting the financial arrangements, two vital cooperative settlements were made. Association wardens would be in command of fire fighting in the territory they patrolled, and Service officers would enjoy similar supremacy in areas they guarded. Of more immediate significance for the future was the "blanket permit" given the supervisors to construct any necessary trails across Association land, "clearings of such rights of way not to exceed 4' in width and no green trees over 12" in diameter to be cut."³²

Hurrying on to Wallace, Idaho, Greeley and Supervisor W. G. Weigle prepared a compact to establish four cooperative districts on the Coeur d'Alene National Forest.³³ One week later he met in Pot-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1909.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1909.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*, April 17-May 27, 1909.

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 21, 28, 1909.

³² *Ibid.*, May 28, 1909.

³³ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1909.

latch, Idaho, with representatives of the Potlatch Timber Protective Association. They agreed to a district which included the entire drainage of the Palouse River in the Coeur d'Alene region, and divided patrol of the district between two rangers and one warden.

Then the discordant voice of distrust disrupted proceedings which to this moment had been characterized by a remarkable attitude of compromise and near unanimity of opinion. The secretary of the Association was adamant in his proposal that their wardens should command all fire suppression in the cooperative districts. Greeley was equally insistent that the spirit of cooperation embodied in the Pend O'Reille agreement be continued in this instance; in areas patrolled by Service officers they would have complete authority, and vice versa in the portions patrolled by Association wardens. Rather than allow this difference to shatter the promise of cooperation Greeley finally persuaded the secretary to leave the question open for final decision at a joint meeting of the Associations scheduled for the next day.³⁴

The wisdom of his tactics was rewarded when the other representatives "sat down hard on . . . [the secretary's] proposal" and forced him to accept Greeley's original position.³⁵ In victory Greeley illustrated the tact and understanding which enabled him to forge strong bonds of friendship with these highly individualistic businessmen, and dispel their wary fear that the Service was a colossus seeking eventual domination. To assuage the sting of defeat he knew his adversary felt, Greeley pledged he would place only those patrolmen in the Potlatch district meeting with his approval.

Without pausing to rest, Greeley executed an agreement that same evening with the Coeur d'Alene Protective Association establishing three cooperative districts: the St. Maries watershed, the north fork of the Coeur d'Alene River, and the lower St. Joe drainage. The Association was to patrol the first district and the Service the other two.³⁶

The Clearwater Timber Protective Association was the only organization not yet included in the cooperative system. Greeley had conferred with the leaders of that group four days previously and concluded a tentative agreement "embracing practically [the] entire drainage of [the] North Fork of Clearwater River." After completion of the Coeur d'Alene conferences he returned to Missoula, but instructed Major F. A. Fenn, Supervisor of the Clearwater National Forest, to complete the required negotiations with the Clearwater group. On June 12, 1909, the pact was formally concluded, and the cooperative

³⁴ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1909.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1909.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

fire system in northern Idaho was completed.³⁷ It had required months of sustained labor and endless conferences with the often reluctant lumbermen. Greeley was pre-eminently suited for this type of work, he possessed the unflinching determination prerequisite to success, and he had the qualities of the diplomat, enhanced perhaps by his college debating experience. He knew when to go slow and when to forge ahead, when to retract a point and when to stand firm. To him must be given the greatest share of the credit for the inauguration of fire cooperation between the government and private landholders in District One.

As final insurance against conceivable impairment of the hard won cooperative agreements, and to minimize backsliding, Greeley addressed a full letter of instructions to the northern Idaho supervisors on expediting the pact conditions. As before, he especially "emphasized [the] necessity of cutting out jealousy and frictions among local employees of both parties."³⁸

Bill Greeley had accomplished a major victory, but it was not the only one during his tenure as District Forester. In the aftermath of the great conflagration in 1910, charges of incendiarism were lodged by various Forest Service officials.³⁹ Acting Chief Forester, Albert F. Porter, expressed this viewpoint and pointed the finger of guilt at people wishing to discredit the efficiency of the Service.⁴⁰ Greeley did not subscribe to this theory. If he had similar suspicions, he maintained silence, for such a controversial claim could not be proved and would benefit no one. More beneficial, in terms of fire prevention, was the concerned comment of a *New Yorker* who wrote, "Why not have a law compelling railroads traversing forest regions to burn oil as fuel in time of drought when there is danger of starting forest fires?" This discerning commentator scoffed at the charge of incendiarism as a probable scheme to divert attention from the suspect railroads.⁴¹ Greeley would not adhere to the allegation of duplicity either, but he was aware of the threat coal-burning locomotives presented to the forests. Negotiations had been initiated with the railroads operating in the district prior to his assumption of command.⁴² Greeley's leadership injected new vigor and success into the proceedings.

The land commissioner for the Northern Pacific Railway, Thomas Cooper, conferred with Greeley on March 15, 1909. The result was a

³⁷ *Ibid.*, June 4, 9, 12, 1909.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, June 18, 19, 1909.

³⁹ *New York Times*, August 22, 1910, p. 2; August 23, 1910, p. 2; August 25, 1910, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1910, p. 2.

⁴¹ *New York Times*, August 25, 1910.

⁴² *Greeley Diaries, passim*, September 21, 1908-September 29, 1909.

tentative agreement to establish a cooperative fire patrol on the right of way through national forests. Also, upon request by the local forest ranger, the company would furnish the necessary number of men to subdue fires caused by its operations, and the expenses incurred would be borne by the railroad. Greeley, however, added a final clause which eventually caused a rift in the negotiations; a board of arbitration consisting of the District Forester, Division Superintendent, and a third member appointed by them would determine responsibility in disputed fire cases.⁴³

After weeks of reflection Mr. Cooper rejected the entire agreement on the grounds that his company should be financially liable only for fires it admittedly caused. Despite the evident truth in Greeley's rebuttal that arbitration was vital if justice would prevail for both parties, Cooper persisted in his course.⁴⁴ On this disquieting note negotiations lapsed.

Greeley laid the matter aside for the present, but in the interval before renewing them he successfully concluded an informal pact with the president of the Spokane-Inland Empire Railway. The agreement permitted the Service to string lines on company owned poles to provide communication between ranger stations and section houses, and it also provided for the immediate launching of a cooperative patrol on the right of way. Finally, all railroad employees would receive instructions to assist forest officers, upon request, in subduing fires in the patrol area.⁴⁵

Encouraged by this partial triumph, Greeley pursued the languishing negotiations with the Northern Pacific, and also the Great Northern Railway, with renewed energy. As a conciliatory measure to forestall objection of his plan for an arbitration commission, he promised that the Service would not bring legal action for fire damage against the companies if they abided by the terms of the original agreement. This stroke pacified them and after insertion of a clause permitting the railroads to cut and remove all merchantable timber on safety strips within national forests, the pact was concluded.⁴⁶

Through the conclusion of the agreements with the railroad companies and the Timber Associations, Greeley brought some of the largest private landowners into the cooperative camp. A semblance of order was beginning to emerge from the chaotic land pattern in District One. The state lands within the District represented a special problem,

⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1909.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1909.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1909.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, April 8, August 14-23, 1909.

however. They were completely free from federal control and to complicate matters they had no effective protective systems of their own.⁴⁷ Cooperation between the state and federal governments was the obvious remedy to Greeley, and this was the principal course he pursued. As an initial gesture, he proposed to the Montana Governor and the Idaho Board of Land Commissioners that forest rangers be appointed state fire wardens.⁴⁸ This procedure would provide at least rudimentary protection until the state legislatures provided for their own forestry programs. The Idaho Board maintained silence, perhaps in the desire to retain its complete sovereignty; but, less than two weeks later the Montana Assembly passed a forestry bill incorporating his plan. This act established a Board of Forestry, provided for the appointment of a State Forester, and permitted Forest Service personnel to serve as volunteer fire wardens on state lands.⁴⁹

While the passage of this important bill cannot be credited solely to Bill Greeley, it is certain he was extremely influential in its materialization. He had forged strong bonds of friendship and understanding with Governor Edwin L. Norris, his many lectures throughout the state on forestry and forest protection must have had a definite impact, and above all, time and again he had illustrated by word and deed the sincere desire of the Service to cooperate with all groups to safeguard the forests.⁵⁰

Speaking in regard to the August, 1910, holocaust, which was racing through the western forests, A. F. Potter paid tribute to Greeley's accomplishments in District One when he publicly declared, "The cooperation of railroad companies and private timberland owners in the Northwest . . . has . . . been a great help," and "we are in much better position now to protect the forests than we would have been a few years ago."⁵¹ Further recognition of the value of Greeley's cooperative efforts appeared in a report before a House Committee on Appropriations. The monetary worth of cooperation in defraying the expenses of subduing the fires was estimated at over fifty-two thousand dollars in Idaho and Montana alone.⁵² The additional, and greater values, of increased understanding and harmony between the individual lumbermen and the Forest Service could not be measured.

As laudable as these accomplishments were, the fact still remained

⁴⁷ Joseph S. Illick, "State Forestry," *Fifty Years of Forestry in the U. S. A.*, 226.

⁴⁸ Greeley Diary, February 24, 1909.

⁴⁹ *Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the State of Montana*, Legislative Assembly, 11th Regular Sess. (1909), 293-94.

⁵⁰ Greeley Diary, *passim*, September 21, 1908-September 28, 1909.

⁵¹ *New York Times*, August 23, 1910, p. 2.

⁵² House Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings, Deficiency Bill*, 1911, p. 132.

that a great toll in timber and human life had been taken, and that the Service was hampered by insufficient means of communication, access trails, and men to guard the forests. It could not hope to subdue conflagrations when it had to build trails at the height of the battle.⁵³ Former Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot re-entered the lists and implored that a lesson be taken from the tragedy. Comparing it to the Chicago and San Francisco catastrophies of the past, he pointed out that "when a city suffers from a great fire it does not retrench in its Fire Department but strengthens it."⁵⁴

Congress responded to this and similar pleas by passing the Weeks' Bill in 1911. This controversial act had been running the Congressional gamut for many years. Three presidents had endorsed it, the Senate had voted favorably three times, and the House once.⁵⁵ Originally introduced as "An Act for acquiring National forests in the Southern Appalachian Mountains and White Mountains,"⁵⁶ its sponsor, Representative John W. Weeks, had heeded the urgings of the friends of forest protection and altered the bill. In its new form the measure read:

An Act to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams, and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers.⁵⁷

This was an evident extension of the bill designed to augment the national forest domain.

Section 2 of the Weeks Bill, incorporated as a result of protectionist influence, was doubly important to them. A sum of two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to "enable the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with any State or group of States . . . in the protection from fire of the forested watersheds of navigable streams." Before a state could be eligible for federal aid it had to enact legislation providing for a system of protection, and appropriate funds for that purpose. The federal government would then match the amount provided by the state.⁵⁸

The giant stride forward Bill Greeley had dreamed of had finally been taken. His faith in cooperation could now be fully tested.

Greeley's ability to push cooperative measures had been well proven

in District One. The new Chief Forester, Henry S. Graves, transferred him to Washington, D.C., as assistant forester in charge of the Office of Forest Management. His primary duty was direction of state cooperation under the Weeks Bill, and "spurred on by vivid memories of blazing canyons and smoking ruins of little settlements and rows of canvas-wrapped bodies," he became an "evangelist out to get converts."⁵⁹

Gradually an increased number of forest protection laws appeared in the state statute books.⁶⁰ Greeley's early belief in cooperation was bearing fruit. A dual alliance of federal and state governments was providing increased forest protection. But, he was not satisfied yet — bring the private timberowner into federal-state cooperation and the trinity would be complete. To this end he began to bend his efforts, only to be temporarily diverted by World War I and the call to arms.

⁵³ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 24.

⁶⁰ Illick, "State Forestry," *Fifty Years of Forestry in the U. S. A.*, 228, 234.

⁵³ *New York Times*, August 23, 1910, p. 2; August 27, 1910, p. 3, 6; August 28, 1910, p. 7; Ogden, "A World Afire," *Everybody's*, XXIII (December, 1910), 766.

⁵⁴ *New York Times*, August 27, 1910, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Congressional Record*, 61 Cong., 2 Sess., 1910, XLV, 8975.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., 1909, XLIII, 3562.

⁵⁷ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXVI, 961.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

“The Lines Are Drawn”

“Pinchot and I looked at the economic side of the forest picture through different glasses.”¹ In these simple terms Bill Greeley explained the divergent paths of the two men and ultimately of the conservation movement. Behind his words lay the void created by a lost personal friendship.

On the mountain trails of the Sequoia National Forest which Pinchot had named, Greeley had really come to know his “Boss,” and a woods-born friendship of kindred spirits who were happiest following the winding trails into the relatively unknown depths of the forest rapidly developed. They marked timber on sales areas, scaled peaks to inspect sites for proposed lookouts, and at day’s end sat together by the cheerful warmth of the campfire. In the flickering shadows of the flames against the somber backdrop of the tall timber, the strong bonds of comradeship were forged. To Greeley, in 1906, still a neophyte in the conservation movement, Pinchot was a “man’s man” and as he listened to him enthusiastically plot the next moves of the crusade, he felt like a “soldier in a patriotic cause.”²

Herein reposed Gifford Pinchot’s outstanding quality. “The appeal he . . . [made] to young people . . . [was] irresistible. . . . He . . . [carried] a class of collegians with him almost as if he owned them . . . [and] trained a staff of young subordinates who fairly worshipped him, and whose loyalty . . . remained unshaken by any later vicissitudes.”³

Greeley was not an exception to the foregoing description of Pinchot’s effect on young foresters. But, as the years sped by, he formed concepts about the lumbermen, forest devastation, and the correct forest policy to pursue which were diametrically opposed to Pinchot’s,

who was becoming increasingly dissatisfied and disappointed with the reticent lumbermen, and the success of his attempts to alter their behavior. Greeley and Pinchot were strong willed men each with an active sense of duty. This, plus absolute confidence in their convictions, contained the promise of eventual conflict.

In 1914, the Forest Service, in cooperation with the Bureau of Corporations and the Federal Trade Commission, conducted a two-year investigation of conditions in the badly depressed lumber industry. The object was to “obtain and place before the public in a constructive way the essential facts regarding this industry and their bearing upon forest conservation.”⁴ The discoveries of the investigators were published in a series of Department of Agriculture bulletins.

Greeley participated in the survey and his subsequent report fell like a bombshell into the midst of the ardent Pinchot-led conservationists. For several years he had questioned whether lumbermen were willfully wed to destructive logging. He was certain they, as businessmen, were interested in survival, and surely realized their present methods would lead to extinction. He could not credit their seemingly stubborn refusal to accept the principles of forest management to mere obstinacy. The reasons must be more profound, and he had searched conscientiously for the answer. Now, after years of inquiry and appraisal, Greeley was positive he had located the sources of their alleged indifference. He knew his report would be regarded by some of the old-guard conservationists as rank heresy, but he could not keep faith with himself if he repudiated his convictions. Accordingly, he wrote his analysis and Chief Forester Henry S. Graves, convinced of its worth, published it.

Greeley’s report was a sincere and sympathetic attempt to analyze, understand, and communicate to others, especially the lumbermen, the nature of the problems confronting the industry, and consequently forestry. Too, he proposed a possible panacea.

Unlike many of the intense idealists, Greeley recognized the value of the lumbermen to the development of the country’s economy. In his opinion, they “must be credited with public and economic service through . . . large contributions to the support of local government and of community institutions and improvements and, in the main, through . . . general and increasingly efficient protection of forest resources from fire.” But, he continued, they had “fallen down in . . . speculation, . . . financing, and . . . wasteful use of the forests.” These

¹ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 118.

² *Ibid.*, 81-82.

³ “Gifford Pinchot,” *Nation*, CII (April 27, 1916), 456.

⁴ William B. Greeley, *Some Public and Economic Aspects of the Lumber Industry*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Report 114 (Washington, 1917), n.p.

detrimental aspects of their business methods were the “price which the United States has paid for the means used to develop its new States.”⁵

Then, striking to the core of the problem, he began with the supposition that “demoralized lumber markets affect the value of timber, the stability of its ownership, the degree to which it is wasted in exploitation, and the possibility of carrying out any far-sighted plan of forest renewal.” These facts brought to his mind the provoking thought “as to whether the public forest policy of the United States goes far enough.”⁶ Before attempting to answer this query, however, he examined the lumber industry, intent upon discovering if it were truly an unyielding force bent upon self-destruction.

First and foremost of his conclusions was the elemental fact that in the past the lumbermen had been misled by the abundance of cheap timber at their disposal, and the public land laws of the country had intensified their mistaken course. Through various methods, both legal and illegal, valuable timberlands could be obtained for a fraction of their true value. Consequently, lumbermen had overinvested in woodlands, largely on borrowed money at high rates of interest. In addition, many of the purchases were made by speculators who later sold their holdings at a handsome profit, and departed from the scene. As time passed the valuation of the land increased, and coupled with high interest rates on speculative loans, aided in the detrimental development of the lumbermen’s “cut out and get out philosophy.” The lumber manufacturers had to produce if they were to meet their financial obligations. Thus, many mills operated at a loss during slump periods instead of reducing their cut, but here, they believed, was a way of “cashing in” on their speculative timber holdings. Also, the exigencies of their economic position meant that the millowners cut, insofar as possible, only the superior species of timber, leaving a great deal of merchantable inferior growth behind. This wasteful utilization of the resources at their command, both in the forests and the sawmills, was blatantly incompatible with their interests and the public’s, but neither were too concerned because both believed new fields would always be available.⁷

Proceeding to the consequences of these conditions, Greeley explained the hesitancy of the lumbermen to accept the policies of forest management. Once timberland was cut-over it lost its value to the lumbermen and in theory would become agricultural land. Much of it,

⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 4, 11-15, 17-18, 20, 28, 59-60, 64, 66, 69.



Chief Forester Greeley, 1920-1928

(Courtesy U. S. Forest Service)



The woodsman's eternal enemy—fire scene on the Tillamook Burn.

(Courtesy Portland Oregon Journal)

however, was not suitable for agriculture and should have been reforested. The lumbermen could not do so, even if they were so disposed, for two important reasons. First, this cut-over land with its residue of slashings and other waste material, was extremely susceptible to fire. It had to be protected from this menace before the task of growing trees could be successful, and the debt-ridden lumbermen were unable to bear the cost of protection. Hence, they could not grow trees. Second, an unrealistic tax policy in the various states heightened their inability to afford fire protection, grow trees, and retain land which would be productive too many years in the future for them to profit by. To the realistic businessmen the solution was simple: allow the land to revert to the state for tax delinquency and migrate to virgin areas.⁸

Greeley believed these social and natural influences had accentuated the destructive and migratory nature of the lumber industry. Lumbermen were now confronted by a situation completely of their own making—the new regions of exploitation were far from the market. The necessity of shipping their product long distances added another burdensome cost to the lumbermen's already inefficient business.⁹

High interest rates, inefficient processing procedures, rising transportation costs, and unstable taxation caused Greeley to see a sick industry, not a willful one, and he proposed a program designed to bring it out of the doldrums of the past few years, and one which he believed would concurrently eventuate in a forest policy of reforestation.

The keynote of his thought was the elimination of the fire menace and the central fiber of his policy was cooperation between the federal government, the states, and the private timberowner. Within this framework his suggested program consisted of three major points: (1) extension of the national and state forests, (2) equitable taxation of forest lands, and (3) a system of forest products research.¹⁰

Greeley contended that the lumbermen had conclusively proven their inability to hold the greatest share of the nation's surplus timberlands. Their control had culminated in instability for the industry, and society had suffered through the destruction of a vast portion of the virgin forests. Public ownership of the reserve forest lands through extension of the national and state forests would accomplish several purposes: "the first step in forestry," fire protection, would be provided, denuded areas would be reforested, the annual cut would be controlled, and timber ownership and manufacture would be partially

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9, 58, 59, 86, 88-89, 92-94.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 33, 57, 90.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 73, 86-88, 100.

divorced.¹¹ Greeley realized this program would not suffice completely because of the large amount of timberlands which would necessarily remain privately owned. Therefore, he suggested that "public regulation of private forest lands . . . [would] have a necessary and important part" in the development of planned forest management. "But," he counseled, "in the face of many economic, business, and legal obstacles the process must be one of gradual development."¹²

Addressing himself to the problem of the "menace of increasing taxes in many sections . . . levied year after year or decade after decade, to a form of wealth which provides no current income . . . [forcing] the speedy cutting of the timber or . . . [leading] sooner or later to . . . confiscation by the State," Greeley implored that such "unwise taxation" be replaced by "moderate, and particularly stable, taxes." If heeded, he was confident such a course would "aid powerfully in securing the right kind of forest ownership."¹³ The lumbermen would be able to look towards the future, protect their land from fire, and plant trees.

Greeley fully realized that the "lumber industry must work out its own salvation largely," but was convinced "it should be the concern of the public not only to keep the industry competitive but to cooperate with the lumberman in making his business more efficient." To accomplish this end he advocated inauguration of a forest products research program which would benefit the industry and the public by attaining the "maximum service . . . from . . . forest resources."¹⁴

In final clarification of his position, Greeley asserted, "progress toward an adequate forest policy rests mainly upon cooperation between the public and the lumberman. Little can be done by either single-handed." His own experience had convinced him that "suspicion and hostility towards this industry . . . [would] not help the public and . . . [would] get nowhere in the practical needs of conservation." Finally, he was personally satisfied that the past lessons of conservation had "made clear that a satisfactory working out of the forest problem of the United States requires a large degree of public and private cooperation."¹⁵

The promise Greeley's superiors had seen in his fledgling days was fully vindicated. He had stated his beliefs positively and persuasively. But, now he must pay the price for he had "lost caste in the Temple

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 94-98.

¹² *Ibid.*, 85.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

of Conservation."¹⁶ Pinchot's reaction to his report was negative and characteristic of a man whose "temperamental intensesness . . . definiteness about his hatreds . . . and . . . freedom in his use of epithets" was familiar to many.¹⁷ In a letter accompanying Greeley's manuscript, sent to Pinchot for his comments, Chief Forester Graves pointed out that the report had been purposely written in a sympathetic manner so that the "lumbermen who read . . . [it] will be impressed by its fairness."¹⁸ Amidst fervent protestations of shock, indignation and incredulity Pinchot labeled the study "one of the ablest I have ever seen, and altogether the most dangerous." In his opinion it accepted the "commercial demands of the lumber industry as supreme over the need of forest conservation and the rights of the public . . . and puts the Forest Service in the position of throwing contempt upon its basic reason for existence." Reminding Graves that "You and I know that the lumbermen have systematically played with the Forest Service for years, and have directed their policy very ably toward getting all they could . . . and giving nothing in return," he then urged that publication be withheld until the "forester's point of view has been put into it from beginning to end."¹⁹ When the report was published despite his objections Pinchot remained convinced that it was a "whitewash of destructive logging," and publicly aired his appraisal.²⁰

Greeley had taken his stand and could not retreat. The opening breach in the ranks of the conservationists had been made. Many approved Greeley's report, for his faith in cooperation as the most feasible solution contained a great deal of merit. Others followed the lead of Pinchot and continued to condemn the lumbermen as a willful group, irrevocably attached to their destructive habits.²¹ Just as a serious schism seemed imminent, World War I intervened and temporarily diverted attention of American foresters from the domestic front.

The American Expeditionary Force had been in France but a short time when General John J. Pershing telegraphed an urgent appeal for more lumber, but it was impossible to divert the already insufficient naval tonnage from the task of carrying troops to the front. The alternative was the formation of a special regiment to supply the Allied

¹⁶ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 118.

¹⁷ *Nation*, CII (April 27, 1916), 456.

¹⁸ Henry S. Graves to Gifford Pinchot, August 18, 1916, Gifford Pinchot Papers (Library of Congress, Washington), Box 194.

¹⁹ Pinchot to Graves, September 24, 1916, *ibid.*

²⁰ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 118; interview with Gertrude J. Greeley, January 1, 1957.

²¹ B. P. Kirkland, Review of *Some Public and Economic Aspects of the Lumber Industry*, by W. B. Greeley, *Journal of Forestry*, XV (May, 1917), 628.

forces with timber products from French forests. The 10th Engineers (Forestry) was rapidly organized, and the Forest Service responded to the emergency by providing its best men to organize and administer this unique force.²²

For the duration of the war Bill Greeley bore a large share of this enterprise. He was commissioned a Major on the regimental staff of the 10th Engineers in this country, and arrived in France on August 21, 1917.²³ Twenty-three months later he returned home a Lieutenant Colonel, and an even more competent and self-assured forester than when he departed.

As commanding officer of the Forestry Section, 20th Engineers his primary responsibility was procuring the requisite timber stands from the conservation-minded French.²⁴ These people had been practicing forest management for hundreds of years and even in the face of war-time necessities were loath to abandon conservative use of their forests. In characteristic fashion Greeley gave his singleminded attention to the immediate task at hand and enjoyed remarkable success in negotiations with the hesitant and shrewd French. The rapidity with which the forestry troops succeeded in supplying the Allied armies with urgently needed dock planking, piling, railroad ties, fuel wood, barbed wire entanglement stakes, and building materials was due in large part to his untiring efforts.²⁵ In recommending Greeley for the Distinguished Service Medal, General Edgar Jadwin said of him, "by his engineering and executive ability and tact of the highest order, he provided the supplies of timber needed by the American [Expeditionary Force]."²⁶

This beneficial experience only momentarily distracted Greeley from further development of his domestic forestry program. The last shot had scarcely been fired in Europe before the battle lines were drawn afresh for continuation of the interrupted conflict at home.

²² Percival S. Ridsdale, "How The American Army Got Its Wood," *American Forestry*, XXV (June, 1919), 1, 137.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1, 138; Greeley Diary, August 21, 1917.

²⁴ "Organization of 20th Engineers (Forestry)," *American Forestry*, XXV (June, 1919), 1110. All forestry units were combined into the 20th Engineers on October 18, 1918. See "20th Engineers (Forestry) Record of Development and Production," *ibid.*, XXV (June, 1919), 1111; Brigadier General Edgar Jadwin to Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Force, undated, Greeley Papers.

²⁵ Barrington Moore, "French Forests in the War," *American Forestry*, XXV (June, 1919) 1114-15; Greeley, "The American Lumberjack in France," *ibid.*, XXV (June, 1919), 1094. The forestry troops had cut "300,000,000 board feet of lumber and ties, 38,000 piles, 2,878,000 poles of all sizes, and 317,000 cords of fuelwood" one year after their arrival in France. See also "20th Engineers (Forestry) Record of Development and Production," *ibid.*, 1111.

²⁶ Brigadier General Edgar Jadwin to Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Force, undated, Greeley Papers.

Chief Forester Graves precipitated resumption of the controversy early in 1919 when he launched a drive to "define and set up minimum silvicultural requirements" for use in establishing methods of "approved forestry practice." Later in the year, to arouse public interest in a more definite national forestry policy, a series of conferences were held throughout the nation. All interested groups, organizations, and individuals were invited to attend and make specific recommendations. The response was gratifying; the discussions were often acrimonious.²⁷

In the midst of these proceedings the retirement of Graves as Chief Forester on April 15, 1920, elevated Bill Greeley to the position, and he seized the opportunity to push through the program of cooperative forestry he had urged in 1916.²⁸ His chances of success were uncertain, however, because Gifford Pinchot had assumed leadership of the Society of American Foresters' Committee for the Application of Forestry. Its report in November, 1919, embodied the Pinchot policy of strict governmental regulation of privately owned timberlands.²⁹

Starting with the dismaying proposition that "within less than fifty years, our present timber shortage will have become a blighting timber famine," the report described once productive forest lands which had been "transformed by . . . lumbering into non-productive wastes of blackened stumps and bleaching snags." "This," the report dramatically proclaimed, "is forest devastation,"³⁰ and the evidence of the past thirty years or more had made some basic facts abundantly clear:

1. The United States is the world's greatest timber consumer.
2. The bulk of all our standing timber is privately owned.
3. The privately owned forests have been and are being devastated.
4. The acreage of idle forest lands is already enormous and is rapidly increasing.
5. A timber shortage has already developed.
6. The timber shortage will soon become more acute.
7. The timber shortage is due to timber devastation.
8. Nothing yet done or heretofore proposed offers an adequate remedy.

²⁷ Ralph S. Hosmer, "The National Forestry Program Committee, 1919-1928," *Journal of Forestry*, XLV (September, 1947), 628.

²⁸ P. L. Gladmon to Greeley, March 15, 1920, Greeley Papers. Greeley's appointment was effective April 16, 1920.

²⁹ Report of the Committee for the Application of Forestry to the Society of American Foresters, entitled "Forest Devastation: A National Danger and a Plan to Meet It," *Journal of Forestry*, XVII (December, 1919), *passim*, 911-45.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 914.

9. The only possible remedy is to keep enough forest land growing trees.
10. To maintain our forests in continuous production is easily practicable.³¹

Few foresters, least of all Bill Greeley, could take exception to these statements, save point eight. Greeley was confident he had the remedy, had proposed it, and the details need only be perfected. This oversight was relatively unimportant for the moment. More disturbing and critical was the program the committee recommended. These proposals were lengthy, numerous, and their primary gist was regulatory. The report proposed a federal law be enacted appointing a commission consisting of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Labor, and the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. This body would then make "such rules, regulations, and decisions for the administration of the law as may be necessary . . . and execution of the law . . . [was] to rest with the Forest Service." The commission, among other duties, would be authorized "to fix standards and promulgate rules to prevent the devastation and provide for the perpetuation of forest growth and the production of forest crops on privately owned timberlands," and could also "control production whenever such action is necessary for the public good in times of economic stress."³² Finally, the committee recommended that this legislation be facilitated by laws:

Preventing the cutting or removal of forest products from commercial forest lands contrary to the provisions of the law, the standards, and regulations; and/or

Requiring a Federal license, to be obtained by concerns engaged in interstate commerce, without which forest products may not be cut or removed from commercial forest lands; and/or

Preventing the cutting or removal of forest products from commercial forest lands on the watershed of any navigable stream contrary to the provisions of the law, standards, and regulations; and/or

A tax on the incomes of those who cut or remove forest products from commercial forest lands in violation of the law, standards, and regulations, or on the timber thus cut.³³

³¹ *Ibid.*, 922.

³² *Ibid.*, 939-40.

³³ *Ibid.*, 942. The Committee for the Application of Forestry consisted of eight active members. Two, Donald Bruce and J. W. Toumey, signed the report with reservations. Both felt that the legislative program was too arbitrary and regulatory.

The Pinchot Report, as it was commonly called, raised a furor amongst professional foresters. Opinion was sharply divided pro and con and a poll conducted by the Society of American Foresters was inconclusive. The lumbermen, acting through their various organizations, overwhelmingly rejected the report.³⁴ In the United States Senate it created considerable notice when Arthur Capper introduced a resolution instructing the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate reports "that the forest resources of the United States are being rapidly depleted, and that the situation is already serious and will soon become critical." The resolution was adopted.³⁵

The danger that Greeley's program would be forgotten in the heat of the moment was now definitely diminished. His report of June 1, 1920, in compliance with the directives of the Capper Resolution, went far beyond the minimum requirements. The diplomatic tact and resourcefulness which had characterized his dealings with the lumbermen in northern Idaho and the French during the war were effectively applied in this instance.

He assured the senators of the inescapable fact that the nation's forests were being rapidly depleted. Of an estimated original stand of 822,000,000 acres of virgin timber, over two thirds had been burned, culled, or cut-over, and some three fifths of the original stumpage was gone.³⁶ Having appraised the solons of these tragic figures, the remainder of his report was a persuasive plea for a cooperative national forest policy.

Greeley's primary point of attack was the impracticality of nationalizing "all of the forest land in the country, or even the major portion of it." He warned the legislators "if timber production . . . [was] left to the initiative of the private owner of lands or . . . [was] sought solely through compulsory regulation of private lands," the necessary remedies could not possibly be attained. If, he asserted, "the concerted action necessary to put an end to forest devastation . . . [enlisted] the National Government, the respective States, and the landowner," a realistic program of reforestation would result. The plan he advocated

³⁴ The foresters voted 94 to 61 in favor of national control, but because of numerous complaints that the ballot did not include a choice between state and national control another vote was ordered. See "Report of the Committee on the Results of the Referendum Ballot on the Society's Plan for a National Forest Policy," *ibid.*, XVIII (October, 1920), 581-89; Hosmer, "The National Program Committee," *ibid.*, XLV (September, 1947), 628-29; Samuel T. Dana, *Forest and Range Policy; Its Development in the United States* (New York, 1956), 213.

³⁵ *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 2 Sess., 1920, LIX, 3229.

³⁶ William B. Greeley, *Timber Depletion and the Answer: A Summary of the Report on Timber Depletion and Related Subjects Prepared in Response to Senate Resolution 311*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Circular 112 (June, 1920), 3.

to halt forest depletion and begin planting trees on idle lands, he told them, "was built up on the belief that the most rapid progress will be made by utilizing the recognized police powers of the several States to stop forest fires and bring about better handling of privately owned forest land."³⁷

To offset the legislative program of the Pinchot committee, he offered one based on these principles. For the benefit of those senators yet unconvinced, he reiterated the basic fundamental of his belief: "The first point of general attack in arresting devastation is to stop forest fires."³⁸ Proceeding from this position, his proposed program was in most respects identical with the remedies he had suggested in 1916, and would form the framework for all subsequent systems advocated by his supporters.

Greeley recommended that federal legislation be enacted providing for:

1. *Federal Cooperation with States in Fire Protection and Forest Renewal.* His proposal under this heading was simply to extend Section 2 of the Act of March 1, 1911, popularly known as the Weeks Bill. Any class of forest lands instead of only watersheds of navigable streams would be included. Under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Forest Service would assist the states in fire protection, cutting methods, reforestation, and in the classification of cut-over areas either as agricultural or timber producing lands. He further suggested that an annual appropriation of \$1,000,000 be placed at the disposal of the Secretary of Agriculture to finance these cooperative activities. The participating states would be required to match the amount expended by the federal government, and the Department of Agriculture could require "reasonable standards" in the disposal of slashings, the protection of cut-over and timbered lands from fire, and enforcement of "equitable requirements in cutting or extracting forest products." Failure of a state to comply with such "reasonable standards" would be cause for withdrawal of cooperative funds.³⁹

2. *The Extension and Consolidation of Federal Forest Holdings.* Greeley proposed that Section 1 of the Weeks Bill be enlarged for continued acquisition of forested or cut-over lands either by purchase, exchange, or extension. He believed that an annual appropriation of \$2,000,000 would be required to facilitate this portion of his program.⁴⁰

3. *The Reforestation of Demuded Federal Lands.* He suggested that

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

this part of his program could be completed in twenty years and asked for an annual appropriation starting at \$500,000 and progressing to \$1,000,000.

4. *A Study of Forest Taxation and Insurance.* Greeley believed that such an investigation would reveal "the effects of the existing tax methods and practices upon forest devastation," and would aid and lead to "model laws on forest taxation." Then the federal government would "cooperate with State Agencies in promoting their adoption."

5. *The Survey and Classification of Forest Resources.* Under this proposal, Greeley urged that Congress halt the tendency to reduce appropriations for forest products research, and maintain and increase the number of experiment stations throughout the nation.⁴¹

Finally, Greeley pointed to three legislative acts the various states must pass if his program was to be successful. This envisioned legislation would provide for fire protection and reforestation on privately owned lands, an increase in state and municipal forests, and a revision of current tax policies on forest lands.⁴²

It is evident that Greeley did not differ with Pinchot on the realities of forest devastation, or on the need for regulation of private timberlands. They did disagree on method. Greeley could not accept Pinchot's "starting point that direct police action by Uncle Sam . . . [was] necessary to bring about decent treatment of our forests."⁴³ He was certain reforestation would progress "farther by beginning at the bottom instead of at the top," and the principle of individual responsibility in the use of forest lands would "actually get more tangible results, more forest growth, by working it out State by State or section by section through their local agencies."⁴⁴

For Bill Greeley it was a "hard wrench to break with . . . [the] inspired leader to whom . . . [he] owed so much and felt such a strong personal allegiance."⁴⁵ The choice, however, had not been completely his. Pinchot had issued the call to battle in December, 1919, when he declared a "fight has now begun. . . . I use the word fight because I mean precisely that." "Forest devastation," he asserted, "will not be stopped through persuasion." It had been tried for twenty years, and had "failed utterly." Therefore, he continued, "private owners of forest land must now be compelled to manage their properties in harmony with the public good." Then Pinchot threw down the gauntlet

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁴³ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 105.

⁴⁴ William B. Greeley, "Self-Government in Forestry," *Journal of Forestry*, XVIII (February, 1920), 104.

⁴⁵ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 105.

to the nation's foresters. They faced, he said, "a clear-cut issue. . . . [They] must act either with foresters for the public interest, or with lumbermen for a special interest. . . . The field is cleared for action and the lines are plainly drawn. He who is not for forestry is against it."⁴⁶

Pinchot, the great crusader, stood again on familiar ground. Many responded to his summons and became the staunch supporters of arbitrary federal regulation. Bill Greeley, and others, could not "thrill to the call of the trumpets." Time and experience had levied their toll, "perhaps . . . [they] had done more grubbing in the dirt . . . [and] had labored more closely with the lumbermen in the rough and tumble of fighting fires and cutting timber . . . [and] had been too close to the economic troubles of forest industry."⁴⁷

The two factions mustered their forces for the ensuing four-year struggle. Each had its program and its leader. Decision hung in the balance and one must triumph — Greeley and cooperative forestry, or Pinchot and regulatory forestry. The breach was complete, "the lines . . . [were] drawn."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Gifford Pinchot, "The Lines are Drawn," *Journal of Forestry*, XVII (December, 1919), 900.

⁴⁷ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 105.

⁴⁸ Pinchot, "The Lines are Drawn," *Journal of Forestry*, XVII (December, 1919), 900.

CHAPTER V

"A Bloodless Victory"

When Bill Greeley accepted the post of Chief Forester he wrote: "As a Forest Service man of some sixteen years standing, I cherish our esprit de corps, our driving power as a closely knit and enthusiastic body of men, as by all odds our most valuable possession."¹ Despite this sentiment his first years in command were punctuated by the disrupting clash of conflicting opinions, which threatened a permanent schism when foresters were compelled to choose between his program or Gifford Pinchot's. This was the existing fact, and he did not shrink from facing the issue squarely. Regardless of his personal feelings, he entered the fray prepared to employ all the resources at his disposal.

Greeley had gained a limited repute and skill as a college debater, and years of experience with recalcitrant lumbermen, plus the recent wartime negotiations with French woodsmen, had greatly reinforced his ability. He faced, however, a formidable opponent, well versed in the wiles of political maneuvering, and Gifford Pinchot, the experienced strategist, forged ahead without delay. His position, as defined in the Pinchot Report, was placed before Congress in May, 1920, by Senator Capper in the form of a bill "to prevent the devastation of forest lands, to perpetuate the forest resources of the United States, to avert the destruction of the lumber and wood using industries, and for other purposes."²

Greeley's response was competently swift. Though there was no possibility of passage during the current Congressional session, a counterproposal embodying the principles he had advanced in the Capper Report of June 1, 1920, was drafted and introduced before the House of Representatives by Bertrand H. Snell. This measure became known as the Snell bill and proposed that Congress "provide through cooperation between the Federal Government, the States, and owners of timberlands, for adequate protection against forest fires, for reforestation

¹ Greeley to the Secretary of Agriculture, March 26, 1920, Greeley Papers.

² *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 2 Sess., 1920, LIX, 7327.

of denuded lands, for obtaining essential information in regard to timber and timberlands, for extension of the national forests, and for other purposes all essential to continuous forest production on lands entirely suitable therefor.”³ The hoped for results were obtained, the Capper bill remained in committee, and the House scheduled hearings on its measure.

The testimony of Greeley and Pinchot before the Committee on Forestry obliterated any lingering uncertainty of their convictions that may have existed. Ostensibly, the issues at stake were simple and clear; the Snell bill and federal-state cooperation versus the Capper bill and federal regulation. Actually, much more was involved. On one side stood Pinchot, the relentless crusader who feared and distrusted the lumbermen, and despised and could not forget nor forgive their destructive effect on the forests. Too, he was convinced that a total monopoly of the nation’s timber supply was in the offing. Opposing him was Greeley, the practical forester, the realist who limited himself to a single paramount objective.

Greeley had clearly enunciated his position from the outset of the controversy. Pinchot’s program, “notwithstanding its many admirable features,” fell far short of the mark for several basic reasons. First, there was “grave doubt as to its constitutionality.” Lawyers disagreed upon this subject, and Greeley was convinced it would be patently unwise to attempt a program which, “in every stage of advocacy, . . . adoption, and . . . subsequent application must overcome this objection.” Second, he was certain conflicts between federal and state legislation and administration were inevitable. These features, constant constitutional litigation and jurisdictional clashes, would hinder the cardinal aim of reforestation—growing trees. Therefore, Greeley counseled, be practical—recognize the “field as one for State action . . . backed by a large measure of Federal cooperation.” Third, he believed the concept of federal regulation unduly violated the “American conception of local self-government.” Greeley unqualifiedly supported the principle that the public, through the police powers of government, be they state or national, possessed the right to require a landowner to manage his property in a manner accruing to the general welfare. But, he cautioned, in the interest of expediency, “democratize the application of the principle and the ways and means of enforcing it as far as possible,” for progress would be facilitated in all respects if its adoption was sought “by and under our local forms of government.” Such procedure, he pragmatically announced, would provide “effective an-

³ *Ibid.*, 3 Sess., 1920, LX, 671.

swer to the assertion that . . . [regulation] might become an arbitrary and confiscatory invasion of property rights.” Finally, Greeley objected to diluting the effectiveness of a forestry program through “inclusion of proposals dealing with purely industrial conditions.”⁴ In this instance, he referred to the avowed intent of the Pinchot program to regulate employer-employee relationships and lumber production.⁵ In his judgment, such propositions would cause the primary objective, reforestation, to “lose its distinctiveness and become the tail of the dog.” He sagely advised that foresters “stick to the subjects in which . . . [they could] claim some degree of expert knowledge and concentrate . . . [their] drive upon the definite point of handling forest land.”⁶

Greeley’s philosophy is manifest in this and subsequent utterances. First and foremost, he was a forester—not a crusader. The principal need for the present was to halt devastation and reforest. To achieve this objective he would employ every conceivable device at his command. The lumbermen had constructive ideas—incorporate them. Make full use of the embryonic forestry programs existent in many states, and capitalize on their generally accepted police power to regulate for the general welfare. Supplement these existing elements with federal cooperation and add to the program as conditions warranted, but first eliminate the fire hazard and begin reforesting. Above all, do not divert energies tilting at windmills.

In a final effort to bridge the widening gap between himself and Pinchot and in the hope of presenting a united front at the Congressional hearing, Greeley wrote to Pinchot explaining in detail the reasons for his position. “We are,” he wrote, “in agreement as to the things to be done, but differ as to method. I want to ask, in all sincerity, whether this difference in method justifies either of us in trying to block the efforts of the other to get results which every advocate of forestry wants to see realized.” Pinchot’s reply was lengthy and reaffirmed his faith in federal control of private timberlands as the only effective means of halting forest devastation. He assured Greeley that he, too, was “anxious to avoid controversy,” but in view of the fact

⁴ Greeley, “Self-Government in Forestry,” *Journal of Forestry*, XVIII (February, 1920), 103-105.

⁵ Report of the Committee for the Application of Forestry to the Society of American Foresters, entitled “Forest Devastation: A National Danger and a Plan to Meet It,” *ibid.*, XVII (December, 1919), 941-42. The report recommended the creation of employer-employee councils to “consider and adjust such matters as wage rates, overtime, hours of employment, leaves, housing, board, insurance, and . . . conditions of employment.”

⁶ Greeley, “Self-Government in Forestry,” *ibid.*, XVIII (February, 1920), 105.

that "You have not been convinced by my arguments [and] I am unaffected by yours," it remained for the matter to be settled by the public. He was, moreover, "quite willing to let the issue rest as it stands." Greeley was reluctant to accept the necessity of Pinchot's closing remark, but neither could he "abandon the course which in . . . [his] judgment . . . [would] accomplish the objects sought most effectively."⁷ On this dissonant note the correspondence was terminated.

As a witness before the House committee, Greeley reiterated his objections to Pinchot's policy, and asserted a strong plea for the adoption of his own. "Aside from the fact that the great preponderance of legal opinion is that . . . Federal regulation of private property and industry would be in violation of the Constitution," he exclaimed, and "aside from the difficulty or impossibility of inducing the American people to accept such an exercise of Federal authority," the Pinchot plan could not succeed "because it . . . [did] not fit the practical conditions of the case." "The first requisite for growing timber," he continued, "is the protection of forest lands from fire. That involves the exercise of the police power of the State. . . . A second requisite . . . is some form of taxation which does not eat up the value of the crop while it is being grown." This, too, lay within the realm of the state, and he could not envision the national government assuming these functions of state authority. But, Greeley informed them, unless such pre-emption did transpire it was impossible for federal law to regulate cutting procedures on private timberlands. Common sense dictated that since the national government could not "take over the whole job, . . . [it] should leave the States to deal with the private forest owner."⁸

Proceeding to his program, Greeley assured the legislators it contained none of these debilitating provisions. He admitted that Congress could not "legislate an economic process like the growing of timber." But it could, by "initiating a farsighted program of Federal cooperation, directly with the States and through . . . [them] with the woodland owners of the country, accomplish the results sought to a large degree." He repeated the basic tenet of his beliefs, as he would again and again in the ensuing months of debate: "Cooperation in forest fire prevention is the first and at present by far the most important step." Fire prevention, however, was not "an end in itself. It . . . [was] a

⁷ Greeley to Pinchot, October 6, 1920, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of the Chief; Pinchot to Greeley, October 22, 1920, *ibid.*; Greeley to Pinchot, October 26, 1920, *ibid.*

⁸ U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 66 Cong., 3 Sess., 1921, pp. 10-11. Cited hereafter as House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 1921.

means to the reforestation of timber-growing land, and the actual production of timber . . . [was] the real objective." He was personally satisfied after the critical analysis of years, and the enlightening experience of a decade's cooperation with the states, that the cooperative provisions of the Snell bill represented the "most effective step that the National Government . . . [could] take to secure the growing of timber on the private forest lands of the country."⁹

In rebuttal, Pinchot denied Greeley's allegation that fire prevention was the most essential feature in a reforestation program. In his opinion, halting forest devastation through rigid national regulation of cutting procedures on commercial forestlands was the key to solving the problem.¹⁰ He did not, however, stop with this proposition. To him, deeper and more critical implications existed in forest devastation, and he stood ready to give combat.

Pinchot pointed to the lumbermen's unsavory record of timber destruction and the growing menace of monopoly in continued woods depletion. He was convinced of the timberowner's predatory nature, and saw only duplicity in their avowed eagerness to cooperate in a reforestation program. "Here," he exclaimed to the committee members, "are these lumbermen coming before you and asking to be controlled. These are the men who have already destroyed in this country and reduced to desert conditions an area larger than the forests of Europe, excluding Russia." Now, he continued, they "ostensibly ask to be prevented from doing that very thing out of which they have made their money—that is, to be prevented from handling their lands as they choose." Why? Pinchot believed the answer was obvious—they had chosen the lesser of two evils. The clever lumbermen, he asserted, clearly realized that if the Snell bill passed, they would maintain their customary control over the state legislatures, and thereby "prevent . . . any action . . . hostile to their interests." This was, he announced, "the nub of the matter. . . . The only control . . . these gentlemen have any fear of is national control"; they would "avoid all control" if possible.¹¹

The critical issue, he warned, was that the proposed cooperative legislation would place control of the nation's lumber supply in the hands of the legislatures of Washington, Oregon, and California. These states possessed the remaining timber resources of the country, and consequently this was the region where the octopus interests were most

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-8, 11-12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

firmly entrenched.¹² Pinchot was fearfully apprehensive of the growing timberland empires of the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Northern Pacific Railway, and the Weyerhaeuser Timber Syndicate in the West, and regardless of additional problems involved in the evolution of a national forestry policy, to him it was the "same old contest under a different name. It is the fight we had with the water-power men, oil men, and the coal men." The fighting crusader could not divorce the present from the past, and in final repudiation of the Snell bill, urged the committee to reject a measure "which if passed will . . . be the most effective step that could be taken . . . to consolidate the monopoly over the lumber supply of the United States into the hands of a little group of men on the Pacific Coast."¹³

Greeley's reply to Pinchot's closing plea countered the specter of eventual monopoly. There were, he advised the committee, "just two ways whereby, in the long run, such [a possibility] can be checked: The first is by the extension of public forest ownership, and the second is by growing timber so widely and generally that no possibility of a timber monopoly can exist."¹⁴ The Snell bill, he reassured them, contained provisions which would facilitate both of these safeguards.

To this point, the testimony of all witnesses had been given frankly, and without excessive hostility towards the opposition. To Pinchot's discredit, he now injected the suggestion of an unhealthy conspiracy, albeit one sided, into the proceedings. His motive is uncertain, but perhaps he sensed ultimate defeat in the mounting opposition to his program and grasped at sarcasm and innuendo in desperation. Such procedure, however, was not alien to his record. He had employed this method earlier in ridiculing a publication by David T. Mason, professing the author's faith in the lumbermen's desire to cooperate in reforestation if afforded ample opportunity. "Mr. Mason," Pinchot biting commented, "is one of the few foresters who . . . clings to ancient legends . . . [and] lives under the spell of gentle flattery and lip profession which held the rest of us so long." Then, inferring guilt through association, he observed that Mason's theories "closely follow the arguments advanced by the lumberman-forester [E. T. Allen] who

¹² *Ibid.*, 27, 29-30. Pinchot based his statements on a Bureau of Corporation's survey, conducted in 1910, which revealed that over one quarter of the privately owned timberland in the Pacific Northwest was controlled by the Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific, and Weyerhaeuser interests. See U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance, *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Lumber Industry*, 61 Cong., 3 Sess., 1911, Document 818, p. 24.

¹³ House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 1921, pp. 30-31.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.



(Courtesy West Coast Lumbermen's Association)

Secretary-Manager Greeley at work in Eugene, Oregon office of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association during a 1944 inspection tour of the three-state Douglas fir region.



(Courtesy West Coast Lumbermen's Association)

Colonel Greeley turns over affairs of WCLA to H. V. Simpson (center) in 1946. West Coast Lumbermen officials also pictured are (standing, left to right): W. A. Culkin, Harris E. Smith, Robert Ingram, and N. B. Giustina. Seated on left is



(Forest History Society Collection)

Colonel Greeley, tree farmer, receives West Coast Tree Farm certificate from Washington's Governor Arthur B. Langlie and William D. Hagenstein, executive vice president, Industrial Forestry Association.



(Forest History Society Collection)

Colonel Greeley at dedication ceremonies commemorating tenth anniversary of the Clemons Tree Farm. Also pictured are: Chapin Collins, Mrs. C. H. Clemons, and J. P. Weyerhaeuser, Jr.

guards so efficiently the interests of the organized lumbermen in the Northwest."¹⁵

Pinchot descended to this level of debate before the assembled legislators when asked to account, in light of his preceding criticisms of the Snell bill, for administration of the Forest Service in such a way that it unconditionally supported the measure. His reply to this query was in a sense evasive, yet latently suggestive. "While I was the Forester," he quipped, "a certain number of lumbermen came to Washington, and through their representatives, they sat up with me, and . . . held my hand, and . . . told me how good and statesmanlike I was. They finally persuaded me to come out in favor of a tariff on lumber as a means of protecting the forests of the United States."¹⁶ No further elucidation was necessary to comprehend his meaning—the lumbermen had maliciously "pulled wool over . . . [Greeley's] eyes."¹⁷

Pinchot's fantasy of a deluded Greeley in a flattery-invoked alliance with predatory lumber interests was cut from flimsy fabric, but Greeley felt the inference demanded rebuttal. He assured the legislators that his program had been advocated purely on the basis of what he sincerely believed was the "best practical solution" of the nation's forest problem. And he reminded them that he had "recognized from the outset . . . some form of control of the method of cutting and otherwise using private timberlands . . . [was] absolutely essential." Accordingly, he had striven for adoption of a policy containing the only type of regulation he considered to be "within the limits of the Constitution . . . and . . . practicability as a working proposition." He openly admitted that the proposal they were presently considering was the outcome of recommendations he had advanced at various times, and that he was "responsible . . . for . . . the principles which . . . [were] followed in drafting . . . [the] bill." "On that responsibility," he emphatically declared, "I . . . am perfectly ready to stand as an action taken in the best interests of the entire public."¹⁸

¹⁵ Gifford Pinchot, "Where We Stand," *Journal of Forestry*, XVIII (May, 1920), 441.

¹⁶ House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 1921, p. 31. On the same day, Pinchot wrote an explanatory letter to the committee chairman for the purported reason of insuring that the levity of his reply would not be misunderstood. However, the spirit of the letter serves better to reinforce his insinuation that Greeley had been misled. He profusely professed his great admiration for H. S. Graves, and pointed out that the Snell bill had been produced subsequent to his retirement. Greeley is mentioned as an after-thought, and then only in recognition of his "right to his opinion." See Pinchot to Gilbert N. Haugen, January 26, 1921, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 105-106.

¹⁸ House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 1921, pp. 34-35.

Examination of the evidence bears Greeley out. Pinchot was not far from the truth in his allegation that influence had been exerted, but it was Greeley's on the lumbermen, not vice versa as Pinchot had supposed.

First, the program Greeley proposed in his 1916 report antedates by several years any comprehensive policy suggested by any organized timber interest. The first proposal of this type was made in November, 1919, by the Committee on Forest Conservation of the American Paper and Pulp Association. The Committee report contained five points considered essential for solving the nation's forest problems. These suggested remedies are striking in their similarity to Greeley's earlier proposals:

- (1) A forest survey and land classification, (2) a great enlargement of the purchase of land for national forests; and (3) vigorous federal cooperation with the states in fire prevention. And, on the part of the states, along with much greater activity in fire control, (4) fair forest taxation, and (5) forest planting.¹⁹

Second, as Greeley solidified and publicized his policies in official reports, articles, and speeches additional organized lumber interests entered the cooperative fold.²⁰ While a few remained adamant in their independence, those that did join the ranks of cooperation endorsed programs illustrative of Greeley's leadership.

In October, 1920, a deliberative conference composed of the National Lumber Manufacturer's Association, Western Forestry and Conservation Association, American Forestry Association, National Wholesale Lumber Dealer's Association, American Paper and Pulp Association, American Newspaper Publisher's Association, Association of Wood Using Industries, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, met with Greeley in New York City and endorsed a program almost identical with the remedies he had suggested to the Senate in June, 1920. Another significant result of this conference was the launching of an extensive educational campaign by the American Forestry Association to secure popular support for the cooperative pro-

¹⁹ Hosmer, "The National Forestry Program Committee," *Journal of Forestry*, XLV (September, 1947), 629.

²⁰ House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 1921, p. 33. In addition to articles and reports previously cited, see Greeley, "What Our National Forest Policy Should Be," speech delivered at the reforestation conference of the wood-using industries, Madison, July 23, 1920, printed in *American Forestry*, XXVI (October, 1920), 612-13, 617; Report of the Forester, U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1920*, pp. 221-46; Greeley to President, Western Forestry and Conservation Association, November 20, 1920, Greeley Papers.

gram.²¹ At approximately the same time, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States was persuaded to conduct a national referendum on the forest problem and possible solutions. Hearings were conducted throughout the nation, commencing in June, 1921, and continuing through 1922. The results of this study were finally published in November, 1923, and the accompanying legislative program was again a reflection of Greeley's original viewpoint.²² Eventual triumph seemed imminent when the sharply divided professional foresters gradually aligned themselves behind his system.²³

Pinchot, of course, continued the struggle after the first verbal exchange before the House committee. But his many interests embroiled him in Pennsylvania politics, and he led the opposition largely from behind the scenes after June, 1921.²⁴ The Capper bill was introduced in altered form in each session of Congress, but because of continued constitutional objections was not seriously considered, and remained buried in the labyrinth of committee proceedings.²⁵

Greeley's expanding forces were now well organized and a concerted drive was initiated for immediate adoption of a national forestry measure embodying the concept of three-way cooperation. Snell's bill, employing almost the identical wording as before, was reintroduced early in April, 1921, and a companion proposal was submitted to the

²¹ House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Forestry*, 1921, pp. 36-37; "National Forestry Program Approved," *American Forestry*, XXVI (December, 1920), 721.

²² "Committee Urges Forest Legislation," *American Forestry*, XXIX (November, 1923), 683.

²³ Paul D. Kelleter, "State or Federal Control of Private Timberlands; Result of the Ballot," *Journal of Forestry*, XIX (March, 1921), 223. Balloting started December, 1920, and closed March, 1921. State control received 195 votes to 109 for federal control. Pinchot's reaction to the poll was that the "adverse vote will do the other fellows some good, . . . but not as much as they think." See Pinchot to R. C. Bryant, March 28, 1921, Pinchot Papers, Box 236.

²⁴ Pinchot appeared in support of the Capper bill before the Forestry Commission of the United States Chamber of Commerce, June 28, 1921. See *New York Times*, June 29, 1921, p. 14. Greeley subsequently appeared before the same committee in support of the Snell bill. See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1921, p. 8.

²⁵ *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 2 Sess., 1920, LIX, 7327; *ibid.*, 67 Cong., 1 Sess., 1921, LXI, 907; *ibid.*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., 1924, LXV, 2539; *ibid.*, 69 Cong., 1 Sess., 1925, LXVII, 1064. The Capper bill originally based federal regulation on the control of interstate commerce, and later on the power to tax. See U. S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Reforestation, *Hearings, Reforestation*, 67 Cong., 4 Sess., 1923, pp. 349-50. Cited hereafter as Select Committee on Reforestation, *Hearings*, 1923. The decision of the Supreme Court in the Child Labor Law Tax Case that it was unconstitutional to enforce a law through taxation greatly negated the importance of the Capper bill after 1922. See Hosmer, "The National Forestry Program Committee," *Journal of Forestry*, XLV (September, 1947), 636.

Senate in May.²⁶ A great deal of controversy arose, however, over proposed equitable cutting requirements which the Secretary of Agriculture could establish as a prerequisite for federal cooperation with a state. Although trade journals urged their readers to support the Snell measure "as a better alternative than supporting the more vicious Capper bill," they were quick to point out the threat to private property presented by this grant of power to the Secretary of Agriculture.²⁷ A resolution adopted by the Empire State Forest Products Association reflects the attitude of many lumbermen. The Association approved a forestry program of the Greeley type, but qualified its approval with the statement that it would favor legislation "to this extent and no further: That the measures adopted be co-operative and educational and in no way infringing on the constitutional rights of private ownership or by restrictive or mandatory statutes interfere with the free use within the law of private property or the policy and activities of sovereign states."²⁸ With his usual shrewd analysis of a dangerous situation, Greeley quickly suggested elimination of the controversial phrases in order to facilitate action on the features endorsed by most groups — fire prevention, reforestation, extension of national forests, timber tax studies, and forest products research.²⁹ Once this program was established he was confident sustained yield cutting procedures would inevitably follow.

At Greeley's instigation a revised program was presented to Congress by Representative John D. Clarke on February 6 and 7, 1923.³⁰ The bill languished in committee, but an earlier surprise occurrence provided renewed hope for success. The Senate adopted a resolution to establish a committee to "investigate problems relating to reforestation, with a view to establishing a comprehensive national policy . . .

²⁶ *Congressional Record*, 67 Cong., 1 Sess., 1921, LXI, 89, 1624.

²⁷ "Forestry Legislation," *Southern Lumberman*, XCIX (June 11, 1921), 38.

²⁸ "Favors Forestry Policy," *ibid.*, XCVIII (December 11, 1920), 42.

²⁹ Hosmer, "The National Forestry Program Committee," *Journal of Forestry*, XLV (September, 1947), 635; U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Reforestation*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., 1924, p. 81. Pinchot had previously advised Greeley to follow this course in order that the issue of federal versus state control could be "fought out by itself." Greeley refused because to do so would give federal regulation a "clear right-of-way." In conference with Pinchot and Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace in late 1922 or early 1923, however, Greeley reversed his position and suggested that the controversial issue of regulation be dropped from the immediate program in order to concentrate upon the non-controversial cooperative features of the Snell bill. See Pinchot to Greeley, October 22, 1920, Records of the Forest Service; Correspondence of the Office of the Chief; Greeley to Pinchot, October 26, 1920, *ibid.*; Greeley to Pinchot, April 11, 1924, Pinchot Papers, Box 247.

³⁰ *Congressional Record*, 67 Cong., 4 Sess., 1923, LXIV, 3173, 3233.

in order to insure a perpetual supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States."

Greeley's tireless efforts to keep the matter constantly before the legislators had been rewarded, and he promptly accepted an invitation to accompany the committee as it conducted a series of hearings throughout the nation's major forest regions.³¹ In the official capacity of technical adviser, he capitalized fully on the opportunity to impress his views upon the solons.

Many years later, when the furor had subsided, Greeley confessed to "packing the stand at the . . . hearings with fire witnesses." He felt such subterfuge was justifiable in his determination that "whatever else the honorable senators might learn or ignore . . . they . . . [would] get firsthand, over and over again, the urgency of forest protection as the place to start."³²

The minutes of the hearings substantiate Greeley's unsolicited admission. Time after time, in almost monotonous succession, witnesses asserted the dire need for fire prevention as the initial step in reforestation.³³ If they faltered, Greeley was quick to interpose with a loaded inquiry: "If you could get effective fire protection . . . do you think retention of . . . land for a successive growth of timber would be profitable?" Or, "would you cooperate with the State and Federal Government in an attempt to plan protection for . . . [cut-over] property?" Occasionally such queries were answered negatively, but usually the response was an emphatic "Yes, Sir!"³⁴

Greeley's testimony entailed incessant repetition of the basic tenets in his program. "Timber can be grown," he affirmed, "on much of the forest land in the United States by private owners as a commercial enterprise." But, he advised, the landowners had to have "reasonable encouragement in the way of general and effective fire protection and rational tax adjustments" before they could attempt to do so. Therefore, he counseled, the committee should consider only a policy "based upon the premise that with sufficient public cooperation in the way of fire protection, tax adjustments, and education the timber supply of the United States can be largely grown by private enterprise." The strength of Greeley's words was greatly augmented by his assertion that the nation's forestlands could be adequately protected at an average cost of three cents per acre, and that the area of timberlands an-

³¹ U. S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Reforestation, *Report on Reforestation*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., 1924, Report 28, p. 1.

³² Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 107.

³³ Select Committee on Reforestation, *Hearings*, 1923, *passim*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 580-81.

nually burned-over could be reduced from the present 10,000,000 acres to approximately 1,500,000. Charles L. McNary, committee chairman, was almost speechless with astonished credulity, and could only comment, "that would be a fine investment."³⁵

While the senators were still cogitating the implications of this revelation, Greeley reiterated his fundamental premise: "Fire protection comes first . . . the adjustment of forest taxes comes second . . . the third thing is education." A large factor in the present failure of reforestation, he told them, was "due to the ignorance of the land-owners as to its opportunities and also as to its practical methods," and Greeley placed his faith in the efficacy of leading through example, rather than compulsion.³⁶ For this reason, he objected strenuously to section 3 of the Clarke bill which provided that the Secretary of Agriculture could deny cooperative aid to states where the "prevailing laws, methods, or practices as to the taxation of lands bearing young or immature forest growth are inimical to the production of merchantable timber."³⁷

Greeley viewed this qualification as an unrealistic limitation which would be detrimental to his entire program.³⁸ Many states would have to amend their existing constitutions in order to tax forest property differently than other real estate. In his opinion, it would be patently unwise to tell a state, "we are going to withhold . . . cooperation with you in fire protection until you have worked out what we regard as a satisfactory basis for taxing your forest lands." The primary accomplishment to strive for, he insisted, was to implant the "idea of growing timber . . . in the minds of our people." He was personally satisfied that if they could "through a strong, effective policy of cooperation in fire protection . . . [start] a lot of young forests . . . and . . . [let] the people . . . see . . . bare lands coming up with timber," the public would come to "appreciate the value of that timber . . . [and] to understand that a growing crop of timber can not be taxed like a city block." This method of "leading them along with you," he was positive, would bring more real progress than any other.³⁹

In addition to the parade of fire witnesses and his personal testimony, Greeley subjected the senators to another educational experi-

ence. He steadfastly believed in spending a great amount of time in the woods as a means to understand forest problems, and detoured the committee's route through virgin timber stands, burned-over forests, and logging camps with a regularity that brought the accusation he was attempting to "show them every tree in the United States."⁴⁰

Despite this good humored objection, Greeley's threefold strategy proved effective. The committee's report to Congress supported, in every aspect, his complete program, and informed their colleagues that the "immediate aim of the forest policy of the United States should be to increase as rapidly as possible the rate at which timber is produced." To accomplish this aim, the following "main lines of attack" were recommended:

1. To extend public ownership in areas where special public interests or responsibilities are involved, like the protection of navigable rivers; and also where the natural difficulties, costs, and hazards attending reforestation render it impracticable as a private undertaking.
2. To remove the risks and handicaps from private timber growing as far as practicable, in order to give the greatest possible initiative to commercial reforestation.⁴¹

The campaign for a national forest policy entered its final stage on the Congressional floor. On December 15, 1923, Senator McNary introduced a measure containing the committee's recommendations, and in early January, 1924, Representative Clarke submitted a companion bill in the House.⁴² Debate in both chambers centered around the question of taxation. The majority of the legislators favored the proposed cooperative features of the program, but many voiced concern over the loss of local revenue which section 7 would entail.⁴³ This portion of the tentative legislation provided that cut-over or denuded land could be donated to the federal government.⁴⁴ After lengthy argumentation, the House measure was amended to read: "All property rights, easements and benefits shall be subject to the tax laws of the State where such lands are located."⁴⁵ In the Senate, McNary's motion that

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 294-95, 297.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 315, 342.

³⁷ U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Federal Forestry Bill*, 67 Cong., 4 Sess., 1923, Document 558, p. 4.

³⁸ Greeley was co-author of the bill, but this requirement evidently was inserted by Clarke despite his objections. See Select Committee on Reforestation, *Hearings*, 1923, p. 301.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 319, 321.

⁴⁰ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 107.

⁴¹ Select Committee on Reforestation, *Report on Reforestation*, Report 28, pp. 23-24.

⁴² *Congressional Record*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., 1923, LXV, 303; *ibid.*, 1924, LXV, 679.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 6502-14, 10957-59.

⁴⁴ U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Protection of Forest Lands*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., 1924, Report 439, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁵ *Congressional Record*, 68 Cong., 1 Sess., 1924, LXV, 6989.

the amended and approved House bill be substituted for his own was accepted, and on June 6, 1924, final Congressional approval resulted. Presidential action on the following day ended the dispute of many years, and the Clarke-McNary bill became the law of the land.⁴⁶

Bill Greeley had known some anxious moments during the heat of the debate in his secret vantage point from the House cloak room, and his hastily scribbled notes to Representative Clarke had provided authoritative replies to questions from the floor. Despite his recurring fears, he felt the "thrill . . . [of being] in at the kill—even if the victory was bloodless."⁴⁷ He had, moreover, ample cause to rejoice, for the bill provided in detail for his program. Sections 1 and 2 established cooperative fire prevention; section 3 authorized an extensive study of tax policies to aid the states in devising laws designed to encourage conservation and forest planting; section 4 allotted funds for cooperative reforestation of denuded lands; and sections 5, 6, and 7 authorized the extension of national forests.⁴⁸

The long battle was over, and though Gifford Pinchot refused to concede defeat, cooperation had emerged the victor.⁴⁹ Now all energies could be expended toward achieving Greeley's dictum of American forestry—the elimination of fire from the woods. With the combined efforts of federal, state, and private landowners, he was confident great advances forward would evolve, and the large task of restoring the nation's idle lands to timber productivity would proceed apace.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 10957–59, 11273.

⁴⁷ Greeley, *Forests and Men*, 110.

⁴⁸ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XLIII, 653–55.

⁴⁹ Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York, 1947), 294. Pinchot wrote that it is inevitable that the federal government will eventually control cutting practices on private lands because "without it the safety of our forests . . . cannot be assured."

CHAPTER VI

New Fields

After almost a quarter century of public service William B. Greeley resigned as Chief Forester on April 30, 1928,¹ and accepted a position with the newly strengthened West Coast Lumbermen's Association.² The repercussions of his resignation were immediate. To the majority it was cause for sorrow. The old-guard conservationists greeted his departure with sly winks of self-righteous vindication, and a few intimated that Greeley's defection to the "wicked industry," which had begun in 1916 and had been magnified and blatantly revealed in the early twenties, was now complete.³

Such accusations were grossly unfair and deeply disturbing to a man who for so many years had unsparingly devoted himself to the conservation movement.⁴ Greeley's loyalty to the Forest Service and

¹ W. M. Jardine to Greeley, April 27, 1928, Greeley Papers. Official announcement of his resignation was made on February 20, 1928. See *Portland Oregon Journal*, February 20, 1928, p. 2; "Chief Forester Greeley's Retirement," *American Forests and Forest Life*, XXXIV (April, 1928), 227; "Chief Forester Greeley Resigns," *ibid.* (March, 1928), 172.

² C. C. Crow, "Lumber Leaders of Coast Unite," *Portland Oregonian*, February 18, 1928, pp. 1–2. The West Coast Lumbermen's Association and the West Coast Lumber Trade Extension Bureau voted to consolidate at the same time Greeley was chosen as secretary-manager. His selection was hailed as "an excellent move as he is known to be a man capable of handling big matters."

³ Interview with Gertrude J. Greeley, November 24, 1956; interview with David T. Mason, January 15, 1957. Mr. Mason is a forest consultant in the firm of Mason, Bruce, and Girard. He entered the Forest Service in 1907, and resigned in 1915 to become professor of forestry at the University of California. He pointed out that he left the Service "some ten years before Greeley, but it was easier on me, perhaps because I didn't enter the wicked industry." In his opinion the intimations of a "betrayal" were ridiculous and a result of the fact that the old-guard conservationists were "too . . . narrow-minded." See Dixon Merritt, "Exit Greeley: Enter Stuart," *Outlook*, CXLVIII (March, 1928), 373, for a sarcastic disparagement of Greeley.

⁴ Interview with Gertrude J. Greeley, November 24, 1956. Mrs. Greeley stated that the charges that he had "gone to the devil made him feel very bad." In his personal correspondence, however, Greeley did not reveal such feelings. He was urged in 1935 to at least consider libel charges against Secretary of the

his highly developed sense of responsibility to the public were manifest in his record. Furthermore, the twenty-five years of consistent fealty were donated at considerable monetary cost.

Time and again throughout his Service career Greeley was afforded an opportunity to enter more materially lucrative occupations, and he consistently refused because of his sincere conviction that what he was doing was of paramount importance. While engaged in establishing cooperative fire protection with the northern Idaho lumbermen, he was offered the secretaryship of the Western Pine Manufacturer's Association at an initial annual salary of \$3,000.⁵ Although this sum represented a substantial increase over his present earnings,⁶ he declined because the post did not, in his opinion, "equal the District Forester's work in opportunities for constructive administrative work."⁷ Almost simultaneously came an offer from the University of California. President Benjamin I. Wheeler proposed, and insistently demanded, that he become head of a proposed school of forestry at the University.⁸ Despite the attractiveness of the \$3,600 salary, and the "opportunity to develop a strong school of Forestry," Greeley refused to accept because he believed, as before, that his duties as District Forester contained too great a possibility for "constructive work along administrative lines of very broad and far reaching effects," and his interest in his present occupation was "too intense to justify . . . leaving it for any other line of work."⁹ President Wheeler, adamant in his assertion that Greeley should accept as a matter of "plain duty" to his alma mater, continued to pursue the quest for the ensuing three years. Greeley, however, remained equally steadfast in his refusal.¹⁰

He sincerely believed that the Forest Service offered far more important rewards than monetary gain, and he personally derived greater joy from the "satisfaction that comes, not from a fat pay envelope,

Interior Harold L. Ickes because of "personal accusations" made in private correspondence against his administration of the Forest Service. Greeley dismissed the matter as one which he "did not take very seriously" because his "hide . . . [had become] pretty well toughened to that sort of thing years ago." See E. I. Kotok to Greeley, July 17, 1935, Greeley Papers; Greeley to Kotok, July 20, 1935, *ibid.*; Greeley to Ovid Butler, July 20, 1935, *ibid.*

⁵ Greeley Diary, May 6, 1909.

⁶ U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Expenditures, *Statement of Expenditures of the Department of Agriculture, 1909*, 61 Cong., 2 Sess., 1910, Document 202, p. 277. Greeley's salary as District Forester was \$2,200.

⁷ Greeley Diary, May 7, 1909.

⁸ Benjamin I. Wheeler to Greeley, August 4, 1909, Greeley Papers. Greeley had previously declined a similar offer. See Greeley Diary, May 22, 1909.

⁹ Greeley to Wheeler, August 16, 1909, Greeley Papers.

¹⁰ Wheeler to Greeley, October 18, 1910, *ibid.*; Thomas F. Hunt to Greeley, June 5, 1913, *ibid.*; Greeley to Wheeler, October 25, 1910, *ibid.*

but from the consciousness of having done something worthwhile." The financial compensation the Service could offer was assuredly meager in comparison to private industry. However, he was convinced that nowhere else could one find the additional inducements of "personal responsibility . . . stimulating and interesting work . . . new and large problems to be worked out . . . [and] opportunities for serving the public that are unexcelled."¹¹

This persistent sense of loyalty to the Service and its mission of serving the public caused Greeley to reject a very tempting executive position with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States early in 1921 when the battle for a cooperative national forestry program was nearing its apex.¹² He recognized the opportunity for personal advancement and further public service which the offer presented, and candidly admitted that he would accept "without any hesitation" if the "work in which the Forest Service . . . [was] enlisted were at a less critical period."¹³

This admission reveals the truth behind his eventual resignation and acceptance of an industry position. He had launched a career in 1904 which became the focal point of his interests. All else was subsidiary and incidental to the forestry movement in and with which he was maturing. Until the time arrived when he believed his career, and the movement, had reached the fullest possible development, he could not consider abandoning it for another. The passage of the Clarke-McNary Act and the subsequent establishment of cooperative forestry as an actuality marked that point. Then his compelling need to be constantly engaged in activity of the greatest possible usefulness demanded new fields.

Greeley had voluntarily limited his tenure as Chief Forester at no more than ten years when he accepted the post.¹⁴ Still a relatively young man with a family to support, he had naturally given considerable thought to the question of future employment.¹⁵ It is completely characteristic that his decision was dictated by his engrossment with the nation's forest problems and his faith that trees could be grown as

¹¹ Greeley, "The Man and the Job," manuscript copy for *Forest Service Weekly Bulletin*, April 23, 1920, *ibid.*

¹² Elliot H. Goodwin to Greeley, January 20, 1921, *ibid.* Greeley would have been manager of the Department of Natural Resources Production at an initial salary of \$12,000. His salary as Chief Forester was approximately \$5,000. See Gladmon to Greeley, March 15, 1920, *ibid.*

¹³ Greeley to Goodwin, January 29, 1921, *ibid.*

¹⁴ "Greeley Applauded As Forestry Chief," *Portland Oregonian*, February 26, 1928, p. 13. He did so in the belief that the Service profited from "new blood at intervals."

¹⁵ Greeley was forty-eight and the father of four children at this time.

a "matter of plain business and as the result of business foresight and initiative." Accordingly, he had candidly expressed his hope that "before . . . [his] days . . . [were] over" he would have the opportunity to enter into the "actual management of a substantial body of forest land whose ownership . . . [had] adopted a definite plan of reforestation and continuous timber production."¹⁶

The secretaryship of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association presented a much greater challenge than the management of a private forest. The lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest was plagued by the ills of overproduction, regional strife, and poor merchandising procedures,¹⁷ and Greeley had long been "anxious to get at close grips with the economic and industrial side of the timber game." Too, this region had, he believed, "one of the largest conservation problems on its hands of any section of the country." These inducements were more than he could resist, and though he was admittedly "staggered by the proportions of the job," he determined to "have a try at helping the northwestern manufacturers to get on a more stable footing."¹⁸ If he could accomplish this task the cause of conservation would be concurrently advanced.

With these objectives, Greeley brought down the curtain on one phase of a career which had been abundant in personal achievement and greatly beneficial to the public welfare. One Congressman facetiously suggested that the lumbermen's association "ought to be indicted for grand larceny for having taken him away from the Government."¹⁹ Representative Clarke commended him before the Agriculture Committee as the man most responsible for leading Congress toward "a forward looking" forestry program which had scrupulously avoided the "lunatic fringe," especially amongst conservationists.²⁰ Greeley's associates in the Forest Service hailed him as a "forester of

¹⁶ Greeley to John W. Blodgett, June 6, 1924, Greeley Papers. He was convinced there was going to be a "great development along this line on the part of the forest using industries within the next ten or fifteen years."

¹⁷ Freeman Tilden, "They Chose A Forester," *World's Work*, LIX (November, 1930), 77, 106, 110. Mr. Tilden states: "It was perfectly obvious to the long-headed lumbermen that some valiant measures would be required to save the whole Northwest lumber industry from wreck. A man from outside the industry was needed. He had to know the forests, and he had to know the lumber industry. . . . He had to be entirely unprejudiced, he had to have infinite tact, unusual force of character, rare vision, and unquestioned courage. In Col. William H. [sic] Greeley this man was found."

¹⁸ Greeley to L. B. Pratt, March 9, 1928, Records of the California Division of Forestry (Sacramento, California).

¹⁹ U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings, Reforestation - Pollution of Streams*, 70 Cong., 1 Sess., 1928, p. 102.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

the highest type, a student of forestry and forest economics, an indefatigable worker, possessed of a keen analytical mind, blessed with abundant vision and courage," who had "thought deeply on forestry as an American problem and, having reached conclusions as to proper action . . . [had] held tenaciously to . . . [them] against all criticism."²¹

The rabid regulationists were equally descriptive in their appraisal of Greeley's tenure as Chief Forester. "The acquiescent attitude of the Service during the last six or eight years," Pinchot wrote to Greeley's successor, Robert Y. Stuart, "has deprived it of popular support to a point where there is . . . little or no fighting enthusiasm for it anywhere unless perhaps in certain smaller western communities. . . . Moreover, under the leadership of Bill Greeley [sic], the Service steadily put the interest of the lumbermen ahead of the interest of the country, and this poison is necessarily still hobbling the judgment of many men who under a different leadership would have taken a totally different attitude."²² Pinchot's lagging spirits were very soon revived, however, by the favorable reception of Major George P. Ahern's pamphlet, "Deforested America," at a meeting of the Washington Section of the Society of American Foresters.²³ A resolution was moved and unanimously adopted that the national society be petitioned to appoint a committee to investigate the facts of continued forest depletion and suggest a remedy. Pinchot enthusiastically pointed out to a friend that what the meeting meant was "Greeley's malign influence having been removed, the foresters were returning to what they had known all along was the right point of view."²⁴

This optimistic appraisal was not justified by subsequent events. On the contrary, the spread of "Greeleyism," defined by its supporters

²¹ "Greeley Applauded as Forestry Chief," *Portland Oregonian*, February 26, 1928, p. 13.

²² Pinchot to Robert Y. Stuart, November 15, 1928, Pinchot Papers, Box 294.

²³ In a letter to the editor dated December 11, 1928, Pinchot praised Major Ahern's pamphlet and asserted that the "lumber industry is spending millions of dollars on propaganda in the effort to forestall or delay the public control of lumbering, which is the only measure capable of putting an end to forest devastation in America." See *New York Times*, December 16, 1928, p. 5. Major Ahern's pamphlet was later expanded into a volume. See George P. Ahern, *Forest Bankruptcy in America* (Washington, 1933).

²⁴ Pinchot to Raphael Zon, December 26, 1928, Pinchot Papers, Box 287. A committee was subsequently appointed and its recommendations were adopted by referendum vote in 1931. The approved recommendations did not include federal regulation of private timberlands. See "Washington Section Urges Society to Study Forestry Program," *Journal of Forestry*, XXVI (December, 1928), 1074; "Principles of Forest Policy for the United States," *ibid.*, XXXII (October, 1934), 792-95.

as a policy of cooperation and by its disparagers as the "lumbermen leading the Forest Service by the hand," became more pronounced with the passage of time.²⁵ Increasing numbers of forestry school graduates were employed by private industry and forestry schools revamped their curricula to provide students with wider training in the economic and technical problems of private forest management. Consulting forestry attracted a growing corps of foresters and gradually won professional prestige. State forestry systems expanded in number and extended their activities in fire protection and several states passed laws regulating cutting practices on private lands. Regional trade associations established forestry departments and issued policy statements urging members to adopt approved cutting practices on their lands; some went the whole way and enforced regionally established rules. Industry rallied behind the "Keep Green," "Tree Farm," and "More Trees for America" movements, in all of which Greeley was a prime mover, and gave the force of truth to the statement that forestry was becoming a "household word" in industrial circles. Most marked of all was the continuous cooperative tenor of national legislation. From the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924, through the Bailey Amendment to federal income tax law and the Sustained Yield Forest Management Act in 1943 and 1944, to the Cooperative Forest Management Act of 1950 there is a continuity of purpose indicative of the steadily increasing realization that timber could be grown as a commercial crop given favorable economic conditions.²⁶

These developments were not, of course, unattended by trials and tribulations. Shifts in Forest Service administration and surveys and re-surveys of the nation's forest resources were accompanied by renewed drives for federal regulation. The air was surcharged with claims and counterclaims of misleading publicity, undue pessimism, and misguided optimism when Ferdinand A. Silcox and Earle H. Clapp in the 1930's and Lyle F. Watts in the early 1940's proposed "three-point" programs of acquisition, cooperation, and federal regulation.²⁷ In this electric

²⁵ Kenneth G. Crawford, *The Pressure Boys; The Inside Story of Lobbying in America* (New York, 1939), 198.

²⁶ The most comprehensive discussion of these developments is in Dana, *Forest and Range Policy*, 208-349. See also Henry Clepper, "The Forestry Profession in America," *Journal of Forestry*, LVIII (August, 1960), 596-97; Axel J. F. Brandstrom, "Development of Industrial Forestry in the Pacific Northwest," *Colonel William B. Greeley Lectures in Industrial Forestry, Number 1* (Seattle, 1957); Ralph S. Hosmer, "Education in Professional Forestry," *Fifty Years of Forestry*, 299-315; Wilson Compton, "Forestry Under A Free Enterprise System," *American Forests*, LXVI (August, 1960), 27, 50-54; Compton, "Looking Ahead From Behind at American Forestry," *Southern Lumberman*, CCI (December 15, 1960), 123-27.

²⁷ F. A. Silcox, "A Federal Plan for Forest Regulation Within the Democratic

atmosphere, Greeley maintained a customary cautiousness and remained a bulwark of conciliation between the opposing factions. On the one hand admonishing the industry to claim only what it had actually accomplished and pointing out, when occasion demanded, the "gap between what this industry preaches and professes and what goes on in its woods," he was equally forceful in defending its accomplishments.²⁸ To the industry he counseled, criticize the Service when certain you are right, but "it would be very shortsighted and much against our own interests, as a group of businessmen, to develop a 'feud'"; to the Service he pledged sustained effort to overcome industry's charges of "smear tactics" and to work for closer harmony because "There is so much constructive work that the industry and the Forest Service should do together, that it is absurd to have so much futile bickering going on."²⁹

Ironically, a Greeley critic has left future generations with what is probably the most perceptive and meaningful single statement of his contribution to conservation: "If he . . . [was] more the lumberman than most foresters . . . he . . . [was] also more the forester than most lumbermen."³⁰ The Clarke-McNary cooperative forestry legislation remains as William B. Greeley's greatest personal monument³¹ and the qualities attributed to him in what was intended as a derisive compliment are an integral part of this act. Through his avoidance of the extremists Greeley served as a liaison between the conservationists and the lumbermen, proving to both that conservation and the lumber industry were not necessarily antithetical, but rather complementary.

We can only surmise what the benefits of the Pinchot policy of federal regulation of private timberlands would have been. If we accept the viewpoint of one investigator that after 1909, "power and

Pattern," *Journal of Forestry*, XXXVII (February, 1939), 116-19; Earle H. Clapp, "Federal Forest Policies of the Future," *ibid.*, XXXIX (February, 1941), 80-91; Lyle F. Watts, "Comprehensive Forest Policy Indispensable," *ibid.*, XLI (November, 1943), 783-88; Watts, "A Forest Program to Help Sustain Private Enterprise," *ibid.*, XLII (February, 1944), 81-84; Watts, "The Need for the Conservation of Our Forests," *ibid.*, 108-14; Watts, "Where are the Goal Posts," *ibid.* (March, 1944), 159-63; Wilson Compton, "Private Enterprise Offers Better Opportunity for Progress in Forestry Than Nationalization," *ibid.*, XLI (November, 1943), 788-91; Emanuel Fritz, "The Pot Calls the Kettle Black," *ibid.*, XLII (June, 1944), 411-13.

²⁸ Greeley to C. E. Martin, June 4, 1945, Greeley Papers.

²⁹ Greeley to C. H. Kreinbaum, December 11, 1947, *ibid.*; Greeley to C. M. Granger, March 24, 1947, *ibid.*

³⁰ Merritt, "Exit Greeley: Enter Stuart," *Outlook*, CXLVIII (March, 1928), 373.

³¹ The McNary-McSweeney Act establishing a program of forest research was passed May 22, 1928, and completed the policy Greeley had advocated in 1916. See Hosmer, "The National Forestry Program Committee," *Journal of Forestry*, XLV (September, 1947), 627.

arrogance had warped his sense of proportion . . . [and] his policy was based on thwarted ambition, bitterness, and determination for revenge which made most of his subsequent 'conservation' activities a tragic travesty of his first achievements,"³² we must suspect that the lumbermen would have resisted such a program. The resultant hostility and resentment would have meant court litigation and other stalling tactics which might have irrevocably delayed the process of keeping trees on the land.³³

This was Greeley's foremost concern and he was convinced that enlightened self-interest rather than compulsion would make faster progress toward this end.³⁴ The record of some twenty years of cooperative forestry vindicated his faith. Federal, state, and private timberholders combined their activities to negate greatly the age-old menace of forest fires and enable a concerted drive to reforest the nation's denuded forest lands.³⁵ Significant advances were written into a ledger that previously had contained only tragic figures. By 1945 forty-two states had established forestry systems, and industrial forestry had compiled an undeniable record of good cutting practices.³⁶ Most important of all was the fact that whereas in 1923 the annual cut of saw-timber was four times greater than the yearly growth, by 1946 this imbalance had been decreased to a rate of extraction only one-and-a-half times faster than reforestation.³⁷

³² E. Louise Peffer, *The Closing of the Public Domain: Disposal and Reservation Policies, 1900-50* (Stanford, 1951), 331.

³³ David T. Mason believes without Greeley's cooperative system the "industry and the Forest Service would have clashed. No matter who would have won, the entire country would have been hurt." Interview, January 15, 1957.

³⁴ The editor of *American Forests and Forest Life* praised Greeley's "inspiring adherence to the highest principles of American life," which he believed had "given to forestry a pillar of strength and a breath of righteousness." See "Chief Forester Greeley's Retirement," *American Forests and Forest Life*, XXXIV (April, 1928), 227.

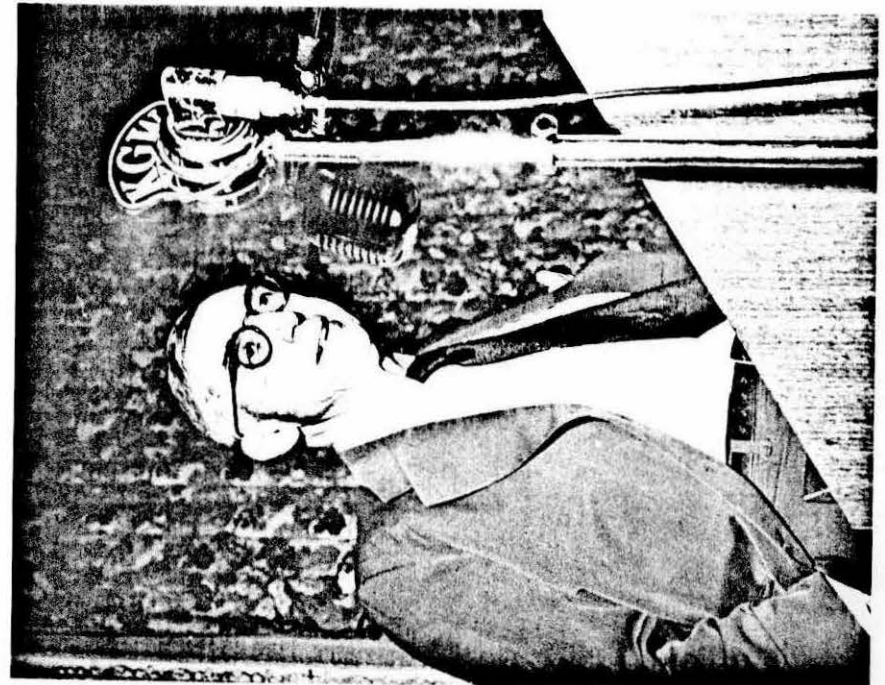
³⁵ Lyle F. Watts, "Timber Shortage or Timber Abundance?" Report of the Chief of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1946* (Washington, 1947), 14, 16-21. In 1945 forest fires burned over 2,456,353 acres outside of national forests where an additional 175,882 acres were burned. These figures compare favorably with the 1923 estimate of an annual 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 acre burn.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, 17. Mr. Watts based his report on a reappraisal of the nation's forest resources conducted by the Forest Service during 1945-46. This investigation revealed "encouraging advances in good practice by industrial forest owners." These corporate and other sizeable holdings contained only 15 per cent of private acreage, and he was alarmed at the "poor cutting" which prevailed on the remaining 85 per cent of small holdings.

³⁷ Select Committee on Reforestation, *Hearings*, 67 Cong., 4 Sess., 1923, p. 279; Watts, "Forests and the Nation's Water Resources," Report of the Chief of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1947* (Washington, 1947), 15.



(Courtesy Industrial Forestry Association)



(Courtesy Industrial Forestry Association)
Colonel Greeley, forestry author



Colonel Greeley, his wife, Gertrude J. Greeley, and a grandson on their Gamble Bay tree farm. (Courtesy Industrial Forestry Association)

Despite continued pessimistic forecasts of timber famine by observers of the Pinchot school, Greeley derived additional encouragement from these definite improvements and remained optimistically confident that “the exact picture of today is less important than the long-range sweep—the steady upward course of forest growth and the many indications that it will keep on moving upward.”³⁸

In this testimony of continued faith, Greeley reveals the crux of his philosophy. He was a realist who tempered his visionary qualities according to the practical aspects confronting a national forestry policy. The contribution of Gifford Pinchot to the conservation movement prior to 1910 cannot be denied. A crusader of his caliber was a necessity during the period when forestry was a novelty to most Americans. Like many crusaders, however, he was unable to descend from his lofty tower to meet changing situations on the basis of their merits. It seems inevitable that his ideas would be modified by a leader capable of adjusting to prevailing attitudes and shaping them to mutually desired ends. Though the ledger of American forestry is not yet closed, William B. Greeley’s outstanding performance of this essential task is manifest in the record of forest progress.

³⁸ Greeley, “The Role of Industry in Forestry Management,” speech delivered before the California Section of the Society of American Foresters, December 3, 1949, Greeley Papers. A Forest Service report on the nation’s forest resources published in 1958 disclosed that though there were important regional and specie variations annual cut and growth were in near-balance. By that date, too, fire had been ousted by insects and disease from its front-ranking position as a destroyer of the forests. See *Timber Resources for America’s Future; A Summary of the Timber Resource Review*, Department of Agriculture, Forest Resource Report 14 (Washington, 1958).

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