

*From Leaders of American Conservation* by Henry Clepper  
(Ronald Press, N.Y., 1971).

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Pinchot

Association for the Advancement of Science, American Fisheries Society, and the Ecological Society of America.

ELWOOD A. SEAMAN

*American Men of Science* (The Physical and Biological Sciences), 11th ed., 1967.

### PINCHOT, GIFFORD (1865-1946)

Born August 11, 1865 in Simsbury, Connecticut. Yale University, A.B. 1889; A.M. 1901, LL.D. 1925; Princeton University, A.M. 1904; Michigan Agricultural College, Sc.D. 1907; McGill University, LL.D. 1909; Pennsylvania Military College, LL.D. 1923; Temple University, LL.D. 1931. The first native American to receive formal instruction in forestry, he studied at the National School of Waters and Forests, Nancy, France, in ~~1900~~<sup>1889-90</sup>; no academic institution in the United States offered forestry courses. In January 1892 he began the first systematic forest management on the Biltmore forest in North Carolina. He was in private consulting practice for several years thereafter, and in 1896 was a member of the Forest Commission appointed by the National Academy of Sciences that recommended creation of the forest reserve (now the national forests) from the public domain, and that was responsible for the Forest Reserve Act of 1897 that provided for their administration and protection. In 1898 he was appointed chief of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture; it became the Bureau of Forestry in 1901 and the present Forest Service in 1905. Also in 1905 the forest reserves were transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture, and in 1907 were renamed the national forests. During his administration of the national forests they were increased from 5.7 million acres in area in 1907 to 148 million acres by <sup>Jan</sup> 1910. He was an organizer of the White House Governors' Conference on Natural Resources of May 1908, and was chairman of the subsequent National Conservation Commission that compiled the first inventory of the country's natural resources. Dismissed as chief of the Forest Service by President Taft in 1910, he organized and became president of the National

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Conservation Association, formed to continue the fight for his conservation ideas. From 1920 to 1922, he was commissioner of the Department of Forestry, later secretary of the Department of Forests and Waters, in Pennsylvania; governor of Pennsylvania, 1923-27 and 1931-35. In 1900 he founded the School of Forestry at Yale University and also the Society of American Foresters of which he was the first president. He was the author of numerous papers and reports on conservation topics, including the books *A Primer of Forestry*, 1899; *The Fight for Conservation*, 1909; *The Training of a Forester*, 1914; and *Breaking New Ground*, his autobiography, 1947. The foremost conservationist of his era, he was largely responsible for "conservation" becoming widely known and supported by the public and an established policy of both the federal and state governments. Died October 4, 1946.

HENRY CLEPPER

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*Who Was Who in America*, 1943-50.

### **POMEROY, KENNETH BROWNRIDGE (1907-1976)**

Born May 17, 1907 near Valley Center, Michigan. Michigan State University, B.S. 1928; Duke University, M.F. 1948. Following private employment, he began a 23-year Forest Service career in 1933 as a clerk on the Nicolet National Forest in Wisconsin advancing through line and staff positions in administration, state and private forestry and research to chief of naval stores research, Lake City, Florida and finally chief of timber management research, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His research achievements included stimulation of seed production and regeneration of loblolly pine. He became chief forester of the American Forestry Association in 1956 with responsibility for legislative liaison, technical assistance to association members, the Trail Riders

GIFFORD PINCHOT

## A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

First American professional forester, first Chief of the United States Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot was the man who gave the first great impetus to the movement for conservation of natural resources in America. It was he, indeed, who brought the word "conservation" out of the dictionary into the American vocabulary. The conservation program that got under way largely through his crusading efforts may well determine the future progress and security of this Nation.

Born in 1865 of a wealthy Pennsylvania family, grandson of a Captain in Napoleon's Grand Army, young Pinchot had open to him promising opportunities in business or in the established professions. But he decided even before he entered college that he wanted to be a forester. His father encouraged him in his chosen career, even though forestry at that time was an unheard of profession in this country. No courses in forestry were then being given in American schools. After graduation from Yale University, Pinchot went overseas to attend L'Ecole National Forestiere at Nancy, France, and to study under prominent European foresters of Germany, France, Switzerland, and Austria.

He was 25 when he came home on a German freighter that battled gales for 13½ days. But Pinchot was imbued with a fervor for forestry that was never to acknowledge defeat. The lurching and pitching of the storm-tossed freighter was ignored as he prepared his first paper to be delivered before the American Forestry Association in New York.

His first professional job was as forest manager of the George W. Vanderbilt estate at Asheville, North Carolina in 1891. His services were in increasing demand after his successful installation of forestry management on this 7,000-acre estate -- the first American forest lands ever to be placed under professional forestry direction.

In 1896 Pinchot was named a member of the Forest Commission of the National Academy of Sciences, which had for its purpose to recommend to the President a forest policy for the United States. In the preceding 6 years he had worked in, camped, and stretched his long legs over hundreds of miles of America's great forests in the East and in the West; he had come out of the woods to deliver lectures and write reports and had gone back to the forests to gather more information. Many of the areas he studied were later to become today's National Forests.

In 1898, Pinchot was named Chief of the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. When he took over the Division it had a total of 10 employees; its only activities had been to conduct studies and publish information on forestry. The division took on unprecedented life. Pinchot and his associates began a major offensive by offering free assistance to farmers, lumbermen, and private timberland owners. The offer included working plans for conservative lumbering, assistance on the ground, directions for practical work -- in short, anything needed to get forestry going. By the end of 1898, requests had come from 35 States. The first big step in the practice of American forestry had been taken.

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To make the limited funds available to him, go farther, Pinchot recruited a number of "collaborators" -- scientists willing to work part-time for small pay -- and "student assistants" who were paid \$40 a month. Many of these student assistants were later to become leaders in the forestry profession in America. In 1900, Pinchot and his associates organized the Society of American Foresters, a professional organization which today has a membership of several thousand throughout the United States, and corresponding members in many foreign countries. In its early days the Society met in the Pinchot home in Washington, D. C. The group of earnest young foresters became known as "The Baked Apple Club" because it was Pinchot's practice to serve them quantities of baked apples, gingerbread, and milk each time they met. This was a wholesome and welcome treat for young student assistants struggling to get along on a \$40 a month stipend.

The Division of Forestry became a Bureau of Forestry in 1901. In 1905 the Forest Service was established and the forest reserves that had been set aside in the public domain under jurisdiction of the General Land Office were placed under its administration. The reserves were soon rechristened the National Forests, and the Forest Service set to work vigorously developing effective protection and administration for these public properties, with the guiding principle that the National Forests should be managed for "the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run".

At Pinchot's urging, President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 called a conference of Governors of the States to discuss conservation of natural resources. The enthusiasm engendered at this parley produced a new cooperative Federal-State outlook on protection and wise use of resources. Pinchot followed the Governors' Conference with another suggestion to call a North American Conservation Conference. President Roosevelt commissioned the Chief Forester to deliver invitations in person to the Governor General of Canada and the President of Mexico. The meeting took place in 1909 and again set a precedent, this time on the international level.

Meanwhile a controversy had arisen between Pinchot and Richard A. Ballinger, then Secretary of the Interior, over the leasing of public coal lands. Other issues involved in the dispute concerned related questions of private exploitation of public lands, waters, and minerals which Pinchot believed should be held in public trust for the public good. Pinchot brought the fight into the open during President Taft's administration, and it became the epical one of the times.

As a result of the controversy Pinchot was dismissed by Taft in 1910. This was followed by one of the most dramatic of many congressional investigations in the spring of that year. A young congressman, George W. Norris, played a vital role in aiding Pinchot's cause; another was an attorney, Louis D. Brandeis, who later became a noted jurist on the Supreme Court bench.

1889 ← "G. P.", as he was called by his associates in the Forest Service, began crusading for forestry on the very day he was graduated from Yale in 1889. Mark Twain was the commencement speaker; Pinchot, also called upon to speak, at the last minute tossed away his prepared address and delivered a talk on forestry, his favorite topic then and ever after.

One of Pinchot's early converts -- and the first American to win the distinguished Sir William Schlich Forestry Medal -- was Franklin D. Roosevelt. As a youthful lawmaker in the New York legislature, Franklin Roosevelt had invited Chief Forester Pinchot to advise his committee on forests, fish, and game. Pinchot's talk so impressed FDR that it launched him on the conservation road.

Pinchot himself was awarded the Schlich medal in 1940.

After his dismissal as Chief Forester, he went on to become Governor of Pennsylvania for two terms, 1923-27 and 1931-35. In 1903 he had been named Professor of Forestry at Yale and retained the post until 1936 when he became professor emeritus. He was Commissioner of Forestry for Pennsylvania, 1920-22; and was president of the National Conservation Association, 1910-25. He was a member of the U. S. Food Administration during World War I.

In 1902 he made the first study of the Phillipine forests and recommended a forest policy for the islands.

He received honorary degrees from Yale, Princeton, Michigan Agricultural College, McGill, Pennsylvania Military College, and Temple University.

During World War II, Pinchot, disturbed by accounts of the harrowing experiences of men adrift at sea, began experimenting on a plan by which torpedoed seamen and fliers whose planes had come down at sea could remain alive for extended periods by drinking "fish juice" squeezed from caught raw fish. The experiment, put into effect by the Navy, was further implemented by the installation of compact fishing tackle units in life-boats and liferafts.

During the last few years of his life, Pinchot finished writing an autobiographical volume covering the birth of forestry and conservation in America, the period from 1889 to 1910. The book, "Breaking New Ground", was published posthumously in 1947.

In 1945, at a "family meeting" of members of the Forest Service celebrating the Service's 40th anniversary, "G.P." said: "I have been a governor now and then, but I am a Forester all the time -- have been, and shall be, to my dying day."

He was. At the time of his death in 1946, aged 81, he was working on a new forest management plan for his estate at Milford, Pennsylvania. He was urging and making plans for an international conference on conservation. And still actively crusading for conservation, he had only a few months earlier called on foresters to look beyond the physical conservation of resources. If those resources are to have any true significance and worth, he had said at a meeting of the Society of American Foresters, they must also be conserved against monopoly and against the complex of political factors which would prevent their use in the attainment of the good life for all men and all nations.

Prepared by  
Forest Service  
Washington, D. C.  
May 1949

*This is the one credited to W. W. White, Super. of the  
Bitterroot Nat. For. in 1908-9*

20th Chapter of Exodus.

Revised Version for Forest Officers.

And "G. P." spake all these words saying:

"I am G. P., the Forester, which have brought thee out of the old regime into the new.

1. Thou shalt have no other employment than Forestry.

(See page 25, verse 5)

2. Thou shalt not enter nor become interested in any of the public lands of thy country, either in its timber in the Heavens above, or the mineral that is in the earth beneath, or the June 11th claims that are of the earth; except that thou mayest exercise thy right under the homestead or desert land laws, but by so doing thou mayest be compelled to choose between thy claim and thy profession, for thy profession is a jealous profession, visiting dismissals upon those that break its commandments and giving promotion unto them that love it and keep its commandments.

(See page 29, verse 2)

3. Thou shalt not take booze in excess, for the Forester will not hold him guiltless that drinketh liquor to his hurt. (See Order No. 12)

4. Remember the work day to keep busy. Six days shalt thou labor and do thy work. The seventh day is the Sabbath of thy Eastern forefathers, in it neither thou nor thy pack horses may be required to do any work except that

thou shalt bake break<sup>d</sup>, clean house, split firewood, shoe horses, fight fires, write reports, attend Rangers' meeting, or any other business.

For in six days Teddy made 18,000,000 acres of National Forests and the seventh day signed the bill that taketh away the power of the President to create National Forests in six States, wherefore some of the Western Senators blessed the seventh day and celebrated it.

5. Honor thy superiors and their wives, that thy days may be long within the Forest Service.

6. Thou shalt not permit game to be killed out of season. (Regulation No. 63)

7. Thou shalt not commit trespass. (Regulation No. 64)

8. Thou shalt not possess non-expendable Forest Service property without giving the Supervisor a receipt on Form 943.

(Sec. No. 54, Green Book)

9. Thou shalt not make false statements in thy diary.

10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's shekels and for them overlook his trespass, recommend him low stumpage prices, report favorably on his claim, be too lenient with him in Free Use, allow his brush to go unpiled, nor commit any graft for ~~they~~ neighbor's money."

W. W. White - 7

### LAMENTATIONS OF THE FOREST RANGER.

He sitteth on the topmost peak and seeth where the lightning striketh.

He riseth up in the morn and his sour-dough pot is full and runneth over.

He eateth the flesh of the forbidden hog, while the fatted deer feedeth near; he slayeth it not for it is forbidden by the laws of his fathers, nay verily.

At the rising of the sun he mounteth his cayuse and lo, the beast boweth down his head and casteth him into the brambles and flieth away to the land of his fathers; yea, even unto the land of his fathers; yea, even unto the land of Palouse doth he flee. The gentile pursueth and cometh up to him, but he layeth not his hands upon him. The gentile riseth up in his wrath and slayeth him, and leaveth his carcass for the beasts of the desert.

He rideth forth on the trail and the soft wind lulleth him to slumber: a bee of the tribe of Hornet riseth up and smiteth him: yea, even unto the tenth time doth he smite him and the place whereon he was smote was heated seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated.

He watcheth over the young trees that his children even unto the tenth generation may have shakes to cover their heads. When the young tree dieth he seeketh for insects, and lo, he findeth them in his garments.

He cometh into a camp at night with a song in his heart and findeth a bear in his tent: He falleth down in the dust and weepeth, for lo, and behold his substance is wasted.

The local Scribe and Pharisee dippeth his pen in the ink and setteth the wild tribes of the hills against him.

The settler concealeth himself behind a tree and greeteth him with an evil egg.

At the end of the month he counteth his silver and gold, and lo, he findeth that the Jewish merchants have taken his shekels.



Frank, you might be interested:

"Of course it has always been the one great ideal of my life to be of the greatest good to the greatest number of 'my people' possible, and to this end I have been preparing my life for these many years; feeling as I do that this line of education is the key to unlock the golden door of freedom to our people." George Washington Carver to Booker T. Washington, April 12, 1896 (Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress), accepting BTW's offer of a post at Tuskegee. Of course the "greatest good" phrase is probably Ciceronian originally, considering James Wilson's association with Iowa A & M (Carver's alma mater), the coincidence with the 1905 letter to Pinchot is remarkable. Perhaps it was a favorite phrase of Wilson's after all, and we have been incorrect in attributing it to Pinchot. Something to think about.

Source of quote Barry Mackintosh, "George Washington Carver: The Making of a Myth," Journal of Southern History XLII, 4 (November 1976) 507-28

→ See Pinchot File → Barrett's Quotations - my summary

## I &amp; E REFERENCE FILE

FACTS ABOUT GIFFORD PINCHOT AND THE GIFFORD PINCHOT NATIONAL FOREST

On June 15, 1949, President Truman signed a Proclamation changing the name of the Columbia National Forest to the Gifford Pinchot National Forest. The Proclamation stated that it was especially appropriate to pay tribute to Gifford Pinchot by naming one of our great national forests in honor of the first Chief of the Forest Service who played a leading part in the development of our national forest system and who initiated many of the basic policies which guide our national forest administration today. To quote from the Proclamation:

"Gifford Pinchot's life was spent almost wholly in the service of the public. He has long been recognized as the foremost forester and forest conservationist of this nation."

The following information presents additional facts about Gifford Pinchot and the Forest which has been named for him. It provides only the highlights but these show that it is eminently fitting that this magnificent National Forest should bear the name of this great forester.

Gifford Pinchot was born in 1865. He was reared during the period when exploitation of the national resources of the nation was considered to be synonymous with progress and development. He chose forestry as a career even though it was then an unheard of profession in this country, and no courses in forestry were being given in American schools. After graduation from Yale University, he studied forestry in France, Germany, Switzerland and Austria.

At the age of 25 he returned to the United States and undertook his first professional job as forest manager of the 7000-acre Vanderbilt estate in North Carolina, the first American forest lands to be placed under professional forestry direction.

In December 1893 he opened an office as a "consulting forester" in New York City. He received a surprisingly large number of requests for advice on forestry and as he stated in his book "Breaking New Ground" he was kept busy as a bee. In 1896 he made his first trip into the forests of the West as the professional forester member of the newly appointed National Forest Commission. Henry S. Graves, who later succeeded Pinchot as Chief of the Forest Service, accompanied him. On this trip some of the forests of Montana, southern Oregon, California and Colorado were examined by Pinchot and other members of the National Forest Commission. Mr. Graves also looked over parts of the forest area along the Cascade Mountains.

Following this trip the Commission recommended the creation of 13 new "Forest Reserves" based on descriptions worked up by Gifford Pinchot. One of these, the Mount Rainier Forest Reserve in Washington, was included in President Cleveland's Proclamation of February 22, 1897, creating 21,279,840 acres of forest reserves recommended by the Commission. In 1933 the renamed Rainier National Forest was divided between the Columbia and Snoqualmie National Forests. Thus, eight years before the establishment of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot played an important part in having set aside for public use the northern end of the Forest which now bears his name. The southern portion, the original Columbia National Forest, was established by presidential proclamation in 1908,

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three years after the "Reserves" had been placed under the jurisdiction of the newly established Forest Service with Gifford Pinchot as Chief Forester.

In the summer of 1897 Pinchot again came West, this time to explore and report on the forest reserves as a confidential Forest Agent for Secretary of the Interior Bliss. After an examination of the Priest Lake Forest Reserve in Idaho he came to the State of Washington, went up Lake Chelan to Bridge Creek and then horseback to Rainy Pass, Horseshoe Basin and through Cascade Pass to the Skagit River. He spent three days on foot exploring the country on and around Columbia Peak, and then went on to the Hoh River Divide by way of Soleduck Hot Springs. He and one companion then went down the Bogachiel River to Sappho afoot.

On July 1, 1898 Pinchot became Chief of the Forestry Division in the Department of Agriculture. The division, consisting of 11 people counting the Chief, had heretofore done little except conduct studies and publish the forestry information obtained.

Under Pinchot the work was greatly expanded to include free assistance to farmers, lumbermen and private timberland owners, the preparation of working plans and assistance on the ground. By the end of his first year as Chief requests had come from 35 States.

In July, 1899, Pinchot again visited the State of Washington. In the Forest Service files are photographs of logged-off and burned forest land in Pierce County, which he made while in the vicinity of the present Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

Considering the inaccessibility of the country in and adjacent to the forest reserves over 50 years ago, an amazingly large amount of first hand information on western forests was obtained by Pinchot. He got it the hard way by traveling afoot or horseback, wading or swimming turbulent streams, sleeping under the trees and cooking over campfires. Pinchot's version was that this was the most enjoyable part of his job; the human element presented the greatest difficulty. Getting the public aroused to the need for forest conservation was the hard job.

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Gifford Pinchot died in 1946. Throughout his entire career he was an active crusader for forestry and conservation.

## The Gifford Pinchot National Forest

On June 15, 1949, when President Truman's proclamation changed the name of the Columbia National Forest to Gifford Pinchot National Forest, the net area of the Forest was 1,263,328 acres. It ranks third in size among all of the National Forests in the State of Washington. It is first in volume of commercial timber.

The original Columbia National Forest which was established by Presidential Proclamation in 1908 was a relatively small unit until 1933 when the Rainier National Forest was divided between the Snoqualmie and Columbia Forests. At that time, what are now the Randle and Packwood Ranger Districts, were added to the Columbia making it a composite of the Columbia and the old Rainier in the establishment of which Gifford Pinchot played such an important part back in 1897.

The Gifford Pinchot National Forest is in southwestern Washington. It extends from the southern boundary of Mt. Rainier National Park south to the Columbia River near the mouth of the Little White Salmon River. Elsewhere its southern edge is from 2 to 13 miles from the Columbia River. Most of the forest is west of the summit of the Cascade Mountains and is drained by tributaries of the Columbia River, the largest of which are the Cowlitz and Lewis rivers which flow westerly and Wind and White Salmon Rivers which flow south. Two tributaries of the Cowlitz, the Cispus and Toutle Rivers are noteworthy also because the former traverses the huge Cispus burn and the latter heads at Spirit Lake, renowned for its scenic beauty.

The elevation of the Forest ranges from slightly over 100 feet along the Columbia River to 12,307 feet at the summit of Mt. Adams. The next highest peak is St. Helens, which towers over Spirit Lake with a height of 9,671 feet. Some of the peaks in the Goat Rocks Wild Area are over 8,000 feet in elevation, well above timberline. The topography of most of the forest is rugged. In the southeast end, in the vicinity of Trout Lake, lava flows and ice caves present interesting natural phenomena.

Viewed from a distance, the general impression of the Forest is that of an intricate network of high, tree-clad ridges and deep valleys, surmounted by the snow capped volcanic cones of St. Helens and Adams and the pinnacles of the Goat Rocks with the glistening glaciers on lofty Mt. Rainier visible in the distance.

### Timber Resources

Despite the early-day conflagrations, such as the Yacolt and Cispus fires which swept this area and some serious fires which occurred after the establishment of the Rainier and Columbia National Forests, the Gifford Pinchot has 16½ billion board feet of commercial timber. Douglas-fir predominates. Western red cedar, western hemlock, silver and noble fir and also ponderosa pine in the southeastern end of the forest are the other important species. Western white pine, Engelmann spruce, western larch and mountain hemlock occur in smaller quantities. In 1948, 93 million board feet of timber were harvested from this Forest. As inaccessible timber stands are opened up by access roads, the annual harvest can be increased to 200 million board feet which is the allowable sustained yield cut for the eight working circles into which the Gifford Pinchot National Forest is divided.

In the dense stands of old growth timber in the Douglas-fir type, clear cutting of small patches or blocks of from 40 to 80 acres is the silvicultural system now being followed on this Forest. Logging operations on the Iron Creek Watershed south of Randle are typical of this area selection cutting. The benefits of this system, such as lower fire hazard, more assurance of natural reforestation and provision for both summer and winter logging can be realized only if the entire watershed is opened up by an access road in the early stages of the operation.

In the ponderosa pine type, the individual tree selection system is followed, in which thrifty bug-resistant pine trees, usually 50% of the merchantable volume, are reserved during the first logging operation.

One of the first forest tree nurseries in the Pacific Northwest was established in 1909 at Wind River in the southeast end of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest. Until 1949, when another Forest Service nursery was started near Bend, Oregon, the Wind River Nursery supplied seedlings to all of the national forests in the Pacific Northwest region. Its normal capacity is 5 million seedlings per year, mostly 2 year old stock. To date on the Gifford Pinchot Forest, 21,560 acres of burned-over and non-restocking land have been reforested with seedlings grown at the Wind River Nursery.

Timber is big business on this Forest as it is elsewhere in most of the Pacific Northwest. It accounted for most of the income of \$647,071 from the Gifford Pinchot Forest in fiscal year 1948. As 25% of national forest receipts are distributed to the counties which have national forests within their boundaries, the protection, management and perpetuation of these public resources are of direct financial concern to the local people. Other sources of income on the Gifford Pinchot Forest are fees charged for grazing 6,600 sheep and 6,200 cattle, and for special uses such as lots for summer homes and various commercial uses.

#### Recreation

The indirect and sometimes less tangible benefits derived from the Gifford Pinchot Forest include protected watersheds which supply water for power, irrigation and municipal use; food and habitat for wildlife, and a wide variety of out-of-doors recreation in areas of outstanding scenic beauty. Wildlife is fairly plentiful, including deer, elk, bear, mountain goat and a variety of game birds and fur-bearers. It is estimated that about 25,000 fishermen and hunters visit the Gifford Pinchot Forest each year and that over 163,000 campers, picnickers and nature lovers in general use the 82 improved forest camps or rough it in the more remote back country such as the Goat Rocks Wild Area where roads and "the comforts of home" are conspicuous by their absence.

Two of the most outstanding beauty spots, Spirit Lake and Bird Creek Meadows, are accessible by auto. The former, at the end of a paved highway from Castle Rock, Washington, is a relatively large, tree-bordered lake which mirrors the reflection of snow-clad Mount St. Helens. A forest road extends 3 miles up the mountain to timberline. Bordering the lake are ample Forest Service facilities for camping and picnicking. Meals, lodging, boats, etc., are available at privately operated resorts.

Bird Creek Meadows is reached by a forest road which extends from Trout Lake to timberline on the southwest slope of Mount Adams. Here in midsummer numerous alpine glades, bordered by glacier-scoured rock outcrops, are carpeted with a

profusion of wild flowers. The huge mass of Mount Adams towers overhead and from its snowfields streams cascade down and through the flower-bedecked meadows.

La Wis Wis forest camp, the scene of the official dedication of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and the site of the plaque commemorating this event, typifies a virgin forest. Douglas-firs and western red-cedars tower over the substantial camp tables, benches and fireplaces, and by comparison make them appear to be doll house furniture. On a timbered flat bordering the pools and rapids of the Cowlitz river the Forest Service has built a community kitchen, tables, benches, fireplaces, a water system and other facilities for several hundred picnickers and campers. This popular recreation area adjoins the uncompleted White Pass highway less than a mile below its junction with the highway which traverses the eastern end of Rainier National Park, past Ohanapecosh Hot Springs, to Chinook Pass. It is 92 miles from Seattle via the Naches highway and 71 miles to the junction with the Pacific highway at Marys Corner.

The Twin Buttes huckleberry fields along the Randle-Trout Lake forest road are popular camping spots. The Indians have camped here and picked huckleberries since the earliest times, according to their tribal legends. Nowadays residents of Portland, Vancouver and neighboring communities far outnumber the Indians at the forest camps developed by the Forest Service. It is estimated that in 1948, 20,000 gallons of huckleberries were taken out from this area by 10,000 people who combined berry picking with a summer outing.

#### National Forest Administration

The administration and protection of the publicly owned resources of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest are in charge of the Forest Supervisor at Vancouver, Washington. He is assisted by a small staff of specialists and clerks. The Forest is divided into six administrative units or districts, each in charge of a district ranger who is the business manager handling all activities on the ground. The headquarters of the ranger districts are located as follows: Mt. Adams district at Trout Lake, Lewis River district at Kelso, Randle district at Randle, Wind River district at Hemlock Ranger Station near Carson, Spirit Lake district at Spirit Lake Ranger Station (post office Castle Rock), and Packwood district at Packwood. The rangers supervise the work of scalers, timber sale assistants, road and other improvement crews and during the fire season, the lookouts and firemen whose primary duty is to prevent, detect and suppress forest fires. At present there are 60 yearlong and 200 seasonal employees handling all of the activities on the Forest.

The Gifford Pinchot is one of the 150 national forests in continental United States, Alaska and Puerto Rico, all of which constitute a combined area of about 180,000,000 acres under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture. These national forests are grouped in 10 regions. Each of the latter is in charge of a Regional Forester who is responsible to the Chief of the Forest Service in Washington, D. C.

All of the national forests are dedicated to the proposition that conservation is wise use. They are administered under the policy inaugurated February 1, 1905 when Gifford Pinchot became the Chief of the newly established Forest Service. The highlights of this policy are: "All national forest land is to be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people. All of the resources (of the national forests) are for use and this use must be brought about in a thoroughly prompt and businesslike manner, under such restrictions only as will insure the permanence of these resources.....Where conflicting

interests must be reconciled, the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

In line with these policies the Forest Service applies two basic principles in the management of national forest resources. One of these is the principle of "sustained yield." For timber this means that the forest is managed for maximum continuous production of timber of desirable kinds. For all resources the objective of sustained yield is maximum use without impairing productivity.

The other basic principle is called "multiple use". That is the coordinated development and use of all the resources and values of national forest land -- timber, forage, wildlife, scenery, water, and the soil itself. A combination of several uses is usually possible on the same area and the Forest Service holds that multiple use will give the highest total of public services and benefits. It might be added that the natural resources lend themselves to this type of use better than the human element. The demands of various users sometimes cause conflicts which must be adjusted. Groups interested in the use of one resource are given their fair share, but not exclusive use which would bar the use of other resources by other groups.

With full development the benefits of the national forests to the people of the United States can be greatly increased. Using the Gifford Pinchot National Forest as an example, this public property can be made to serve the Nation, and particularly local communities, better by more timber stand improvement work, more planting of old burns and other deforested areas, more intensive control work on forest insects and diseases, and more access roads to open up inaccessible timber stands, and then more timber sale personnel to handle the additional sales which would be forthcoming. Practically all of the above items represent self-liquidating investments. For example, an adequate access road system would enable the Gifford Pinchot Forest to more than double the present output of timber and bring the annual cut up to the allowable sustained yield cut in each working circle, which totals 200 billion board feet for the entire Forest.

The constantly increasing recreation use calls for additional facilities to safeguard the forest users and to protect the forest from man-caused fires as well as to provide for the enjoyment of the recreationists. The Gifford Pinchot Forest has so much to offer in the way of out-of-doors recreation that it will quickly outgrow the present facilities for caring for forest visitors. Most of the existing recreation improvements were installed over 10 years ago by Civilian Conservation Corps workers.

Water is becoming increasingly important in the Northwest. Research in watershed management is needed to point the way to securing "favorable conditions of water flows" which was one of the stated purposes in the 1897 act which provided for administration of the "forest reservations".

The Yacolt, Cispus and Lewis River fires in the past killed billions of feet of commercial timber and left as a liability hundreds of thousands of acres of snags. These vast snag areas make the job of protecting the Gifford Pinchot Forest from fire unusually difficult and costly. There is need for maintenance of fire control facilities and expansion to keep pace with the hazards caused by the increasing uses being made of the Forest and its resources.

The American people have reason to be proud of their national forests, and the Gifford Pinchot Forest is an outstanding example of these. Natural resources are the foundation of our national economy and the Gifford Pinchot Forest is richly endowed with resources, particularly timber which is so vital to the economy of the Pacific Northwest.

It was largely through the efforts of Gifford Pinchot that the people of the United States still own these resources. The Forest Service, which also owes its existence largely to the untiring efforts of this farsighted forester, is endeavoring to manage this public property in the best interests of its owners. The Gifford Pinchot National Forest as it is today is proof of the wisdom, foresight, courage and workmanship of the man whose name it now bears.



GIFFORD PINCHOT NATIONAL FOREST STATISTICS

Volume of standing timber	16.5 Billion Feet
allowable annual sustained yield cut, approx.	200 Million Board Feet
Annual cut calendar year 1948	93 Million Board Feet
Number of working circles	8
Annual production of Wind River Nursery - Produces two year old trees for forest plantings in the nineteen national forests of Oregon and Washington	5 Million Trees
Net receipts fiscal year 1948	\$647,071
Expenditures fiscal year 1948 (appropriated funds)	\$348,000
Receipts distributed to six S. W. Washington Counties, 1948	\$161,767
Number sheep grazed annually	6,600
Number cattle grazed annually	1,200
Number improved forest camps	82
Number Recreationists - Campers, Picnickers and Hikers visiting the Forest in 1948	163,500
Number yearlong employees	60
Number yearlong and seasonal employees	260
Number Ranger Districts (Mt. Adams, Lewis River, Randle, Wind River, Spirit Lake, Packwood)	6
Miles forest roads	655 miles
Miles forest trails	2,101 miles
Miles telephone lines	843 miles
National Forest area:	
Net area	1,263,328 acres
Alienated area	158,220 acres
Gross area	1,407,791 acres

## GIFFORD PINCHOT

### 14. GIFFORD PINCHOT ON HISTORY

History written from personal recollection, fortified by documents, impresses me more and more as I grow older. There are many portions of the American story of Forestry and Conservation which never will be rightly understood unless the men who had a part in them supply the background of facts actually experienced, which alone can explain what the documents really mean.

FROM: Gifford Pinchot, Breaking New Ground, "On Writing History", p. xxiii.

### 15. GIFFORD PINCHOT ON CONSERVATION

The conservation of natural resources is the key to the safety and prosperity of the American people, and all the people of the world, for all time to come. The very existence of our Nation, and of all the rest, depends on conserving the resources which are the foundations of its life. That is why conservation is the greatest material question of all.

FROM: Gifford Pinchot, Breaking New Ground, p. 324.



(1865 - 1946)

IMAGES OF  
GIFFORD PINCHOT'S  
PAST

1. ABOUT GIFFORD PINCHOT  
1865-1946

Gifford Pinchot was born August 11, 1865 in Simsbury, Connecticut. He received his A.B. degree from Yale University in 1889, his A.M. in 1901, and his LL.D. in 1925; The first natural born American to receive formal instruction in forestry, he studies at the National School of Waters and Forests, Nancy, France, in 1900. In January 1892, he began the first systematic forest management on the Biltmore forest in North Carolina. He was in Private consulting practice for several years thereafter, and in 1896 was a member of the Forest Commission appointed by the National Academy of Sciences that recommended creation of the forest reserve (now thenational forests) from the public domain, and that was responsible for the Forest Reserve Act of 1897 that provided for their administration and protection. In 1896 he was appointed chief of the Division of Forestry, United States Department of Agriculture, and in 1907 were renamed the national forests. During his administration of the national forests they were increased from 51 million acres in area in 1901 to 175 million acres by 1910. He was an organizer of the White House Governors' Conference on Natural Resources of May 1908, and was chairman of the subsequent National Conservation Commission that compiled the first inventory of the country's natural resources. Dismissed as chief of the Forest Service by the President in 1910, he organized and became president of the National Conservation Association. From 1920 to 1922, he was Commissioner of the Department of Forestry, later Secretary of the Department of Forests and Waters, in Pennsylvania; Governor of Pennsylvania, 1923-27 and 1931-35. In 1900 he founded the School of Forestry at Yale University and also the Society of American Foresters. He was the author of numerous papers and reports on conservation topics. The foremost conservationist of his era, He died on October 4, 1946.

FROM: Leaders of American Conservation by Henry Clepper. The Ronald Press Company, New York, New York, 1971.

PINCHOT PHOTO CAPTIONS  
AND I.D. NUMBERS

2. Engelmann Spruce (*Picea Engelmanni*) and Alpine Fir (*Abies Lasiocarpa*), August 1897.  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot in 1897 near peaks south of Rainy Pass in the Coleville National Forest, Washington
3. Canton's Ranch - 1897  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot in 1897 in Kankisu National Forest, Idaho
4. Glenbrook - Carson Stage 1899  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot in Douglas County near Lake Tahoe, Nevada
5. Historical Trees, California, 1899  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot in 1899 in the Stanislaus National Forest in California. The big tree "General Grant" is at the left and "General Sherman" is at right. John Muir is walking in the path.
6. Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, John Muir and Others in a Sequoia Grove  
Taken in Yosemite National Park, California
7. John Muir in Front on Hop Vine  
Presented by John Muir. Portrait taken in Yosemite National Park, California
8. Cedars of Lebanon Planted in 1735 in Geneva, Switzerland  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot in 1885. These Cedars of Lebanon (*Cedar libani*) were planted in 1735 in Geneva, Switzerland from seed brought from Lebanon by Bernard de Jusesieu.
9. Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the forest Service, 1905-1910. Washington, D.C.

PINCHOT PHOTO CAPTIONS  
AND I.D. NUMBERS

10. Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot on the Trip down The Mississippi in 1907. This picture of Gifford Pinchot and President Theodore Roosevelt was taken on the trip October 1907 of the Inland Waterway Commission down the Mississippi, made as a means of awakening interest in the development of our inland waterways.
11. Gifford Pinchot in His Library at Pinchot Estate, Milford, Pa.
12. Gifford Pinchot Coming Up Pennsylvania Avenue.  
Taken during the Inaugural Parade - March 4, 1925, in Washington, D.C.
13. Signing of the Presidential Proclamation - 1949  
Photograph taken during the signing of the proclamation which changed the name of the Columbia National Forest.

Left to Right:

Dana Parkinson, Chief, Div. of I & E. Forest Service; E.W. Loveridge, Assist. Chief, Forest Service; Wesley McCune (behind heads of Loveridge and Hopkins); Howard Hopkins, Assist. Chief, Forest Service; Christopher Granger, Assist. Chief, Forest Service; Richard E. McArdle, Assist. Chief, Forest Service; President Harry S. Truman; Raymond E. Marsh, Asinine. Chief, Forest Service; Dr. Gifford Bryce Pinchot, son of Gifford Pinchot (First Chief of Forest Service); Gifford Pinchot (nicknamed Sandy) age 6, grandson of Gifford Pinchot; Secretary of Agriculture, Charles F. Brannon; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Mather (Secretary to Mrs. Gifford Pinchot); Lyle F. Watts, Chief, Forest Service.  
Taken by World Wide Photos, Inc., June 15, 1949

\* \* \*

". . . It is impossible to repair the damage in time to escape much suffering, although not too late to work hard to reduce it as much as we can."

Pinchot recommended the publication of his speech manuscript as a Farmers' Bulletin by letter of April 16, 1908 to the Secretary of Agriculture.

3. In Pinchot's book, THE FIGHT FOR CONSERVATION, published August 1910, there appears on pages 14 and 15 the following:

"The lowest estimate reached by the Forest Service of the timber now standing in the United States is 1,400 billion feet, board measure; the highest, 2,500 billion. The present annual consumption is approximately 100 billion feet, while the annual growth is but a third of the consumption, or from 30 to 40 billion feet. If we accept the larger estimate of the standing timber, 2,500 billion feet, and the larger estimate of the annual growth, 40 billion feet, and apply the present rate of consumption, the result shows a probable duration of our supplies of timber of little more than a single generation."

"Estimates of this kind are almost inevitably misleading. For example, it is certain that the rate of consumption of timber will increase enormously in the future, as it has in the past, so long as supplies remain to draw upon. Exact knowledge of many other factors is needed before closely accurate results can be obtained. The figures cited are, however, sufficiently reliable to make it certain that the United States has already crossed the verge of a timber famine so severe that its blighting effects will be felt in every household in the land. The rise in the price of lumber which marked the opening of the present century is the beginning of a vastly greater and more rapid rise which is to come. We must necessarily begin to suffer from the scarcity of timber long before our supplies are completely exhausted." (All underscoring in above two paragraphs added)

Later in the same book, on page 123, there appears the following:

"We have timber for less than thirty years at the present rate of cutting. The figures indicate that our demands upon the forest have increased twice as fast as our population." (Underscoring added)

This book by Pinchot is largely a composite of his speeches and magazine articles which appeared in the two years prior to its publication, according to statements in the Introduction.

4. To go a little beyond your request--you may be interested to know that there appeared in President Theodore Roosevelt's address opening the White House Conference of Governors on Natural Resources, on May 13, 1908, the following:

"No wise use of a farm exhausts its fertility. So with the forests. We are over the verge of a timber famine in this country, and it is unpardonable for the Nation or the States to permit any further cutting of our timber save in accordance with a system which will provide that the next generation shall see the timber increased instead of diminished." (Underscoring added)

In addition, the Declaration of the Governors forthcoming from that same Conference also talked about our natural resources being "threatened with exhaustion" and of "our diminishing timber supply."

Pinchot may have had a hand in these two statements--the President's speech and the Declaration of the Governors--although in his book, "Breaking New Ground," he says that "McGee was chiefly responsible."

This was Dr. W. J. McGee, long-time friend and associate of Pinchot, and head of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1901 and later an erosion expert in the Bureau of Soils. Pinchot and McGee served together as members of the Inland Waterways Commission and as members of the Conference Committee.

5. With respect to the other part of your request as to what were the circumstances prompting the statement by Pinchot warning of a timber famine, I can provide only conjecture.

- a. The statements came at the time Pinchot was riding the crest of the wave of his campaign for conservation and development of the Nation's resources. In rapid succession he had just been successful in getting the forest reserves transferred to Agriculture, in arousing the interest of the President in forestry, in enlarging the forest reserves, in enlarging his own horizons to other natural resources fields by becoming a member of the Inland Waterways Commission, and by being made chairman of the Conference Committee for the then forthcoming White House Governors' Conference on Natural Resources. It was at this time he made the timber famine statements and I believe he was trying with all his energy and virility to arouse the public to action to carry out for the long run the conservation cause for which he was fighting and for the short-term goal of making the Governors' Conference a success insofar as attendance and participation was concerned. And there is no doubt that in the latter he was highly successful.
- b. On the other hand, maybe Pinchot actually believed that we were running out of timber. Perhaps he actually felt that he could not activate soon enough a program of forest development and conservation of the size and scope that would be needed to reverse the trend of the tremendous imbalance between use and destruction and growth that was occurring at that time, without at least shocking or scaring into action the public in general, and governments in particular.

With further searching perhaps I might be able to find other reasons for Pinchot's "timber famine" statements. Not sure how long I should spend on this. If you would like for me to search further I would be glad to do so if you think the additional time is warranted.



Martha Combe

12/29/61

Dr. McArdle:

Pursuant to your note regarding the alleged statement by Pinchot warning of a "timber famine," I have found the following:

1. In the REPORT OF THE FORESTER FOR 1907, transmitted by Pinchot to the Secretary on December 3, 1907, there appears in the Summary twelve "Events of the Year," one of which is as follows (page 4):

"A far more active and intelligent realization on the part of the public throughout the entire country of the practical importance of forest preservation and the need of concerted action to avert the calamity of an exhausted timber supply."

2. In Farmers' Bulletin No. 327, entitled "The Conservation of Natural Resources," and issued by USDA on 4/30/08, the substance of which constituted an address by Pinchot before the National Geographic Society in Washington on January 31, 1908, there appears on page 8 the following:

"A third of the land surface of this country was originally covered with what were, all in all, the most magnificent forests of the globe--a million square miles of timberland. In the short time, as time counts in the life of nations, we have been here we have all but reached the end of these forests. We thought it unimportant until lately that we have been destroying by fire as much timber as we have used. But we have now reached the point where the growth of our forests is but one-third of the annual cut, while we have in store timber enough for only twenty or thirty years at our present rate of use. This wonderful development, which would have been impossible without the cutting of the forests, has brought us where we really face their exhaustion within the present generation. And we use five or six times as much timber per capita as the European nations. A timber famine will touch every man, woman, and child in all the land; it will affect the daily life of every one of us; and yet without consideration, without forecast, and without foresight, we have placed ourselves, not deliberately but thoughtlessly, in a position where a timber famine is one of the inevitable events of our near future." (Underscoring added)

# "A Christmas Carol"

By Charles Dickens.

WILL BE RECITED BY

**Mr. Edward A. Mead**

of New York,

(219 West 12th Street.)

This most charming and delightful CHRISTMAS STORY tells how Scrooge "a grasping, scraping, clutching, covetous old sinner" was changed to "as good a friend, as good a master, as good a man as the good old city knew."

STAVE I.—The Dead Partner. Christmas Eve. Scrooge in his Counting House. Bob Cratchit in his Tank. "A Merry Christmas, Uncle!" "Bah! Humbug!" "The Surplus Population." Marley's Ghost.

STAVE II.—The Spirit of Christmas Past. Old Fezziwig's Ball.

STAVE III.—Spirit of Christmas Present. Bob Cratchit's Christmas Dinner. Tiny Tim, Topper and the Plump Sister.

STAVE IV.—Spirit of Christmas to Come. Men on 'Change. Scrooge's Tombstone. The Bedpost.

STAVE V.—A Changed Man. An Altered Life. "God bless us, every one!"



## OTHER RECITALS

By MR. MEAD.

### "A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM"

By SHAKESPEARE.

With Mendelssohn's Musical Accompaniment.

### "ENOCH ARDEN,"

By TENNYSON.

With accompanying music by Richard Strauss.

### "THE MERCHANT OF VENICE"

By SHAKESPEARE.

### "JULIUS CAESAR"

By SHAKESPEARE.

### "THE RIVALS"

By SHERIDAN.

### "THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE"

By CHARLES RANS KENNEDY.

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS.



# RICH MEN IN UNCLE SAM'S EMPLOY



**R**ICH young men in this country are finding a new field for their activities. Instead of leading ordinary lives, they are going into the government service.

Take the case of Gifford Pinchot, for example. Not many years out of Yale College, he is already head of the forest service, and one of the foremost men in the administrative control of national affairs.

Mr. Pinchot has millions. Not so rich, but very wealthy is young Beekman Winthrop, who is only 34 years of age. Starting in life with everything that ordinary men work to gain, he prefers labor to idleness. In his new place of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he feels as hard as if he depended upon his salary for his bread and butter.

John A. McIlhenny is another rich young man, barely 30 years of age. His wealth is estimated anywhere from \$2,000,000 to \$10,000,000, yet he works all day long, six days in every week, in a staid by office at the headquarters of the civil service commission in Washington. The day, from a year, is no object to him.

It is getting to be the fashion for rich young men to go into the government service. Government work offers an attractive career to the millionaire who has the right sort of stuff in him, and who does not want to loaf. There is a chance to get out into the open, and possibly to accomplish something big, and it is a new idea, but it is taking hold.

## Formerly Sought Diplomatic Posts.

Until very recently rich men who went into the public service were considered to restrict their ambitions to diplomacy. They wanted places out in the world, where they could amuse themselves in an agreeable social way, without being bothered with work. Now and

then, if they chanced to possess brains, they went to Congress. But that was different.

The reason why it was different is that congressmen pursue their legislative duties only half of the year, during the remaining six months they are at liberty to pursue other employments or to amuse themselves if they wish. But it is altogether otherwise with the men who hold down such government jobs as those of Pinchot, McIlhenny, and Winthrop. They must struggle for at least eleven months out of the twelve.

Think of the case of McIlhenny. What is there attractive from his point of view in the job of civil service commissioner—sitting all summer long at a desk in Washington, when he might just as well be playing golf or off on a yacht? What is the use of being a millionaire if one is to slave and pore over uninteresting government documents? The work has not even the advantage of being picturesque.

Be it realized that McIlhenny is the tallestest trust. He is the biggest pepper grower in this country. When not occupied with civil service business he is putting up the hottest kind of pepper sauce. Perhaps that is why he does not mind Washington summer heat. He is used to hot stuff, and likes it.

McIlhenny rode into Washington with the Rough Riders at the beginning of the Roosevelt administration. It will be remembered that they got most of the odd jobs under the government that were being ground loose at that time. He himself had been a trooper in Roosevelt's command, and was promoted to be second lieutenant for gallantry in action at San Juan Hill. Persons who suppose that Mr. Roosevelt performed all the gallantry on that historic occasion are mistaken. McIlhenny did some, and so far excited the approval of the future President as

to obtain for himself at a later date a commissionership of the civil service.

## The Case of Winthrop.

Now, in regard to Beekman Winthrop. It must be admitted that a man who at 34 years of age has done important things in the Philippines, held the job of governor of Porto Rico, been an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and wound up for the time being in the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy (Roosevelt's old place, before he went in the war), must have considerable stuff in him.

Such is, in fact, the case. Mr. Taft met Winthrop out in the Philippines, a few years ago, and liked him. This is what gave the young man his first push ahead. At Taft's suggestion Roosevelt made him a governor of Porto Rico, in which office he distinguished himself to an extent altogether exceptional. On resigning that place he was put into the Treasury Department as an Assistant Secretary.

When Mr. Roosevelt went out of office it was well understood that young Winthrop was to be provided for. The Assistant Secretaryship of State seemed to be just the place for him. In fact, everybody supposed that the matter was entirely settled. But one morning Winthrop read in the paper that Mr. Knox was going to appoint an entirely new kind of official—an undersecretary, who was to be superior to the first assistant.

Winthrop had no notion of finding himself a subordinate of the second rank. He went at once to Mr. Knox and told him that the job of the First Assistant Secretary had no further attractions for him. In short, he handed it back to Mr. Knox. Government employment being a matter of no consequence whatever to him from a financial standpoint, he could afford to be independent. Doubtless it was the last policy any way. At all events, Mr. Taft saw fit to soothe his feelings by making him Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which is quite as desirable a posi-

tion as even an undersecretaryship in the Department of State.

Winthrop is a very handsome man, a particularly nice fellow, and popular everywhere. Everybody likes him, and he has the reputation of being earnest, sincere, and, above all, square. It is no possible to say of any man much better things than these.

As for Gifford Pinchot, everybody knows a good deal about him already. He is a bachelor, an only son, and, already a millionaire, will inherit additional millions. Together with his father, who was a very wealthy merchant, he founded the forest school at Yale University.

## Pinchot Great Sportsman.

Pinchot has been for many years the most eligible bachelor in Washington. But he cares nothing for women, apparently. What he likes is work, and lot of it. Also he is a good deal of a sportsman. It is said that he can outride, outwalk, and outshoot the toughest foresters on the wide national domain. In addition, he is quite a famous fisherman, having made some record catches of tuna and other great fishes at Catalina Island on the California coast.

Tall, thin almost to emaciation, with the look and habits of an ascetic, Gifford Pinchot has never the air of being a leisure. Much of his time is spent in traveling about the country on duty connected with the forest service. When a home, in his white palace on Scott circle he is always busy. And his work is no without fruit. As a senator said the other day in the course of a speech, he has built up the forest service within a few years from an establishment costing \$2,000 per annum to a bureau that is one of the greatest under the government, calling for an annual appropriation of over a million dollars.

Pinchot is a great friend of Roosevelt's.

GENE BACHIE

File Pinchot  
Pisgah  
G. Pinchot N.F.

Change of Name of Columbia National Forest to Gifford Pinchot NF

(June 15, 1949 by Proclamation 2845; 14 CFR 3273m 63 Stat. 1277)

Former Chief of Forest Service, Dr. Richard E. McArdle, stated in phone conversation with Frank J. Harmon of FS History Section, WO, February 9, 1982, the following:

It was very difficult for the Forest Service to get a National Forest renamed with the name of Gifford Pinchot. There was a strong feeling within the agency after his death that he should be honored with a Forest in his name. The Forest that seemed the most appropriate to most was the Pisgah National Forest in the Southern Appalachian Mountains in western North Carolina, the first one proclaimed in the East under the Weeks Act of 1911 (in 1916). However, when local residents were approached, they were mostly violently opposed, and their Congressmen sided with them. Pisgah is of course a Biblical name, so this probably was a large factor.

The Forest Service was forced to find another Forest to be so honored, and after some consideration the Columbia was selected. Pinchot had spent some time on that Forest examining the trees and terrain during an inspection trip in the late 1890's.

When the proposal was made locally there was little opposition to the change, and so it was made.

Not long thereafter, however, the Forest Service decided on a policy of strongly resisting the naming or renaming of National Forests after individuals.

It could foresee numerous problems arising unless it took such a stand.

On June 6, 1942, the former Black Warrior (a former Indian chief) National Forest in Alabama was renamed William B. Bankhead to honor the former Senator who was a prominent supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt. (P.L. 595; 56 Stat. 327.)

A movement to honor other politicians could have resulted in a rash of such actions.

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(The Clark National Forest in Missouri was proclaimed Sept. 11, 1939 (Procl. 2363; 4 CFR 3908; 54 Stat. 2657), at the same time as the Mark Twain in the same State. At the time there was local sentiment to honor both Senator Champ Clark of Missouri and Cpt. Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Northwest. No first name was used so that both groups would be satisfied. There was some opposition to naming the Mark Twain National Forest for the author Samuel Clemens, since he did not have a long personal association with Missouri, but since his stories had drawn much public attention to the River and State, the Forest was so named. Today it also covers the old Clark National Forest. (The merger was made so that all counties could share in revenue from the lead mining on the Mark Twain.)

~~Seven~~ Eight

~~Five~~ National Forests are named after frontiersmen and early military men:

Daniel Boone, Kentucky; Davy Crockett, Texas; (Kit) Carson, New Mex.; (John) Fremont,

~~Calif.~~ Oregon; (Zebulon) Pike, Colorado; (Capt) Custer (Mont. and So. Dak.);

(Samuel) Houston, Texas; (Merriwether) Lewis and ( ) Clark, Montana. A Powell National Forest in Utah was consolidated with the Dixie, Jan. 19, 1945.

Four National Forests are named after Presidents: George Washington, Virginia;

Jefferson, Virginia; (Theodore) Roosevelt, Colorado; and (Grover) Cleveland, Calif.

Another, Gallatin, Montana, commemorates the name of a mid-1800's Secretary of Treasury.

Robert Carr - Fiscal

1. Granger Thye Act

Under this authority FS can agree to deposit funds collect~~ed~~ for special purpose.

There is a trust authority.

There is also a special use permit.

If group occupies part of bldg group can be billed accordingly or this can be waived by Chief.

Legal

There is a Department Statute ~~xxx~~ 7 USC 2237 (copy is being sent to this office)

This permits department to accept property, money, furnishings etc for special uses.

THE MEN OF GREY TOWERS

Grey Towers justly deserves recognition as a monument to forestry and conservation in America. Closely associated with the estate were three men--James, Gifford, and Amos Pinchot--who were all prominent in the conservation movement in this country. James Pinchot, who built Grey Towers, was one of the early proponents of forestry in America. His sons, Gifford and Amos, contributed heavily to the success of the conservation movement. These men endowed the Yale University School of Forestry in 1900, and for more than twenty years made their Milford, Pa. estate available to the University for summer school and field work.

In particular Grey Towers is associated with Gifford Pinchot, for whom the place was home both as a child and during most of his adult life. His renown as the Nation's most distinguished conservation leader gives to Grey Towers an association with conservation that fortunately shall be maintained and preserved through the Pinchot Institute for Conservation Studies.

James Pinchot made an important contribution to conservation simply by influencing his son Gifford to study an almost unknown science--forestry. By doing this he gave the Nation its first professionally trained forester and one of the principal architects of the entire concept of conservation. He was also one of the early members and a vice president of the American Forestry Association. He was neither an expert on trees nor a scientist, but a successful businessman of New York; nevertheless, he had a natural concern for forestry that he had developed during frequent trips to Europe where he saw forestry in practice. Before his death in 1908 he saw forestry firmly established in America, and his son as a national leader in that movement.

Gifford Pinchot was the eldest of three Pinchot children (Gifford, Antoinette, and Amos) and became the most prominent member of his family. He was the first Chief of the Forest Service, a close confidant of Theodore Roosevelt on the management of natural resources, twice governor of Pennsylvania, and throughout his life one of the Nation's leading conservationists.

Although Amos Pinchot did not achieve the national fame of his brother, he contributed substantially to the conservation movement. He was a practicing attorney in New York and on many occasions worked with his brother on legal, political and public relations problems related to their conservation activities. He ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1912 as a supporter of Theodore Roosevelt, and remained active for some years with the Progressive Party. He was an officer of the National Conservation Association and shared with Gifford a strong concern for conservation of natural resources for public benefit. He constantly supported liberal causes, demonstrating throughout his life the Roosevelt policy that the public good comes first.

Gifford Pinchot lived a life of action and distinction for 81 years, yet in just two decades of that life he raised forestry and conservation of all resources from an unknown experiment to a nationwide movement. He made the Nation conscious of the need to protect its forests, developed a ten-man office into a Forest Service administering a nationwide system of forest reserves, and made conservation a public issue and a national policy.

Gifford Pinchot graduated from Yale in 1889 and studied forestry in France, Germany, Switzerland and Austria for thirteen months. He brought forestry to America first as resident forester on George Vanderbilt's estate, Biltmore, near Asheville, North Carolina. While at Biltmore he organized a forestry exhibit for the Chicago World's Fair (1894) demonstrating forestry in Europe and his efforts in North Carolina. For that exhibit he wrote and published "Biltmore Forestry," the first of his many publications and articles.

Gifford Pinchot moved rapidly into national prominence. In 1896 he was appointed to a seven-man National Forest Commission of the National Academy of Sciences. The purpose of this commission, of which he was Secretary, was to study the need for protecting the forested portions of the public domain. A direct result of the Commission's work was the establishment by President Cleveland of 13 new forest reserves (later called National Forests) comprising 21 million acres, or more than the entire area of the existing forest reserves. Following the Commission's formal report, an organic act was passed in Congress providing authority for the management of the forest reserves.

Pinchot's next contribution was as a "special forest agent" for the Department of the Interior. For the greater part of 1897 he surveyed the forest reserves, recommended boundary adjustments and drew up an organization plan for a Forest Service. Although his survey was a valuable help in establishing a system of management, his suggestion for a Forest Service was not adopted, and responsibility for managing the forest reserves was vested in the General Land Office.

After completing this first assignment, he again entered government service in 1898, this time in the Department of Agriculture. For a period of twelve years following he wrought a major change in the Nation's attitude towards its natural resources. The new work started when Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson asked Gifford Pinchot to become the new Chief of the Department's ten-man Division of Forestry.

Pinchot entered the job under provisions of the Civil Service, taking the title of Forester. He had no forests to administer and his small staff had previously limited its work to research. But Gifford Pinchot immediately brought forestry out into the open; he offered technical forestry assistance to timberland owners who requested it. His Division was swamped with requests, but by using student help and such professionally trained men as were available, he brought forestry for the first time to a sizeable portion of the woods of America.

Under the force of popular demand the Division of Forestry grew and showed evidence of solid accomplishment. In 1901 the Division became the Bureau of Forestry. As demand for assistance grew, the Bureau absorbed nearly all of the foresters that were then being trained at the few newly established schools of forestry. (The Pinchot family itself had endowed the Yale Forestry School in 1905.)

The most important development under Pinchot's leadership was the establishment of the National Forest System under the administration of the Forest Service. In 1905, after much popular agitation, the Bureau was given responsibility for administration of the 63,000,000 acres of Forest Reserves. The Reserves were renamed National Forests and the Bureau became the Forest Service. This was the foundation for the present system of 154 National Forests and 19 National Grasslands totaling 186 million acres in 41 States.

G.P.'s dynamic leadership and the Bureau's six years work on private woodlands prepared the new Forest Service for its new and greatly increased responsibility. Regulations were adopted for efficient administration of the resources, and a Use Book was published to explain to career employees and the public how National Forests could be used and enjoyed. In 1908 Pinchot decentralized the Forest Service, laying the groundwork for a flexible organization that continues to meet expanding responsibilities with expanding services to the American people.

During these years of development Pinchot traveled the United States by railroad, stagecoach, wagon, horseback, and on foot, seeing first-hand the forests that he was to administer. He had an enthusiasm for the rugged outdoor life that was much akin to that of Theodore Roosevelt, with whom he worked so closely.

As Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot had a hand in formulating many of Theodore Roosevelt's conservation policies and in arousing public interest against continued waste of natural resources. In particular Pinchot played a leading role in establishing the Inland Waterways Commission in 1907, and in promoting the White House Conference on Conservation of Natural Resources in 1908. At the White House Conference a total of 34 governors attended, as well as many distinguished scientists and other leading government officials.

Another major Pinchot contribution was a new word in the common vocabulary-- "conservation." He conceived the idea of universal interdependence between man and natural resources; from this he evolved the theory that the wise use of natural resources is the very foundation of the life of a nation, that without conservation no nation could remain strong. The word "conservation" was chosen to describe the coordinated action to maintain and protect natural resources for all generations. Conservation thus became one of the major accomplishments of the Roosevelt administration.

Pinchot continued to serve as Chief Forester under President Taft. His feelings about public land policies soon involved him in a major controversy, the Ballinger-Pinchot dispute, for which he was dismissed by President Taft in 1910. Although his uncompromising stand cost him his job, it contributed towards a general strengthening of public land laws and a renewed public interest in conservation.

After leaving the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot devoted his energies to conservation and to politics. From 1910 to 1925 he headed the National Conservation Association, which he had founded. He continued to the end of his life to fight for conservation wherever and whenever he felt the cause to be endangered.

In politics Gifford Pinchot was a vigorous fighter for the public welfare, and seldom worked smoothly with the established political leaders. He was an ardent supporter of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. In 1914 he campaigned unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania, with strong support from Roosevelt. He served as Forestry Commissioner of Pennsylvania from 1920 to 1922, and was elected Governor for two terms--1923-27 and 1931-35. He ran unsuccessfully in primary elections for the U.S. Senate in 1926 and 1934, and at age 72 was again a candidate for governor in the primary of 1938. As Governor of Pennsylvania he brought many reforms to the State government, fought against monopolies, and was generally recognized as one of the best governors of his time.

Gifford Pinchot's accomplishments extended to other areas outside conservation and politics. During World War II he developed and promoted survival techniques and fishing equipment for men adrift on life rafts in the ocean. In addition to his many other activities, he held the position of Professor of Forestry at Yale from 1903 to 1936, regularly delivering a series of lectures both at the University and at the Yale Summer Forestry Camp on the Pinchot family estate. Shortly before his death he completed an autobiography of his epic struggle for conservation in America. The book, Breaking New Ground, was published posthumously in 1947.

Gifford Pinchot died on October 4, 1946, at the age of 81.

Only a year before, at the observance of the fortieth anniversary of the Forest Service, he had said, "I have been a governor now and then, but I have been a forester all the time--have been, and shall be to my dying day."

Gifford Pinchot was indeed a forester--and a crusading conservationist who would not compromise the public welfare. Perhaps the best testimony of his contribution to the people of America was given by Theodore Roosevelt in his autobiography:

"Gifford Pinchot is the man to whom the nation owes most for what has been accomplished as regards the preservation of the natural resources of our country. He led, and indeed during its most vital period embodied, the fight for the preservation through use of our forests. He played one of the leading parts in the effort to make the National Government the chief instrument in developing the irrigation of the arid West. He was the foremost leader in the great struggle to coordinate all our social and governmental forces in the effort to secure the adoption of a rational and farseeing policy for securing the conservation of all our national resources. . . . Taking into account the varied nature of the work he did, its vital importance to the nation and the fact that as regards much of it he was practically breaking new ground, and taking into account also his tireless energy and activity, his fearlessness, his complete disinterestedness, his single-minded devotion to the interests of the plain people, and his extraordinary efficiency, I believe it is but just to say that among the many, many public officials who under my administration rendered literally invaluable service to the people of the United States, he, on the whole, stood first."

--from Theodore Roosevelt's Autobiography  
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons)

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## Pinchot: A love for nature

MILFORD — Gifford Pinchot was a crusader, a humanitarian and a moralist who offended some on his way to becoming the nation's leading advocate of environmental conservation in the early part of the century.

Pinchot was taught the value of conservation by his father, James, who built the castle-like Grey Towers in 1886. Pinchot learned a love of nature and the importance of the inter-relationship between man and his environment. The pastoral setting of Grey Towers was the perfect place to witness this delicate balance.

Pinchot's father also taught him the concept of noblesse oblige. He learned that the wealthy should use their money and positions of power to help the public at large.

After Pinchot graduated from Yale he went to Europe to study forestry, a subject still mostly unknown in the United

States.

In 1898, Pinchot was selected as the first chief of the forest service in the United States. The original organization boasted 10 employees.

Pinchot built the forest service into a bureau administering reserves across the nation. He actually coined the term "conservation" in relation to the environmental movement.

Pinchot later became governor of Pennsylvania, a position he used to further his pioneer-

ing work.

Today Pinchot's work is still carried on in Grey Towers. The stately castle now houses the Pinchot Institute of Conservation Studies, as much an innovator in conservation as Pinchot himself once was.

And they might also offend some along the way.

"The institute will not be doing its job unless it's considered a little way out by the conservatives," said Dr. John Gray, director.



Nov. 11, 1982

WO

History

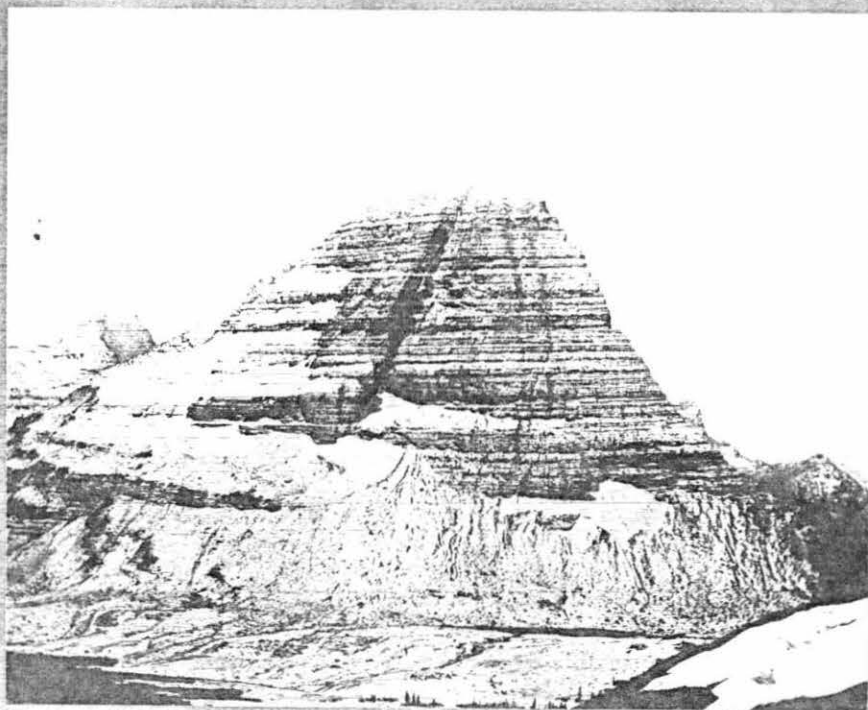
ATT: Dennis Roth

  
from Jud Moore, R-1, I.O.

27  
103

U. S. DEPT

Blackfoot N. P. MONT - Sep. 1898  
Hogback and Mt. west of pass -  
Main divide of Rockies .  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot - 1897



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREST SERVICE

PRESENTED BY

COPYRIGHT.

REPRODUCED.

LOCALITY. Blackfeet National Forest  
Teton Co., Montana.

DATE

Sept. 1897

SUBJECT.

Hogback and mt. west of pass, Main  
divide of Rockies.

DIAM.

HEIGHT.

DENSITY.

AGE.

EXPOSURE.

STOP.

LIGHT.

HOUR.

SPECIES

RELATIVE SITUATION.

HUMUS.

ALTITUDE.

SOIL.

TYPE.

DIRECTION.

SLOPE.

GROUND COVER

STAND

FIELD No.

ROCK.

TAKEN BY

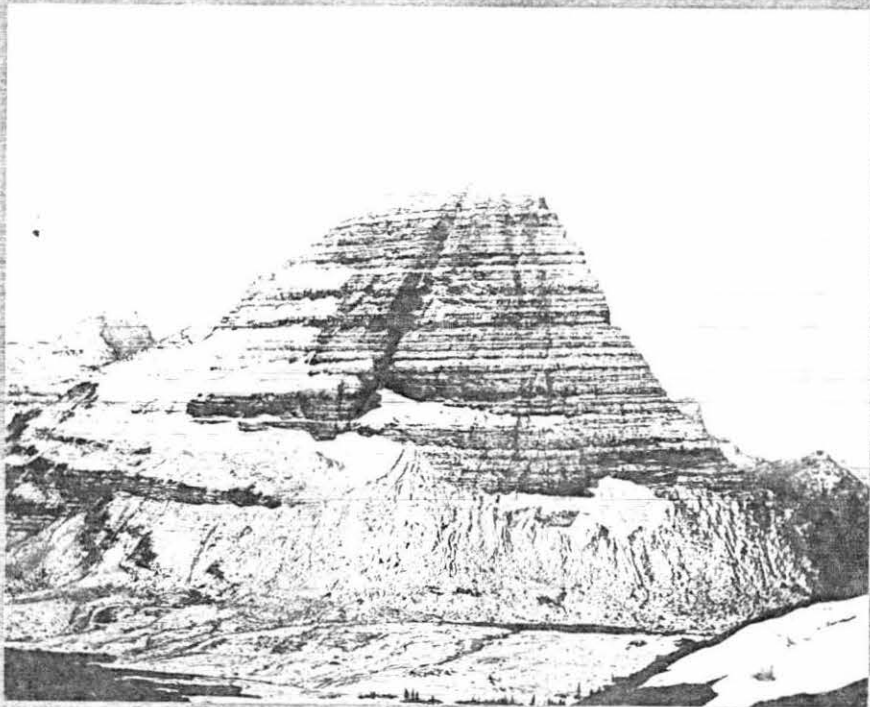
Gifford Pinchot 27  
To 3

COL. No.

27  
103

U. S. DEPT

Blackfoot Mts. MONT - 1897  
Hogback and Mt. west of pass -  
Main divide of Rockies .  
Taken by Gifford Pinchot - 1897



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREST SERVICE

PRESENTED BY

COPYRIGHT

REPRODUCED

LOCALITY: Blackfeet National Forest  
Teton Co., Montana.

DATE

Sept. 1897

SUBJECT

Hogback and mt. west of pass, Main  
divide of Rockies.

DIAM.

HEIGHT.

DENSITY.

AGE.

EXPOSURE

STOP.

LIGHT.

HOUR.

SPECIES

RELATIVE SITUATION.

HUMUS

ALTITUDE.

SOIL.

TYPE.

DIRECTION.

SLOPE.

GROUND COVER

STAND

FIELD No.

ROCK.

TAKEN BY

Gifford Pinchot 27  
To 3

COL. No.

N1  
In3

... of the ...  
in the file - ...  
... calls for this  
sign -

TMEN  
FOREST

Lewis & Clark ... 1806 - ...  
Douglas Fir - (also called Douglas  
Spruce - (*Pseudotsuga taxifolia*)  
Taken by G. Pinchot 1897 -



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREST SERVICE

PRESENTED BY

COPYRIGHT.

REPRODUCED.

LOCALITY. Lewis + Clark National Forest  
L. & C. Co., Montana.

DATE.

Oct. 16, 1897

SUBJECT.

Douglas Spruce 3' 10" diam. in next  
flat below.

DIAM.

HEIGHT.

DENSITY.

AGE.

EXPOSURE.

STOP.

LIGHT.

HOOR.

DIRECTION.

SPECIES

*Pseudotsuga taxifolia*

RELATIVE SITUATION.

HUMUS.

Middle Fork of Sun River

ALTITUDE.

SOIL.

TYPE.

SLOPE.

GROUND COVER.

STAND.

FIELD No.

1032

ROCK.

TAKEN BY

Gifford Pinchot 27

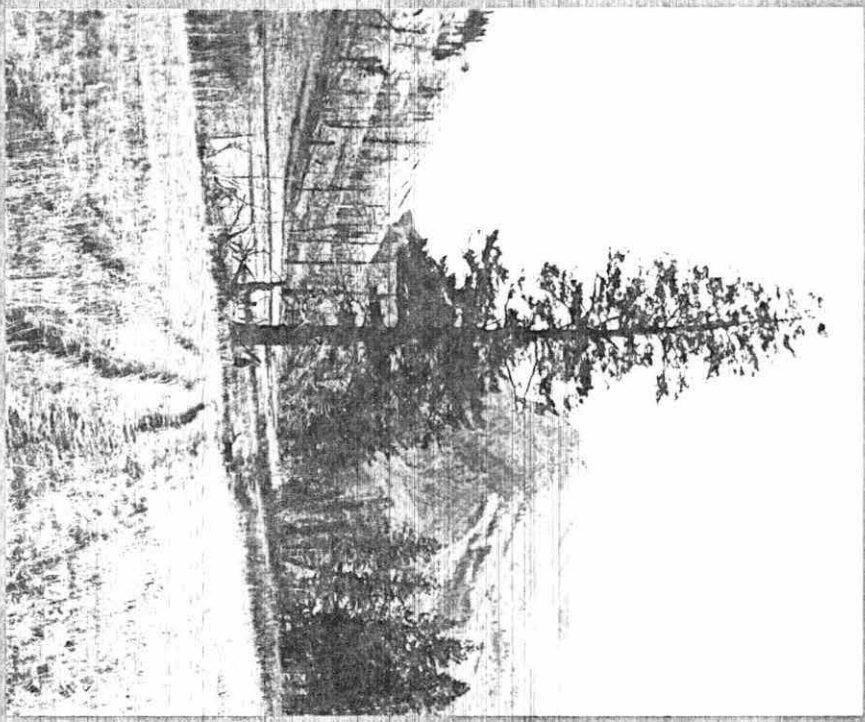
COL. No.

In 3

In 3

PLANTING OF ...  
IN THE PINE ...  
...  
SITE -

TMEN  
FOREST

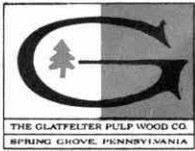


...  
DOUGLAS FIR - (also called Douglas  
Spruce - (*Pseudotsuga taxifolia*)  
Taken by C. Pinchot 1897 -



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREST SERVICE

PRESENTED BY		COPYRIGHT.	REPRODUCED.
LOCALITY. Lewis + Clark National Forest L. & C. Co., Montana.		DATE. Oct. 16, 1897	
SUBJECT. Douglas Spruce 3' 10" diam. in next flat below.		DIAM.	HEIGHT.
		DENSITY.	AGE.
		EXPOSURE.	STOP.
		LIGHT.	HOUR.
SPECIES Pseudotsuga taxifolia		HUMUS.	DIRECTION.
RELATIVE SITUATION. Middle Fork of Sun River	SOIL.	TYPE.	FIELD No. 1032
ALTITUDE.	GROUND COVER.	STAND.	COL. No. 27
SLOPE.		TAKEN BY Gifford Pinehot	In 3
ROCK.			



# THE GLATFELTER PULP WOOD Co.

25 S. HANOVER STREET—CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA. 17013

March 2, 1977

Mr. Thomas G. Ellis  
 Forest Service, U.S.D.A.  
 6816 Market Street  
 Upper Darby, Pennsylvania 19082

Dear Tom:

You may recall that when we met in Titusville last spring that I mentioned some Gifford Pinchot correspondence from the Pa. Forestry Association files and you asked for a copy. I had not forgotten but misplaced my copy and only recently located it. So here it is and I think it is a very interesting incident in the history of forestry here in Pennsylvania.

Gifford Pinchot was Governor of Pennsylvania from 1924-28 and again from 1932-36. Until recently the Governor of Pennsylvania could not hold consecutive terms. Pinchot tried for a third term in 1940 but was beaten in the primary by Governor James and evidently this was a severe blow to his ego.

One fact that many people do not realize is that Pinchot was responsible for the spoils or patronage system that infected the Pa. Bureau of Forestry for some 30 years. From about 1900 when the Bureau of Forestry was formed until Pinchot's first term as Governor the Bureau operated on a merit system. If you have access to a set of old Journals of Forestry look through them during the mid-40's for a letter from George H. Wirt in which he publically charged Pinchot with bringing on the spoils system.

I hope you find this to be of interest.

Sincerely,

THE GLATFELTER PULP WOOD COMPANY

*Bob Rumpf*  
 Robert H. Rumpf  
 District Manager

RHR:gk

Attachments

HOME OFFICE AND MILL - SPRING GROVE, PENNSYLVANIA

THE PENNSYLVANIA FORESTRY ASSOCIATION  
1008 Commercial Trust Building  
Philadelphia

March 4, 1942

Dear Member:

The multitude of materials needed in fantastic quantities to wage war dwarfs our imagination. Our forests must furnish 11,500,000,000 board feet of saw timber for battle ship decks, barracks, motor torpedo boat parts, gun stocks, laminated airplane propellers, structural sections for training planes, box and crates for shells, planes, etc., shipyard towers and scaffolding, roof trusses and many other uses. Hundreds of thousands of cords for pulp wood, also, will be needed for paper.

This demand can be met without destroying our forests, providing those organizations and agencies which have been preaching selective cutting and other conservative methods remain alert. The Pennsylvania Forestry Association recognizes that war's demands must be supplied by our forests, but we, also, insist that the basic growing stock be undisturbed for the post-war period which will try our national economy so greatly.

Because we wish to conserve our funds for such important work, we appeal to you in this inexpensive way for a contribution to this very necessary activity.

Very truly yours,

H. GLEASON MATTOON,  
Secretary.

---

I enclose \$.....to carry on the worthy activities of The Pennsylvania Forestry Assn. during these difficult times.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

1615 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D. C.  
April 18, 1942

The Secretary of Forests and Waters  
Harrisburg  
Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Very disturbing rumors have reached me concerning the terms under which it is said that 100 million feet of timber are to be sold in the State Forests of Pennsylvania, one-third of which is reported as already under contract.

Because this is public business of interest to every citizen, because I was one of your predecessors in office, and because of my deep interest in forest matters in Pennsylvania, I am gravely concerned to know whether these rumors are true.

This is the story -- that all trees above a certain diameter limit are to be cut, that the trees to be cut will not be selected and marked, that no provision has been made for saving seed trees, no regulations issued for the protection of young growth, no provision for slash disposal, no rules for felling, and no special fire protection on the areas.

If these reports are true, which seems impossible, they mean that the State Forests are to be devastated, as they would be under ordinary destructive lumbering, that the State Forests will be cut without regard for the future, without provision for preserving the forest, without protection for the trees that are to remain against damage by the felling, without provision against fire and erosion -- in other words, with sweeping disregard for the most elementary principles of forestry.

The State Forests of Pennsylvania have been carefully protected for many years. Failure to keep on protecting them would be utterly indefensible.

It is difficult to believe that the reports which have reached me can be accurate. I cannot imagine that such complete disregard of the interests of the State and of the State Forests can have been sanctioned by the Department of Forests and Waters. Having heard the rumors, however, I felt it my duty to bring them to your attention.

As we all know, the State Forests of Pennsylvania are the result of generations of effort first by Dr. J. T. Rothrock, the Father of Forestry in Pennsylvania, then by the Pennsylvania Forestry Association and many public-minded citizens of the State. Their efforts have succeeded in acquiring and protecting public forest property of enormous value to the people of Pennsylvania and very dear to them.

Because of their history, and because of their value, the State Forests deserve to be treated with the utmost care for their protection, reproduction, and perpetuation, for the service of our citizens, and the beauty and prosperity of the Commonwealth.

If any timber on the State Forests of Pennsylvania is being sold otherwise than with faithful observance of the well-known principles of forestry, an utterly unjustifiable assault is being committed upon the safety and welfare of the Commonwealth, an assault for which there can be no excuse.

Every lumberman who destroys <sup>reported</sup> the forest cuts to a diameter limit. If this <sup>reported</sup> contract provides only for a diameter limit for ordinary destructive lumbering, and not for the practice of forestry, then we are returning to the evil conditions

of old days, from which Pennsylvania Forests have already suffered too much. There can be no reason for destroying the progress made by generations of effort and turning the clock back.

Perhaps the simplest way to answer this letter would be to send me a copy of the contract and the rules and regulations under which this timber is sold. I ask for it as a citizen, as a former Secretary of Forests and Waters, and as a former Governor of the State. I am sure that you will grant my request.

Very sincerely yours,

CP:J

C  
O  
P  
Y

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA  
Department of Forests and Waters  
Harrisburg, Penna.

THE SECRETARY

April 23, 1942

Hon. Gifford Pinchot  
1615 Rhode Island Avenue  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Governor Pinchot:

This being an election year I expected to hear from you regarding Pennsylvania forestry.

I am somewhat amazed that you would put so much credence in statements coming to you as mere rumors, especially in view of the fact that the greater part of the personnel of this Department is composed of men who served the Commonwealth in the Bureau of Forestry under both of your administrations. The many questions you ask are best answered in the fact that what is being done in Pennsylvania today is being done with the advice and consent of these men in whom you had confidence when you were Governor.

It is true that not all of the things you list are being done. I am trying to do a job of practical forestry rather than a job of purely theoretical or political forestry.

In accordance with your request, I am sending you a copy of the contract and of the rules and regulations under which we are marketing the mature, the dead, and the damaged, and the diseased timber in the Pennsylvania State forests.

Sincerely yours,

s/s G. Albert Stewart

Enclosures

May 18, 1942

Honorable Gifford Pinchot,  
Milford,  
Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Pinchot:

I am sorry I was not in when you called last week.

I believe the State forest area on which cutting is being done and which would be worth while seeing is the Lycoming State Forest located in Sullivan County, under the jurisdiction of R. C. Eble of Bloomsburg.

I mention this area because various stages of operation are in progress. One contract has been completed; in another section, cutting is now being done; and in the third, a contract is just being let.

I should like very much to go over the area with you but I find it will not be possible for me to do so before the 23th or 28th of this month. I am leaving here on Wednesday and will not be back until the 27th, except for a few hours this coming Saturday.

Sincerely yours,

H. Gleason Mattoon,  
Secretary.

HGM:MCH



GIFFORD PINCHOT  
MILFORD PIKE CO PA

June 22, 1942

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
Pennsylvania Forestry Association  
Commercial Trust Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Penna.

Dear Mr. Mattoon:

I have just wired you as follows: "No further word from Graves. Could you and I make examination beginning Friday afternoon and finishing Sunday? Could meet you at Wilkes Barre as you suggested. Letter follows."

Dean Graves wrote me that he could not come. I wrote him back a long letter, giving my reasons why I thought he ought to come but have heard nothing from him since. He must be away.

Whether he can go with us or not, I think we ought to go ahead, if convenient to you, during the coming week and I suggest the end of it, since Professor Meany is here to talk over some forest questions and I may have to go to New York on Wednesday or Thursday. It would, however, be entirely convenient to me, and I hope it will be to you, to meet you at the Hotel Sterling about noon, or whenever your train gets in, on Friday, June 26th. Then we could get somewhere near our objective during the rest of that day and get into the woods on Saturday.

I am exceedingly sorry that Graves could not go with us (or so it would appear). His testimony will be most valuable. With every good wish and much regret for my delay in notifying you, and many pleasant anticipations, believe me,

Sincerely yours,



# THE PENNSYLVANIA FORESTRY ASSOCIATION

CHARTERED 1886

1007 COMMERCIAL TRUST BUILDING  
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SAMUEL L. SMEDLEY

PRESIDENT

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DR. E. E. WILDMAN

GEORGE H. WIRT

EDWARD WOOLMAN

ROY A. WRIGHT

June 23, 1942

Honorable Gifford Pinchot,  
Milford,  
Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Pinchot:

I am so glad to receive your letter and have the date set for our trip. I shall be at the Hotel Sterling, in Wilkes-Barre, at 11 o'clock, Friday morning, June 26. Possibly, you prefer to get in at 11.30 or 12 and have lunch there before starting. If so, this is agreeable to me.

I have to be in New York late Sunday afternoon so it will be necessary for me to get

June 23, 1942

Honorable Gifford Pinchot,  
Milford,  
Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Pinchot:

I am so glad to receive your letter and have the date set for our trip. I shall be at the Hotel Sterling in Wilkes-Barre, at 11 o'clock, Friday morning, June 26. Possibly, you prefer to get in at 11.30 or 12 and have lunch there before starting. If so, this is agreeable to me.

I have to be in New York late Sunday afternoon so it will be necessary for me to get back to Wilkes-Barre or Scranton by 5 P. M. on Sunday to catch the train.

I am sorry that Dean Graves can not be with us for I looked forward to his reaction, as well as yours, to the present cutting program on the State forests. I am anticipating an interesting and pleasant trip.

Sincerely yours,

H. Gleason Mattoon,  
Secretary.

HCM:MCM

GIFFORD PINCHOT  
MILFORD PIKE CO PA

June 29, 1942

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
Pennsylvania Forestry Association  
Commercial Trust Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Penna.

Dear Mattoon:

That was certainly a fine trip of ours. I enjoyed it immensely, not only because I had a good time, but also, because we got the information we were after.

Enclosed you will find a copy of my letter of April 18, 1942, asking Stewart for information; a copy of his reply; and a draft of a proposed letter to him for our joint signatures.

I shall go to work immediately on the next letter we agreed upon, and shall await with great interest your draft.

Every good luck to you,

Very sincerely yours,



P.S. If you feel like signing the enclosed letter to Stewart, as I hope you will, please do so and send it on. If you would rather have it on your letterhead, have a copy made and I will sign it and mail it from here. Always providing it is satisfactory to you.

G.P.

Enclosures (3)

GIFFORD PINCHOT  
MILFORD PIKE CO PA

June 30, 1942

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
Pennsylvania Forestry Association  
Commercial Trust Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mattoon:

Here is a draft of the proposed letter to the Governor. It is a little bit too long perhaps--690 words--but not much. I think I can shorten it a little, if necessary. Otherwise, if it suits you, how about having it written on the letterhead of the Forestry Association, with your signature coming first, and mine after it. Then we can mail it from here as soon as arrangements can be made for distributing copies to the newspapers of the State.

Perhaps you could handle that end of it, since there is no one near here who can do the multi-graphing. Ayres' Directory, recently published, will have the names of the papers, but unfortunately I do not have a copy.

I am also enclosing a copy of a letter I sent recently to the daily papers of the United States, some of which, I am glad to say, are printing it.

Let me hear from you as soon as convenient, for the earlier we can get this into the papers, the better I think it will be.

That certainly was a swell trip.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosures (2)

*Gifford Pinchot*  
*you will probably want to make some changes*

June 24, 1942

To win this war we must have wood. We must have huge quantities of wood--huge even for the prodigal United States.

But that is no reason for killing the goose that laid the golden egg. There is no sense in destroying the power of our timber lands to grow more wood.

The timber we need to win the war, and all we need to win it, can be and should be taken from our forests without ruining them. There is no sense in crippling their production of wood for generations to come.

Wood is a crop. When a farmer harvests his crop, he leaves the land in condition to grow more crops. We can do the same with our forests. That is what forestry is for.

Instead of cutting our forests under forestry so that they can grow more wood, we are cutting almost all of them in a way to prevent them from growing more wood. We are cutting as if we were going to need no wood after the war is over. That is pure foolishness.

We shall need more wood, vast quantities of it, after the war is won. Without it this country could not prosper, as everybody knows. There is no reason why we should bury our heads in the sand and forget this vital fact, especially when higher prices and the pressure for timber are leading to vast forest destruction.

One-quarter of our timber lands are in State and National Forests. They are safe. Three-quarters are in private hands. Every acre of these can be destroyed whenever the owner chooses.

In that there is neither justice nor common sense. When forests are destroyed, everybody is hurt. The users of wood in every form are hurt. So are the users of water. So are the users of land. So are communities which depend on forest industries, and that means, in some degree, every community in the Nation. There is no one in America who is not hurt when forests are needlessly destroyed.

No forests in all the world are safe against destruction unless they are under government control. No one disputes that. In the most democratic nation in the world, Switzerland, in Sweden, no private owner can cut his timber except under government control. Nor could he in prewar Norway and France. If these nations can protect the present and the future of their people in this way, so can we.

Our Federal government can stop this needless forest destruction, but it is not doing so. Our Federal government can require private owners to cut their timber lands so as to keep them growing wood, but our Federal government lets the destruction go on.


Our Federal government has the knowledge of what needs to be done, and the foresters to see that it is well done. There is every reason why we should protect the future of our wood supply in this emergency, and none why we should neglect it.

I ask every one of you who reads this letter to get in touch at once with your Senators and Congressman in Washington and urge immediate passage of a Bill which, without interfering in any way with winning the war, will safeguard our forests and our future wood supply.

I am a forester. I give you my word that what I suggest is possible and practical. As a former State Governor I know that the States cannot take action in time. Only the Federal government can.

The forests can be saved without interfering with our war effort. To protect the future of our forests will not hinder us, but help us, both in the war and after.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Robert R. Peck". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Robert R. Peck".

P. S. If you are willing to do so, I would be very glad to have you print the foregoing for the information of your readers, but not before June 29, 1942.

July 8, 1942

Honorable Gifford Pinchot,  
Milford,  
Pennsylvania.

Dear Governor:

When you called me from Washington early in May and suggested a joint tour of some of the State Forests to see how the cutting was being done, I was happy to accept as I was equally interested. Now that the trip is over I want you to know how much I enjoyed it.

Fortunately or otherwise, our discussions plus four subsequent letters have impressed upon me the divergence of our views on forestry, particularly the future role of public forestry in this country. Since we are both sincerely interested in the improvement of cutting practices on all forest lands, I had hoped we might devise a common statement concerning our observations. This, I now see, is quite impossible because our disagreement is fundamental, stemming from opposing political philosophies.

Two years ago in FOREST LEAVES I urged the Department of Forests and Waters to set up a management plan for each State forest. I pleaded also for a program of selective cutting to demonstrate to private forest owners that timber is a crop to be harvested when mature. I urged this action also to provide raw material for small wood-using industries to be established to rehabilitate towns surrounded by State forests with no other source of income.

You see, Governor, I believe one of the primary purposes of the State forests is to aid private enterprise. I believe in private enterprise.

In time of war, we sacrifice willingly for the preservation of the Nation. We give up many of the cherished perquisites of democracy. We regiment ourselves in order to wage a victorious war, but we, in a democracy, do not look forward to a regimented peace. We strive for victory that we may return to a system of free enterprise circumscribed as little as possible for the public good.



Gifford Pinchot

July 2, 1942

I said earlier in this letter that our disagreement is fundamental. Because of that fundamental difference in viewpoint we looked at the results of the cutting in the Wyoming and Tloga Districts with different eyes. You saw deviation from ideal forestry practices; I saw an attempt of an under-manned Department to do as good a job as possible. You saw great holes in the stand with no understory left; I saw an understory of as many as 300 trees per acre, surprisingly free from felling damage. You saw a "destructive attack" on the State forests; I saw needed timber for barracks and crates and other war uses.

I do not condone tempering, but I do recognize the limitations placed upon the Department by a reduced personnel. By its political attitude toward the Department of Forests and Waters and its financial indifference to its needs, the administration is in part to blame, but in addition several Department foresters, who might have given assistance, are in the armed forces.

I regret sincerely that our viewpoints are so diametrically opposite. Were it possible to divorce our opinions on forestry from extraneous, political and social attributes we might find ourselves in complete agreement. Since that, however, can not be done, therein lies the crux of the matter. Such being the case, I presume you will wish me to return your letter to Secretary Stewart. This I enclose together with the draft of the proposed letter to Governor James.

Time alone will determine the merits of our respective ideologies. In the meantime, my every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

H. Gleason Mattoon,  
Secretary.

HGM:MGM  
Enclosures

GIFFORD PINCHOT  
MILFORD PIKE CO PA

July 8, 1942

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
Pennsylvania Forestry Association  
Commercial Trust Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Penna.

Dear Mr. Mattoon:

By your letter of July 2nd you refuse to go on with the joint effort we had undertaken to protect the State Forests of Pennsylvania from the destructive lumbering, in progress under much the largest selling of their timber ever made during the half century of their existence.

The purpose of our trip of June 26th and 27th, in which we examined together two recently cut over State Forest areas, was fully understood between us in advance. It was to ascertain whether or not this cutting was being done carefully and conservatively, with due regard to the welfare of the State Forests, or whether it was not.

During those two days we discussed very thoroughly the whole question of the cuttings which we visited. What we saw, we saw together, and we agreed on what we saw. We agreed that the lumbering was destructive; that it was not the fault of the local forest officers, but of the timber sale agreement sent out from Harrisburg; and that such lumbering was highly dangerous to the future of the State Forests.

Indeed, the only subject on which we did not agree was an incidental reference to the matter of State as against National control of forests, which could have nothing whatever to do with whether or not the cuttings we were examining had been well or badly done, whether they amounted to permanent forestry or destructive lumbering.

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
July 8, 1942  
Page 2

We noted and discussed the fact that none of the trees had been selected and marked with the future of the forest in mind, but that all the trees above a fixed diameter limit had been cut without discrimination. In mixed forests like these, that is nothing but tree butcher

When the trip was over, at Wilkes-Barre, we agreed together that I should draft a letter for our joint signatures to the Secretary of Forests and Waters, asking for certain information, and submit it to you for your approval. We agreed, also that each of us should make a draft of a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, describing what we had seen and setting forth our common conclusions upon it, each of us to submit his draft to the other, and the final form to be approved and signed by both.

To this plan you gave your full assent. On June 30th I sent you the two drafts I was to make. You now return the drafts and decline to proceed with our plan. Your letter alleges three reasons for your change of front.

The first is "the divergence of our views on forestry, particularly the future role of public forestry in this country."

The second is that you believe "one of the primary purposes of the State Forests is to aid private enterprise."

Your third reason is that "were it possible to divorce our opinions on forestry from extraneous political and social attributes, we might find ourselves in complete agreement."

This is merely to sidestep the issue. Extraneous political and social attributes are indeed extraneous. None of your reasons have any bearing whatever on the bald fact of the destructive attack on the State Forests which you and I saw together, which we discussed together, and over which we developed no disagreement whatever on the ground.

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
July 8, 1942  
Page 3

Whatever your political and social attributes may be, facts are facts. Either you agreed with me on the facts when we were together on the ground, or you concealed your disagreement. If you did conceal it, your reason for so doing is for you to explain.

In any case, it is completely clear that whatever political and social attributes may have led to your revised opinion, they can not alter the facts in the forest. They are certainly not for me, as you assert they are for you, "the crux of the matter." For me the crux of the matter is the condition of the forest after the cutting, and nothing else. We are dealing with the forest, and not with ideologies. I ought to know destructive cutting when I see it.

This statement of yours makes the reason back of your change of sides as clear as day. It shows that your interest in stopping forest devastation vanishes the moment private interests stand in the way. My position is that, in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "the public good comes first."

The question, and the only question at issue, is whether or not this timber was sold by the Department of Forests and Waters, and cut by the lumbermen who bought it, so as to ensure, or so as not to ensure, the future welfare of the forest. You and I, standing in the woods and looking at it, agreed fully that it had not done so. Since then your political and social attributes seem to have changed your mind.

The great holes your letter refers to, left in the stand by the first cutting we visited, are actually there. The fine understory of smaller trees you mention, outside of these holes, to which I called your particular attention on the ground, is there. My draft letter to the Governor specifically recognized the excellent work done by the forest officers in preserving these young trees.

Mr. H. Gleason Mattoon  
July 8, 1942  
Page 4

Your letter does not deny any of the statements in that letter about the condition of the lumbered forest we saw together. I challenge you to deny them. And I ask that you carry out your promise to send me copies of the photographs of this forest destruction which you took at my suggestion.

The "needed timber for barracks, crates, and other war uses," which this cutting represents to you, could of course be supplied under forestry as well as under destructive lumbering. The United States Forest Service, which ought to know, maintains uncompromisingly that it can be and should be. There is no excuse, and there can be no excuse, for the Department of Forests and Waters to assist in bringing needless damage upon the State Forests, for whose safety it is responsible.

Neither is it an excuse that the Department has a reduced personnel. I am sufficiently familiar with its work, having been in charge of it, to be certain that it would have been possible to find the foresters for marking the timber as it should have been marked, in spite of this reduced personnel. And in any case, if the timber could not be cut properly, it should not have been cut at all.

I am disillusioned and completely unimpressed by your letter. If your point of view would not permit you to recognize facts on the ground, and testify to these facts when the safety of the State Forests required it, the least you could have done was to notify me in advance that there was no use in your accepting my invitation to make the trip.

Yours truly,



August 4, 1942

Honorable Gifford Pinchot,  
Milford,  
Pennsylvania.

Dear Governor:

I enclose an enlarged set of the snapshots I took on our trip on June 25 and 26. You will find them poor, partly the fault of the photographer and partly due to the rain which made it difficult to get depth in the pictures.

If I might choose one phrase to illustrate the difference in our viewpoints of the cutting operations on the State forests, it would be "forest butchery," the last two words of the third paragraph of your open letter to Governor James. In that letter, you speak of great holes in the forest. Two years ago I saw equally great holes in the canopy of a National forest after a cutting operation, carried on under the direction of the supervisor. He explained that such holes were the results of the removal of a group of over-matured trees and contended that if any had been left they would have blown down, hence the removal of all. I believe a similar situation exists on the tract near Ansonia.

You, also, mentioned that no tops were burned, thereby leaving a dangerous fire trap. Neither of the operations we visited had been completed. I recall Paul Mulford saying that much of the slash would be burned after snowfall next winter. Frankly, I did not see "forest butchery" and am glad now to know that foresters not in State employ who have visited the cutting operations did not see "forest butchery."

Those who believe that no deviation from selective cutting by marked trees can ever be made may find fault with the cutting operations, but most foresters with whom I have talked since our trip can see that such an ideal is not always possible.

Gifford Pinchot

August 4, 1942

I believe I am as zealous as any forester in championing management practices which will conserve and perpetuate our forests. I deplore overcutting. I believe understocking of forests to be waste. Management practices, however, must be suited to the conditions and adjusted to the times.

I shall want to see these operations again when they are completed, but in the light of what has been done so far little criticism can be made of them.

Sincerely yours,

H. Gleason Mattoon,  
Secretary.

HGM:MCM  
Enclosure

January 18, 1945.

Honorable George Wharton Pepper  
Land Title Building  
Philadelphia 10, Pa.

Dear Senator:

Philadelphia Lawyer is a delightful biography. I thoroughly enjoyed it.

The part concerning the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy recalled an experience I had in 1941. I was at "Gray Towers" for a discussion of forestry matters on the day the article on this famous affair by Secretary Ickes appeared in the Saturday Evening Post. In it, you will recall, Mr. Ickes sought to prove that Pinchot was all wrong and that Secretary Ballinger was above reproach in all his actions. What interested me particularly was a 12 page letter from Ickes, which arrived that day. In it he called Pinchot all of the things he could not say in print. It was the most vituperative and abusive letter I have ever read. Apparently this outburst was motivated by Ickes' belief that Pinchot was responsible for blocking the transfer of the Forest Service to the Department of Interior. His reason for opposing this shift in the reorganization plan is not generally known. Had Ickes been willing to advocate rigid federal control of all private forest lands in the country, including farm woodlots, G. P. would have supported such a transfer. Imagine out new dealing Ickes!

Gifford Pinchot, in his day, was a great forester, but the insidious virus of political ambition has warped his judgment and impelled him into foolish moves. In 1942 he called me from Washington to ask whether I would go with him on a three day tour of some of the State Forests. A timber cutting program had been started the previous fall, partly upon my insistence, and Pinchot said he was most anxious to see what progress was being made.

We started from Wilkes-Barre, the chauffeur, Pinchot, and I, in a convertible Crossley, the top down, except during heavy rain. This tour of the northern tier of counties developed into a political fence mending trip by G.P. In many of the towns he would direct the chauffeur to pull to the curb in the busiest section, where upon he would stand up and gaze up and down the street until a crowd collected. The Open Crossley attracted the first ones. When someone would recognize the Governor and he would greet them volubly and with a certain paternalistic enthusiasm which they seemed to relish.



To - Hon. George Wharton Pepper

1/18/45

I soon discovered that he had an ulterior motive in asking me to take the trip. His interest in the improvement cutting program was at best casual. Before he left Washington he knew what his opinion of it would be -- for publication. His real purpose was to commit me and through me, The Pennsylvania Forestry Association, to a denunciation and inefficiency in the Department of Forest and Waters and gross mishandling of the State Forests, thereby embarrassing Governor James, who had beaten him in the primary. My refusal to go along annoyed him no end and the letters subsequently exchanged, which were printed in the Journal of Forestry and elsewhere, added to his pique.

This letter is long, but I thought you might be interested in this bit of Pinchot lore.

Perhaps if I bring my copy of "Philadelphia Lawyer" to your office you will be kind enough to autograph it.

Sincerely,

H. Gleason Mattoon  
Secretary

HGM/mt

2225-42 LAND TITLE BUILDING  
PHILADELPHIA

January 22, 1945.

H. Gleason Mattoon, Esq.,  
1007 Commercial Trust Building,  
Philadelphia 2.

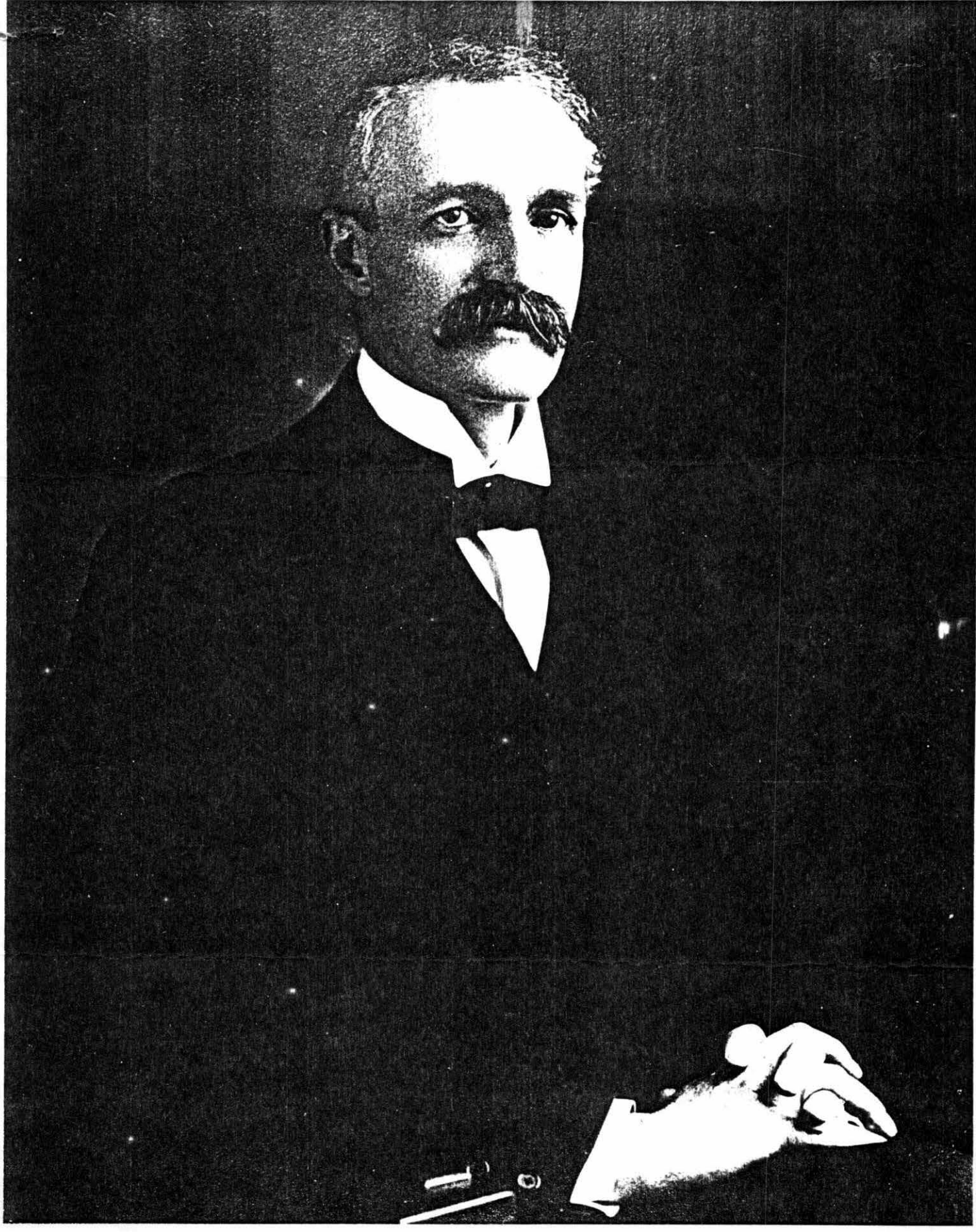
Dear Mr. Mattoon:

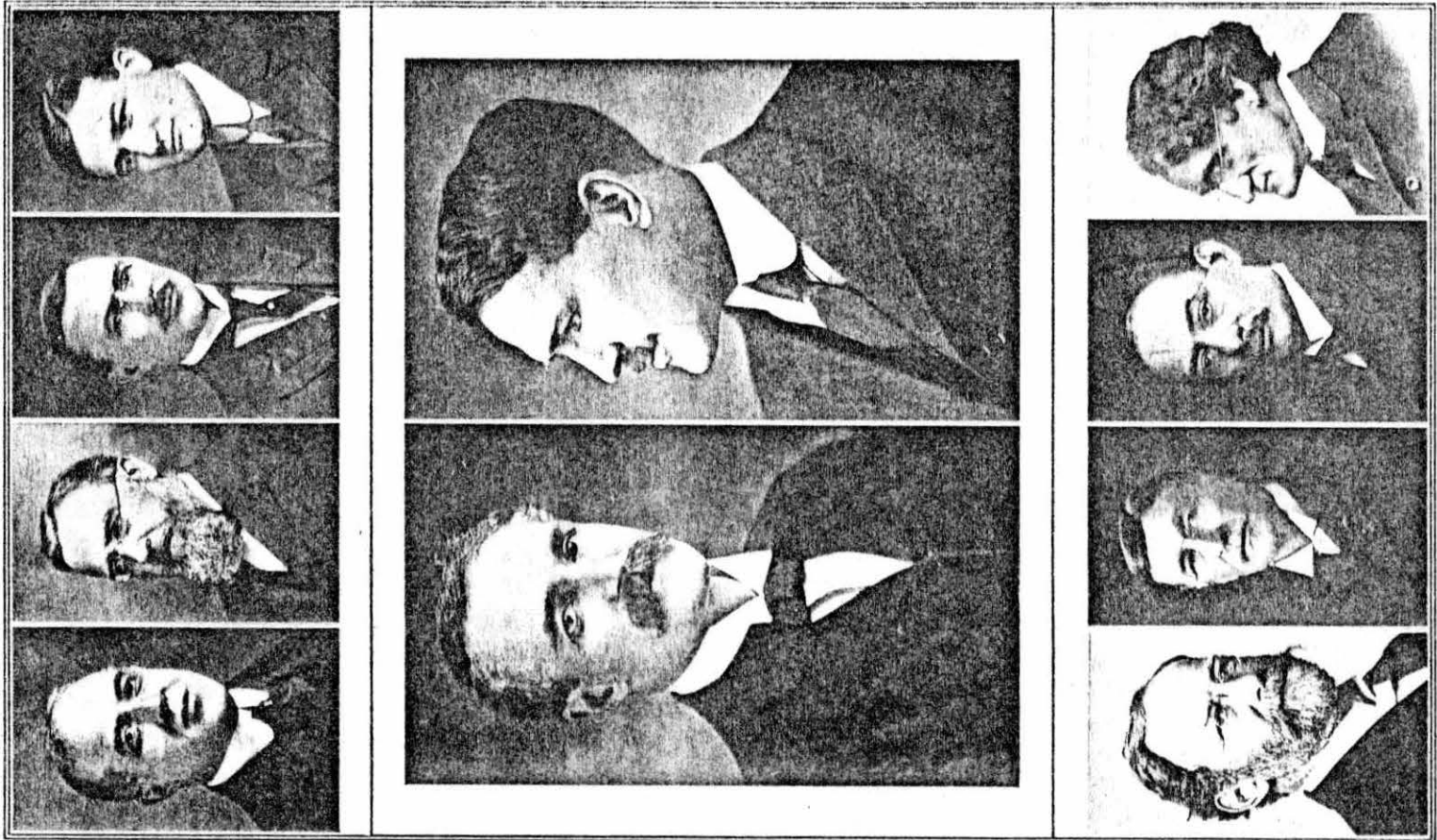
I am very glad that you found satisfaction in reading "Philadelphia Lawyer".

The Pinchot incident that you chronicle is most interesting and I think highly characteristic. There was a time when I admired Pinchot greatly. I venture to think that if he had married a different sort of woman his whole subsequent career might have been favorably affected. He has great personal charm and a flair for public service. The trouble with him is that he always holds himself in front of his cause. All his home influences have tended to encourage this attitude. At least that's the way it looks to me.

Very sincerely yours,

*George Wharton Pepper*





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THE WEDDING WAS HELD ON AUGUST 15, 1914, AT ROSLYN, LONG ISLAND, THE BRIDE'S HOME.  
THE WEDDING AND RECEPTION WAS QUIET AND UNPRETENTIOUS. TWO MONTHS EARLIER, GIFFORD PINCHOT HAD MOVED HIS MOTHER FROM WASHINGTON, D.C. TO HER BROTHER'S HOME IN SAUGUTUCK, CONNECTICUT, WHERE SHE DIED ON AUGUST 25, 1914. THE COUPLE HAD DECIDED THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH MRS. PINCHOT'S WISHES, THEY WOULD BE MARRIED WHILE MRS. PINCHOT'S WOULD KNOW OF HER SON'S HAPPINESS. THE WEDDING WAS ATTENDED BY THE FAMILY AND A FEW CLOSE FRIENDS INCLUDING THEODORE ROOSEVELT. AMOS PINCHOT SERVED AS BEST MAN. IMMEDIATELY, AFTER THE WEDDING, THE COUPLE CROSSED LONG ISLAND SOUND BY BOAT TO BE AT MAMEE'S BEDSIDE.

1914 WAS A SPECIAL YEAR FOR GIFFORD PINCHOT. HE DECIDED TO END HIS 49 YEARS OF BACHELORHOOD AND TO WED CORNELIA BRYCE, SIXTEEN YEARS HIS JUNIOR. THEY HAD KNOWN EACH OTHER FOR A FEW YEARS. CORNELIA WAS THE DAUGHTER OF A DISTINGUISHED MAGAZINE PUBLISHER AND FORMER UNITED STATES MINISTER TO THE NETHERLANDS. SHE WAS ALSO THE GREAT GRANDDAUGHTER OF PETER COOPER, AND ONE OF THE FEW PERSONS "WHOSE WHIRLWIND ENERGY MATCHED PINCHOT'S. "WEALTHY AND BEAUTIFUL, POSSESSING A SPARKLING HUMOR AND BRILLIANT RED HAIR, 'LELIA' . . . HAD RECEIVED SOME PRIMINENCE AS A CHAMPION THE WORKING GIRL . . AND HAD MARCHED IN PARADES ADVOCATING WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE. THE NEW MRS. PINCHOT WAS EQUALLY AT HOME ON A PICKET LINE WITH STRIKING WORKERS OR AS A LOVELY AND GRACIOUS HOSTESS AT A FORMAL RECEPTION."



# Orphans' Court Sale

By virtue of an order of the Orphans' Court of the county of Pike, in partition, the following real estate of which Cyrill C. D. Pinchot, late of the borough of Milford, in said county of Pike, died seized, will be exposed to sale by public vendue or outcry on

## Monday, September 22,

1902, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the front hall of the court house at Milford all the following pieces and tracts of land, situated in said county of Pike:

PURPART 1—All that tract of land in Dingman township, containing 21 acres and 35 perches, being part of a larger tract surveyed to Benjamin Tyson, situate along Milford and Owego turnpike particularly described in deed recorded in Deed Book No. 18 page 514.

PURPART 2—Tract of land in Shohola township in the warrantee name of Thomas Hough, numbered 33, containing 400 acres and 120 perches more or less.

PURPART 3—Tract of land in Shohola township in the warrantee name of Andrew Russell, numbered 78, containing 203 acres and 80 perches more or less.

PURPART 4—All that tract and farm situate in the township of Milford known as the "Foster Hill Farm," bounded by Seventh street and Pond Eddy road, lands of Maria Jordan, Lysander Pelton, deceased,

Mrs. A. E. Lewis and others, containing 60 acres more or less. Also all that piece and tract of land in the borough of Milford, used and known as part of the "Foster Hill farm," bounded by Seventh and High streets and lands of E. Warner and estates of Emily Warner and Kate B. Van Wyck, deceased, consisting of town lots and parts of lots, viz: lots Nos. 669, 684, 697, 712 and 727 on High street, lots Nos. 668, 685, 696, 713 and 225 on the west side and fronting on George street, lots Nos. 667, 686, 695, 714 and 173 on the east side and fronting on George street, lots Nos. 666, 687, 694, 715 and 278 and part of lot No. 659 on the west side and fronting on John street, and parts of lots Nos. 660, 665, 683, 693, 716, 149, 730 and 717, bounded by Seventh and John streets and lands of estates of Emily Warner and Kate B. Van

Wyck, deceased.

PURPART 5—Tract of land in township of Milford, being lot number 5 as laid out by Abraham Horn, lying on the northeast side of the Milford and Owego turnpike road, containing 11 acres more or less and particularly described in deed recorded in Deed Book No. 21 page 375.

PURPART 6—All those three lots in the borough of Milford fronting on Broad street and numbered respectively 419, 430, 431, being each 40 feet in width and extending 180 feet in depth to Gooseterry alley.

PURPART 7—All those four lots in the borough of Milford fronting on Harford street numbered respectively 507, 510, 535, 538, being each 60 feet in width and extending 160 feet in depth to Pear alley, situate corner Harford and Fifth streets.

## IMPROVEMENTS

PURPART 4—Good dwelling house and barn, 45 acres cleared, balance woodland, situated on high ground overlooking the borough of Milford and is very desirable as a site for a summer boarding house, and on part of lot No. 149, dwelling house.

PURPART 6—Large store house, two shops and shed.

PURPART 7—Barn, on lot No. 510.  
Terms of sale, CASH.

### JAMES W. PINCHOT,

Milford, Pa., Aug. 25, 1902.

Executor.

At the same time and place will sell 5 shares Milford Bridge Stock.

### JAMES W. PINCHOT,

Executor.



**PIERIK, MARIE**—Continued  
theory of music and the Roman liturgy, her book is obviously intended for students of plain chant who already have had a good introduction to the subject. For them it is an important and valuable treatise. . . . While Miss Pierik writes for Catholic students of plain chant, it is to be hoped that her book will come into the hands of Protestant musicians qualified to understand her treatise, and that Protestant church music may ultimately be enriched by an intelligent use of at least some part of this rich inheritance of Christian culture." H. W. Foote

+ Crozer Q 25:84 Ja '48 700w  
Kirkus 15:535 S 15 '47 100w

"Although its appeal is necessarily limited, the book itself is highly recommended." H. E. Bush

+ Library J 72:1613 N 15 '47 100w

**PIGOU, ARTHUR CECIL**. Income; an Introduction to economics. 117p \$1.50 Macmillan  
339.3 Income [46-5989]

"Seeking to broaden the outlook of his students, the professor of engineering at Cambridge University asked the dozen of British economists to give them a short course of lectures. This little book, which discusses the forces affecting both the production and distribution of income, is the end-result." Nation

"In spite of a certain self-conscious attempt at simplicity of style, the book is by no means easy to read. . . . For this reviewer indeed, the book raises doubts as to whether the now-fashionable 'income approach' is quite so suitable as a painless introduction to economics as many have supposed. Professor Pigou's valiant attempts to avoid the 'forbidding' aspects of demand-and-supply analysis lead him at times into peculiar contortions." K. E. Boulding  
J Pol Econ 55:492 O '47 1000w

"Reproduces a set of lectures given in Cambridge to students of engineering who would not be making any further studies in economics. It is thus a book for the 'general reader' who desires to get an idea of what economics is about but is not in a position to undertake any systematic study." J. R. H.  
+ Manchester Guardian p3 Ag 23 '46 210w

"Written with rare lucidity and enlivened by a dry wit, it admirably achieves its author's aim of providing 'an outline sketch of an important part of economics that shall be intelligible and, if possible, interesting to non-economists.'" Keith Hutchison  
+ Nation 164:721 Je 14 '47 110w

"The author is, as one would expect, largely successful in his task. The style is clear and the problems are reduced to their simplest terms; indeed, in many cases they are intentionally over-simplified. Much could be attained in an exposition of this kind by the judicious use of a little algebra, but, though this possibility is noted at several points, the traditional literary form of exposition has been followed. . . . The content of the book after the first chapter is not very different from that of a similar book written from the more traditional standpoint of the laws of supply and demand." J. R. N. Stone  
+ Spec 177:93 Jl 26 '46 470w

"Professor Pigou has produced a very sound and simply written little book. It is sound in the sense that it contains little which has not been under discussion among economists for the last twenty years, but for the same reason it is not as interesting as it might have been. Readers may feel that the chapters on employment fluctuations and the distribution of income might have been enlivened by the introduction of some of the modern, if more controversial, theories, but the serious reader will also feel that the book provides a sound explanation of one of the more important techniques in economics."

+ Times [London] Lit Sup p386 Ag 17 '47 370w

**PIM, SIR ALAN WILLIAM**. Colonial agricultural production; the contribution made by native peasants and by foreign enterprise; issued under the auspices of the Royal inst. of int. affairs. 190p \$3.25 Oxford

338.1 Agriculture—Economic aspects A47-2257

"A survey of the relative importance of peasant producers and foreign enterprise in a number of British, French, Dutch and Belgian colonies in various parts of the world." Foreign Affairs

Foreign Affairs 25:696 Jl '47 30w

"The book has two minor defects. In the first place, the type is very small—undoubtedly for reasons of economy. The small type makes reading rather tiring. The second defect arises from the way many of the tables are presented. . . . [Nevertheless] the author has produced a scholarly, interesting, and timely book." J. M. Tinley

+ J Pol Econ 55:474 O '47 1100w

"Readers attentive to colonial administration will find much interest and instruction in the author's collation of the methods pursued by four different metropolitan countries in tackling the various problems confronting them in their colonies."

+ Times [London] Lit Sup p265 My 31 '47 850w

**PINCHOT, GIFFORD**. Breaking new ground. 522p il \$5 Harcourt

B or 92 Forests and forestry—U.S. U.S. Forest service. Conservation of resources 47-11529

Autobiography of Gifford Pinchot which stresses the years 1889 to 1912, and the beginnings of American forestry and the conservation of natural resources in the United States. Index.

Booklist 44:106 N 15 '47

Reviewed by C. M. Hardin  
Chicago Sun Book Week p16A D 3 '47 550w

"Enthusiastic though sometimes long-winded account of an active, crusading career, with perhaps more documentary than popular appeal."

Kirkus 15:620 N 1 '47 160w

Reviewed by Owen Lattimore  
N Y Herald Tribune Wkly Bk R p5 D 21 '47 1200w

"Candor compels me to say of 'Breaking New Ground' that it is somewhat less than a half-told tale. One gets the impression that the subject was not approached objectively. The title might well have been 'Gifford Pinchot and Forestry in the United States.' . . . One regrets that Gifford Pinchot's approach was always to be that of the zealot who had discovered a great new empire which he was to claim by right of discovery. Even so, he wrought exceedingly well for his country." H. L. Ickes  
N Y Times p6 N 23 '47 1650w

"'Breaking New Ground' is lightened throughout by anecdotes of Pinchot and the men who worked with him. These sidelights on personalities and tales of the lands he was trying to save bring the entire story into its correct perspective." Stanleigh Arnold  
+ San Francisco Chronicle p13 Ja 11 '48 600w

Reviewed by Russell Lord  
Sat R of Lit 31:25 Ja 17 '48 950w

**PINDAR**. Odes; tr. by Richmond Lattimore. 169p \$2.75 Univ. of Chicago press  
884.5 47-3185

Free verse translations of the odes of Pindar, in which an effort is made to have the work suggest Pindar's own meters. In an introduction the translator gives the few known facts about Pindar's life.

Chicago Sun Book Week p11 Mr 30 '47 80w

"I have closely, especially the of the fe Metrically, for the t verse is c makers fr more's ver than one will not st N

"This by an extrao a difficult lish. He I stand in C means act imagery s tongue. T test of bo waited for as English Pindar as do a great poetry and clear and is otherwi true transl original by lish." Dav + Po

Reviewed Sa 20w U

**PINSON, I**  
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709.438

"This be English-sp know in o in one co cusses . . . reader to ent and o into thirty to architect arts, the d tention. H branches e does not e of each p tion of th and vitalit Index.

Reviewed + C

"[The b useful inf The Infor gested. . . of making halftone i view of buildings, is disappo outstanding few." Dav + C

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210

**PIPES, I**  
for en McGra 510

"Mathe vanced t plex num equation.

As supplementary reading for a course or in family living within the social-studies curriculum." A. E. Hendricks  
 School R 56:555 N '48 850w  
 Survey G 39:288 O '48 10w

PERSON, JOHN HERMAN GROESBECK. Full employment and free enterprise; introd. by Wayne Chatfield-Taylor. 183p \$3 Public Affairs press  
 159,973 U.S.—Economic policy. Unemployment 47-4160

Thirteen of the author's papers, covering period from early 1942 to early 1946, are collected here. Their central theme is the assurance of full employment, not by public works—these should be available as a last resort—but through guaranteeing a market for goods, and attaining this through supporting of consumer income." U S Quarterly BkI

Reviewed by C. R. Daugherty  
 Ann Am Acad 256:197 Mr '48 590w

By its very nature this book cannot offer a smooth, connected flow of thought. The book is somewhat repetitious and has no logical pattern other than the author's personal chronological development. It has, for this reason, a relatively poor style compared with many other serious books on technical economic problems." L. R. Klein  
 J Pol Econ 55:576 D '47 1100w

Management R 36:299 My '47 180w

The proposals made here are not likely to find general acceptance. The papers present, however, thought-provoking ideas looking toward the solution of the still unsolved problem of full employment."

U S Quarterly BkI 3:268 S '47 250w

PERSON, MRS MARY BYNUM (HOLMES). Graduate work in the South; pub. under the sponsorship of the Conference of deans of southern graduate schools. 265p \$4 Univ. of N.C. press  
 378 Colleges and universities—South. Colleges and universities—Graduate work 47-11677

Summarizes the history of the development of graduate work in the eleven southern states which once constituted the Confederacy. The greater part of the work deals with the years since 1900. Bibliography, Index.

"A well-organized, thoroughly documented, single volume. . . The volume gives an authoritative account of the history of graduate training in the South." L. R. Wilson  
 + Library Q 18:144 Ap '48 1450w  
 School & Society 66:351 N 1 '47 30w

PIGORS, PAUL JOHN WILLIAM, and MYERS, CHARLES ANDREW. Personnel administration; a point of view and a method. 553p \$4.50 McGraw

653.3 Employment management 47-11937  
 Basic text for courses which emphasize the psychological approach. Book stresses the philosophy of personnel administration instead of giving a detailed analysis of systems and procedures. Material in the book has been used in the authors' classes at M.I.T. over a period of two and a half years." (Library J)  
 Selected references. Indexes.

Reviewed by Reinhard Bendix  
 Am J Soc 54:167 S '48 550w

"Taken as a whole, the book makes a very worthwhile contribution to the teaching of personnel administration." R. N. McMurry  
 + Ann Am Acad 256:199 Mr '48 550w  
 Booklist 44:213 F 15 '48

Reviewed by L. A. Eales  
 Library J 72:1379 O 1 '47 60w

"This book can be useful to all who will give expositions of theory and practice the careful reading they deserve. It should not be restricted to workers in a personnel department.

ment. As a reference in helping any executive to a better understanding of some of his human relations problems, the book will prove valuable." H. K. Tootle  
 + Management R 37:49 Ja '48 450w

PILCHER, DONALD E. Regency style, 1800-1830. 120p il maps \$4.50 Batsford  
 724.142 Architecture—England. Architecture, Domestic 48-7669

The author defines his period as "an overall dating between 1800 and the early 1830's." His account is of the architecture of that time. "In their suburban and rural designs, Regency architects wedded the house to its surrounding garden, as we are only now beginning to do again, and in the development of row houses, dignified by the name of 'terrace' or 'mall,' they provided an alternative to those countless identical private dwellings, erected at random on an arbitrary gridiron of narrow plots, that were beginning to engulf the comparatively small and stable court cities and market towns of the eighteenth century. Many photographs." New Yorker

"Many readers of Donald Pilcher's Regency Style will be amazed to discover that the discussion of an architectural epoch may be at once scholarly and entertaining. Unlike our architectural historians, Pilcher is not afraid to be amusing. . . This is a Batsford book, and the illustrations live up to their standard of excellence." Wayne Andrews  
 + Commonweal 49:234 D 10 '48 390w

"A thorough, charmingly written account."  
 + New Yorker 21:106 O 2 '48 160w

Reviewed by James Lees-Milne  
 Spec 180:442 Ap 9 '48 480w

"One criticism of a useful book applies also to several other modern works of the kind. The text is good, and the illustrations are good within limits, but there is not enough liaison between the two. . . In his text Mr. Pilcher is habitually shrewd in judgment and well informed, so that The Regency Style throws valuable light on the Romantic age, whose predicament had a good deal in common with our own."  
 + Times [London] Lit Sup p424 JI 31 '48 1400w

PINCHOT, GIFFORD. Breaking new ground. 522p il \$5 Harcourt  
 B or 92 Forests and forestry—U.S. U.S. Forest service. Conservation of resources 47-11529

For descriptive note see Annual for 1947.

Reviewed by J. J. Flynn  
 Ann Am Acad 256:196 Mr '48 500w

"Gifford Pinchot's personal story, here told with informal ease, is the story of a life unselfishly devoted to public service." W. E. G.  
 + Christian Century 65:177 F 11 '48 130w

"In the strict sense of the word, this is not an autobiography. . . It offers many insights into the character and personality of the writer, yet the picture is not complete—is not meant to be. It also offers interesting and valuable comments on many Americans who played important national roles during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. For all who wish to know the origins of our fight for conservation, this book is required reading."  
 R. A. Brown  
 + Christian Science Monitor p14 Ja 28 '48 550w

"Pinchot's volume is the work of a man with a lucid, sensitive mind, an unchanging devotion to the public good—and bulging files of source material. He is honest and personal, unafraid either to confess his own errors or to quote letters and clippings that praise his work. He writes idiomatic plain talk and shows a shrewd sense of human nature." R. G. Lillard  
 + Nation 166:162 F 7 '48 1000w

"The story is told informally and sincerely with many anecdotes and free quotations from Pinchot's diaries, notes and letters.

U.S. Department of the Interior  
 Wild Land Fund - 44-81 Ap 48

#25



## Broadhurst House

The Broadhurst House on East Harford Street (next to Dave Chant's Office) is made up of a variety of imported architectural styles.

It is described in "A Roadside Tour of American Homes," by Harry Devlin, as "American Exuberant". He notes that the various styles were combined with such skill and ingenuity that the blend defies any usual definition and is a tribute to 19th Century imagination.

Unchanged since it was built, Joe Young, Scranton Architect, and advisor to the Milford Architectural Study Committee comments in his notes, "The house must have been built by a most sensitive and creative builder. He added dentils between the paired cornice brackets. He framed the second floor windows in very proper "bold" dressings, capped with classical pediments. He devised the veranda posts in a combination of pedestal, urn base, carved shaft and elongated square cap. Then trimmed the porch with fanciful fretwork braces. He crowned his achievement with a cupola.

## "American Exuberant"

Mr. Young observed that this design was published around 1820, "Cottage Design VIII in A.J. Downing's "Architecture of Country Houses. The design was presented as a "suburban cottage in the Italian Style"...and offered the thought that each builder would give their building an individual architectural style. The architectural style of this home is both picturesque and eclectic.

Cyril C.D. Pinchot built the house shortly before 1862. It was sold to Benjamin Sum, who resided there for 3 years. Henry S. Mott was the next owner (1865). Twelve years later in 1877, Elsie G. LaBar acquired the house, selling it in 1885 to Miranda Schimmel. In 1904, it was sold to Marie Jeannette Mott. James D. Grant acquired the house and property in 1956, transferring it 2 years later (1958) to Abijah W. Fox. Mr. Fox resided there for 12 years. Then he sold the house to Mr. and Mrs. L. Lovett. The Lovett's restored the house and pictures of the restoration appeared in House Beautiful.

The next owner was James Graham (1971). The present

owners, Mr. and Mrs. James Broadhurst of Valparaiso, Indiana took possession in 1975.

This is another in the series of articles on the old homes in Milford being researched by the Milford Architectural Study Committee. This is being done in an effort to remind the people of the Boro that the well kept homes, many of them with historic background, are a valuable resource. Homes that could not be duplicated today...and a resource well worth preserving.

# ADVENTURE IN REFORM

Gifford Pinchot, Amos Pinchot,  
Theodore Roosevelt and  
the Progressive Party

by John Allen Gable



Grey Towers Press

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This essay is based on a lecture sponsored by the National Friends of Grey Towers, delivered at Grey Towers, Milford, Pennsylvania, on July 14, 1985

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## Foreword

Grey Towers, the French chateausque mansion designed by Richard Morris Hunt, has been a center of intellectual and artistic activity for a century. Three generations of the Pinchot family used their commodious country home, with its circular towers, great halls, and elaborate gardens to entertain prominent artists, statesmen, and leaders in the American conservation movement. All who visited Grey Towers were certain to become involved in the spirited conversations which took place within and around the terraced home overlooking the Delaware River Valley.

James Pinchot and his wife, Mary Eno Pinchot, built Grey Towers as a summer retreat in 1886. James was a prominent American philanthropist, patron of the arts and an active conservationist. The Pinchots had three children: Gifford, who became America's first professional forester and two-term Governor of Pennsylvania; Antoinette, an organizer of the American hospital in Ris Orange, France; and Amos R.E. Pinchot, a political reformer and founding member of the Executive Board of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Gifford Pinchot was the Chief Forester during Theodore Roosevelt's Administration. They saw eye to eye on conservation policy and the ideals of good government. They also shared a deep mutual respect for each other. To Pinchot, Roosevelt was a great American hero, and to Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot epitomized the ideal public servant. Amos was Gifford's political confidante and adviser and both became active participants in the Bull Moose Progressive Party.

Theodore Roosevelt was a guest at Grey Towers on several occasions. It is especially fitting that the Progressive spirit which they shared is rekindled by John Gable in this first Pinchot Lecture.

John Gable, Executive Director of the Theodore Roosevelt Association and foremost authority on Theodore Roosevelt's life of thought and action, created an excitement in the audience which I am confident you will share. This publication of Dr. Gable's lecture initiates the Grey Towers Press. Future press publications and Pinchot Lectures will continue to be chosen for their contribution to the knowledge of history, politics, conservation, and the arts associated with Grey Towers and the Pinchot family.

I invite you to come to Grey Towers for each of the Pinchot Lectures, to share the special feeling of the estate, and to support the pursuit of excellence in thought which is the goal of the Grey Towers Press and which the Pinchot family actively pursued during their lives of public service.

E. J. VANDERMILLEN, Director  
Pinchot Institute for Conservation  
Studies  
Grey Towers Nat'l Historic Landmark



Theodore Roosevelt

In 1912 a new political party, the Progressive Party, was formed. Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive presidential candidate in 1912, remarked that he felt as "fit as a bull moose," and thus the new party was nicknamed the "Bull Moose Party." The Progressive Party existed for only four years, from 1912 to 1916. But in those four eventful years, the Progressives wrote a fascinating, colorful, and important chapter in American history.

Much can be learned about the historical significance of the Progressive Party by combining an overview of the party's history with a focus on the careers of three prominent Progressives, Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) and two brothers, Gifford Pinchot (1865-1946) and Amos Richards Eno Pinchot (1873-1944).<sup>1</sup>

Why was the Progressive Party founded? The immediate cause was a response to what many believed to be a theft of delegates by Republican Party bosses at the G.O.P. national convention of 1912.

Former President Theodore Roosevelt had swept the Republican primaries over incumbent President William Howard Taft, winning 278 delegates to Taft's 48. But hundreds of other delegates were chosen in a process traditionally controlled by party bosses. After bitter fights in caucuses and conventions around the country, some 254 delegate seats

<sup>1</sup>On the term "bull moose," see William Manners, *TR and Will: A Friendship That Split the Republican Party* (New York, 1969), pp. 237-238. For the history of the Progressive Party, see John Allen Gable, "The Bull Moose Years: Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party, 1912-1916," Ph. D. dissertation, Brown University, 1972; John Allen Gable, *The Bull Moose Years: Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1978); George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1946); and Amos R. E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party, 1912-1916* (New York, 1958), edited with introduction and notes by Helene Maxwell Hooker. The best complete biography of Theodore Roosevelt is William Henry Harbaugh, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (revised edition: New York, 1975), which has an excellent bibliography on TR. For biographical information on Gifford Pinchot, see *Dictionary of American Biography: Supplement Four* (New York, 1974), article by James Penick, Jr.; Martin L. Fausold, *Gifford Pinchot: Bull Moose Progressive* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1961); M. Nelson McGeary, *Gifford Pinchot: Forester-Politician* (Princeton, N.J., 1960); Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York, 1947), and edition by the University of Washington Press (Seattle, 1972), with introduction by James Penick, Jr.; Harold T. Pinkett *Gifford Pinchot: Private and Public Forester* (Urbana, Ill., 1970); and *Who Was Who* (New York, 1963-), Vol. II. For biographical information on Amos Richards Eno Pinchot, see *Dictionary of American Biography: Supplement Three* (New York, 1973), article by Helene Maxwell Brewer; Helene Maxwell Hooker (Brewer), "Biographical Introduction" and notes in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*; and *Who Was Who*, Vol. II. For information on Gifford Pinchot, Amos R.E. Pinchot, and the Pinchot family, also see the following publications of the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the Pinchot Institute for Conservation Studies and Grey Towers National Historic Landmark in Milford, Pennsylvania: *Grey Towers National Historic Landmark: Home of Gifford Pinchot* (1985); *Historic Structure Report: Grey Towers* (1979); *The Other Pinchots of Grey Towers* (1978); and *Pinchot: The Man, the House, the Legacy* (1978).



were contested at the Republican national convention in June of 1912. Dominated by the G.O.P.'s "Old Guard", who favored Taft, the Republican National Committee awarded 235 of these contested seats to Taft and 19 to TR. The Roosevelt supporters then bolted the national convention, charging that Taft's delegate majority was fraudulent and unrepresentative of the people. The Chicago Tribune expressed the sentiments of millions of Americans with the banner headline "THOU SHALT NOT STEAL".<sup>2</sup>

These particular events at the Republican convention of 1912 provided the essential catalyst for the formation of the Progressive Party. But there were fundamental and long-term causes as well for the birth of the new party — causes equally and perhaps more important than the so-called "theft" of the Republican nomination. Herbert Knox Smith, who resigned as federal commissioner of corporations to lead the Progressive Party in Connecticut, said in 1912, that the G.O.P. convention was "a proximate, not an ultimate cause" for founding the new party. The events at the Republican convention, Smith wrote, "simply furnished the climax and raised the floodgates." Likewise, former Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, in his keynote address to the first national convention of the Progressive Party, in August, 1912, said that "for years this party has been forming." Beveridge declared: "... The Progressive Party comes from the grass roots. It has grown from the soil of the people's hard necessities . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Both Smith and Beveridge believed that the Progressive Party was the product of conditions and forces dating back over a long period of time. Clearly indicating its origins, the Progressive Party took its name from the "progressive movement", which dated back to the 1890's.

<sup>2</sup>"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL," headline, *Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 1912. On the Republican primaries, delegate disputes, and the Republican National Convention of 1912, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 3-5, 12-17; Mowry pp. 237-255; *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Fifteenth Republican National Convention* (New York, 1912); Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 89-170; and Gilbert E. Roe, "The Truth About the Contests," *LaFollette's Weekly*, July 20, 1912, pp. 7-8, July 27, 1912, pp. 8-9, 14, August 3, 1912, pp. 7-9, 15. For voting figures in the primaries and general election, and analysis of the returns, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 13-14, 131-146.

<sup>3</sup>Herbert Knox Smith, "The Progressive Party," *Yale Review*, October, 1912, pp. 18-32, quotations, p. 23; Albert J. Beveridge, "Pass Prosperity Around," keynote address to the Progressive National Convention, August 5, 1912, in *First National Convention of the Progressive Party*, typed ms. minutes, pp. 12-41, quotations, p. 13, copies in the Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Harvard College Library, hereinafter cited as "TRCH," and in the Theodore Roosevelt Papers at the Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as "TRLC."

The progressive movement was a multi-faceted wave of reform which came into being in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century as a response to the economic, social, and political conditions brought about by industrialization and urbanization. Basically, the progressive movement sought to reform American society along the lines of democratic principles and Judeo-Christian ethics.<sup>4</sup>

By no means did all progressives join the new party in 1912. Some stayed with the G.O.P. Others preferred the Democratic Party and the moderate liberalism of Woodrow Wilson. But for many reformers the formation of the Progressive Party in 1912 was the logical next step of the progressive movement.

Reformers after the Civil War and on into the progressive period, like those who work for change in any era (be they liberals or conservatives), had basically three political options: what we might call the nonpartisan, the factional partisan, and the reform or third-party strategies. In other words, reformers could act outside the political parties, with the two established major parties, or through forming a new party.

Many reformers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had chosen the nonpartisan path of working outside the political parties and had formed various organizations for the purpose of bringing about reform through lobbying, social education, and private charity. Typical of this kind of activity was Amos Pinchot's work in New York City before 1912 as a trustee of the University Settlement, the Orthopedic Hospital, and the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor. Outstanding among such nonpartisan organizations was the National Conservation Association, founded in 1909 and led by Gifford Pinchot.<sup>5</sup>

Nonpartisan reformers were social workers, philanthropists, civic reformers, Social Gospel clergymen, women interested in social reform but lacking the ballot, social scientists and academics, and many white-

<sup>4</sup>The literature on the progressive movement is extensive. See particularly John D. Buenker and Nicholas C. Burckel, *Progressive Reform: A Guide to Information Sources* (Detroit, 1980); John D. Buenker, John C. Burnham, Robert M. Crunden, *Progressivism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Benjamin Parke DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement* (New York, 1915); Harold U. Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914* (New York, 1931); Samuel P. Hayes, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (Chicago, 1957); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform, From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955); and Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York, 1967). The progressive era and progressive movement are variously dated by different historians. The years 1890-1920 are the most inclusive. The term "progressive" was not widely used until about 1910.

<sup>5</sup>On Amos Pinchot's involvement in private charity before 1910, see Hooker, "Biographical Introduction," in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, p. 13. On the National Conservation Association and Gifford Pinchot, see McGeary, pp. 126, 197-205, 213, 330.

collar urban professionals of various types. Sometimes nonpartisan reformers obtained government positions, as Gifford Pinchot did as Chief Forester of the United States from 1898 to 1910. But whether they were private citizens or bureaucrats, the nonpartisan reformers for the most part held themselves aloof from party politics.

The problem with this strategy of reform was that nonpartisan reformers were restricted in power and influence. Sooner or later they had to go hat-in-hand or petition-in-hand to the politicians who controlled government. Moreover, nonpartisan organizations usually concentrated on individual issues or problems, such as conservation or child labor. But problems in modern society tend to be interrelated, and what was needed, many nonpartisan reformers had come to believe by 1912, was political power and a broad platform for social, economic, and governmental change.

Thus it was that many social workers like Jane Addams of Hull House in Chicago; Social Gospel clergymen like the Rev. Fraser Metzger of Vermont; academics such as President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of Berkley and William Draper Lewis, dean of the law school of the University of Pennsylvania, civic reformers like Denver's Edward P. Costigan; social scientists such as the economist George Ray Wicker of Dartmouth and political scientist Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago; professionals and intellectuals of various types, including writer Walter Lippmann, sculptor Gutzon Borglum, attorneys George L. Rublee and Amos Pinchot, and the first professionally trained forester in the United States, Gifford Pinchot, joined the Progressive Party. Seldom has a political party attracted more intelligence, talent and diverse professional skills.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>On social workers, clergy, academics, civic reformers, social scientists, and various professionals and nonpartisan reformers in the Progressive Party, see Jane Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York, 1930); Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. "The Origins of Progressive Leadership," Appendix III, pp. 1462-1465, in vol. III of Elting E. Morison and associates, editors, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols.: Cambridge, Mass., 1951-1954), hereinafter cited as "TR Letters; Allen F. Davis, "The Social Workers and the Progressive Party, 1912-1916," *American Historical Review*, 69 (1964), pp. 671-688; Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York, 1967); S. J. Duncan-Clark, *The Progressive Movement* (Boston, 1913); Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 4-6, 36, 39-44, 261-262; Barry D. Karl, *Charles E. Merriam and the Study of Politics* (Chicago, 1974); Herbert Janick, "The Mind of the Connecticut Progressive," *Mid-America*, 52 (1970), pp. 83101; Alon Jeffrey, "Vermont's Pastor-Politician: Fraser Metzger and the Bull Moose Campaign of 1912," *Vermont History*, XXXVIII (1970), pp. 58-69; Donald R. Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty* (New York, 1930); Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (Boston, 1980); and Walter I. Trattner, "Theodore Roosevelt, Social Workers, and the Election of 1912: A Note," *Mid-America*, 50 (1968), pp. 64-69. Also see Edwin R. Seligman to TR, July 19, 1912, Learned Hand to TR, August 11, 1912, Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch to TR, August 15, 1912, William Henry Crawshaw to TR, December 16, 1912, in TRLC.

It should not be forgotten, however, that many reformers before 1912 had taken the partisan political path, working not only within the Republican and Democratic parties and in government. This had been the course chosen by Theodore Roosevelt, from his days in the New York Assembly in the 1880s, through his years in the White House, 1901-1909. This was the path that had been taken by many who later became leaders in the Progressive Party, such as Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California, former Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, Congressman Victor Murdock of Kansas, Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana, Governor Robert Perkins Bass of New Hampshire, Colorado Attorney General Benjamin Griffith, former Governor John Franklin Fort of New Jersey, Judge William H. Hinebaugh of Illinois, and Senator Miles Poindexter of Washington.<sup>7</sup>

The problems with partisan politics from the standpoint of reform were that the old parties were to a large extent dominated by bosses and machines, and thus many felt, inherently un-democratic; and that neither the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party really stood for a coherent ideology or set of principles. The historic issues that had called the Democratic and Republican parties into being were dead by the 1880s and 1890s. The important issues of the modern world divided Americans along new lines — along the lines of *conservative* versus *progressive or liberal*. This dichotomy, which has lasted to the present day, was based on differing ideological responses to the evolution of America from an essentially agrarian economy to an urban and industrial society. But neither party was wholly conservative or wholly progressive. Conservatives were found in both parties. Progressives were in both parties.

The rise of reform sentiment had the effect of factionalizing both major parties on an ideological basis. Thus being a reformer in partisan politics meant being in a faction. As Gifford Pinchot observed in 1910: "Differences of purpose and belief between political parties today are vastly less than differences within the parties." The situation was explosive, and the explosion occurred within the Republican Party in 1912.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>On Progressive Republican politicians who joined the Progressive Party, see Howard W. Allen, *Miles Poindexter: A Study in Progressive Politics* (Carbondale, Ill., 1981); Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932); Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 4, 6-7, 27, 29, 33, 38-39, 45-57; James Holt, *Congressional Insurgents and the Party System, 1912-1916* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932); Jules A. Karlin, *Joseph M. Dixon of Montana* (2 vols.: Missoula, Montana, 1974); Robert Sherman LaForte, *Leaders of Reform: Progressive Republicans in Kansas, 1910-1916* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1974); and Spencer C. Olin, Jr., *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968).

<sup>8</sup>"Differences of purpose . . ." Gifford Pinchot quoted in "Pinchot's 'Fighting' Speech," *Literary Digest*, June 25, 1910, pp. 1245-1246.

Those progressive Republicans who refused to bolt the G.O.P. in 1912, like Governor Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri, believed that the strategy of factional politics was still viable, and that the Republican Party could yet be won for liberalism from within.<sup>9</sup>

As for the progressive Democrats, they appeared to have won their factional fight with the nomination in 1912 of Woodrow Wilson. The Progressive Party had been launched before Wilson's nomination, and its successful beginning led many Democratic leaders to believe that a liberal candidate was the key to victory in 1912. The supporters of the new party had hoped, even assumed that their party would be a home for progressive Democrats as well as progressive Republicans. And while some reform Democrats, like Francis J. Heney of California and John M. Parker of Louisiana, did join the Progressive Party, Wilson's nomination headed off any mass exodus of progressive Democrats. Wilson's nomination also made a Bull Moose victory in 1912 unlikely. But the supporters of the Progressive Party were interested in establishing a party wholly dedicated to reform, and the Democrats in 1912 remained a party with a powerful conservative wing. Referring to conservative and unsavory bosses in respectively the G.O.P. and the Democratic Party, TR said: ". . . Scant indeed would be the use of exchanging the whips of Messrs. Barnes, Penrose, and Guggenheim for the scorpions of Messrs. Murphy, Taggart, and Sullivan."<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, it soon became clear that Wilson was definitely to the right of Roosevelt and the new party. As a states' rights Democrat with a Southern background, Wilson dismissed most Bull Moose proposals; such as women's suffrage and the abolition of child labor, as purely state issues and rejected the extensive use of federal power in solving most social and economic problems. To the Bull Moosers, Wilson was a pale substitute for the robust progressivism of TR. And in any case, win or

<sup>9</sup>On those progressive Republicans who refused to leave G.O.P. in 1912, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 29-31, 38-39; Holt, pp. 63-80.

<sup>10</sup>". . . Scant indeed would be . . .," Theodore Roosevelt, "A Confession of Faith," address to Progressive National Convention, August 6, 1912, pp. 254-299, quotation, p. 257, in vol. XVII of Hermann Hagedorn, editor, *The National Edition of the Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (20 vols.: New York, 1926), hereinafter cited as "*TR Works*." Roosevelt referred to Republican bosses William Barnes, Jr., of New York, Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, and Senator Simon Guggenheim of Colorado; and to Democratic bosses Charles F. Murphy of New York's Tammany Hall, Thomas Taggart of Indiana, and Roger L. Sullivan of Illinois. On progressive Democrats who joined the Progressive Party, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 35-37. On Wilson's nomination, see Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York, 1954), pp. 12-13. On Progressive Party attitudes on Wilson and the futility of expecting reform from the Democratic Party, see "Platform Insincerity," *Outlook*, July 27, 1912, in *TR works*, XVII, pp. 245-253; TR to Chase S. Osborn, July 5, 1912, *TR Letters* VII, pp. 569-570; Everett Colby to TR, July 3, 1912, Eugene Thwing to Chase S. Osborn, July 10, 1912, copy, and TR to Herbert Knox Smith, July 13, 1912, all in TRLC.

lose in 1912, the Bull Moosers wanted a new reform party, one which would triumph with progressive principles sooner or later when conditions were ripe.<sup>11</sup>

This was by no means the first time that reformers had tried to organize new political parties. Before 1912, there had been the Liberal Republican Party of 1872, the Greenback Party of the 1870s and 1880s, the Populist Party of the 1890s, the Socialist Party after 1900, and others. Some veterans of these earlier third parties, like the old Populist Tom Watson of Georgia, joined the Progressive Party but the problems with reform or third parties before 1912 were numerous. These parties had failed to attract enough competent, experienced leadership or sufficient financial support. They were often dominated by what TR called the "lunatic fringe" of reform movements. Often their platforms contained as much chaff as wheat. Frequently, third-party leaders were more interested in theory than in practical politics. For the most part third parties of the past had lacked respectability, credibility, and political clout. Furthermore, the practical problems in organizing a new party from the precinct level upwards were many and formidable. It is not surprising, therefore, that reform parties had been defeated with monotonous regularity by Republicans and Democrats. But in spite of these past failures, which the Progressive Party was determined to surmount, by 1910 the option of forming a new reform party seemed increasingly attractive both to nonpartisan reformers, and to progressive Republican politicians.

By 1910 the progressive Republicans had openly broken with President William Howard Taft over such issues as the tariff, conservation of natural resources and leadership of the party. As far as Republican reformers were concerned, Taft had betrayed the progressive policies of his predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, and become the tool of the conservative Old Guard of the G.O.P. The year 1910 was a time of widespread factional fighting among Republicans across the nation. During that same year, Gifford Pinchot, who had been Chief Forester and a leading figure in the Roosevelt administration, was fired by President Taft in a dispute over conservation, known as the Pinchot-Ballinger

<sup>11</sup>On Wilson's views in the 1912 campaign, see Link, *Wilson and the Progressive Era*, pp. 1-24; and Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, N.J., 1947), pp. 467-520.

<sup>12</sup>On third or reform parties, see Howard P. Nash, *Third Parties in American Politics* (Washington, 1959); and essays in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., editor *History of U.S. Political Parties* (4 vols.: New York, 1973). On former Populist and members of other reform parties who joined the Progressive Party, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 35-37, 50, 260. Thomas E. Watson of Georgia was the Populist candidate for Vice President in 1896, and for President in 1904 and 1908.

controversy.<sup>13</sup>

As a result Gifford Pinchot and his brother Amos Pinchot, entered the political arena to fight for progressivism. Gifford Pinchot was present at what was probably the first public proposal of what came to be, two years later, the Progressive Party. On June 11, 1910, Gifford Pinchot, and Gifford's close friend James R. Garfield, who had been Secretary of the Interior under TR, spoke at a banquet of the Roosevelt Club of St. Paul, Minnesota, to a group of progressive Republicans. Pinchot and Garfield talked in general terms about translating progressivism into partisan politics, but the club's president, attorney Hugh T. Halbert, went further. Halbert predicted the emergence of a "new party" with TR, Gifford Pinchot, and Garfield among its leaders. The following flurry of discussion in the press clearly proved that Halbert was not alone in his thoughts. "Unquestionably a new party is maturing in this country," declared the *Atlanta Journal*. The progressive Republican *Kansas City Star* asked in a front-page editorial: "Is not this the logical time to look forward to a new party which shall include progressive Democrats and Republicans — a party dedicated to the square deal and led by Theodore Roosevelt?"

Looking around the nation in 1910 and 1911, there was evidence of the embryonic beginnings of a third party. In 1910 the progressive Republican Joseph M. Carey was elected Governor of Wyoming with Democratic support over the regular Republican candidate. In 1911 the Republican Progressive League of New Mexico backed the winning Democratic gubernatorial candidate over the conservative Republican nominee. And also in 1911 a new party, the Citizens' Party, was formed in Denver, and beat the Republicans and Democrats in the city elections. Governor Carey and the leaders of New Mexico's Republican Progressive League, and Denver's Citizens' Party joined the Progressive

<sup>13</sup>On the split between the Taft administration and the progressives, see particularly Mowry, chs. II - VIII. The literature on Gifford Pinchot's break with Taft and Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, the fight known as the "Ballinger-Pinchot Affair," is extensive: Harold L. Ickes, *Not Guilty: An Official Inquiry into the Charges Made by Glavis and Pinchot Against Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, 1909-1911* (Washington, 1940); Alpheus T. Mason, *Bureaucracy Convicts Itself: The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy* (New York, 1941); McGeary, chs. 7-11; James Penick, Jr., *Progressive Politics and Conservation: the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair* (Chicago, 1968); Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, chs. 70-90; Pinkett, ch. XV. Gifford Pinchot charged that Taft and Ballinger had abandoned the conservation policies of the Roosevelt administration, and that they favored private business interests over the public welfare.

<sup>14</sup>*Atlanta Journal* and *Kansas City Star* quoted from "Pinchot's 'Fighting Speech,'" *Literary Digest*, June 25, 1910, pp. 1245-1246, which gives an account of the St. Paul meeting. The meeting is noted in Mowry, p. 118. On the entrance of the Pinchot brothers into politics in 1910-1912, see Hooker, "Biographical Introduction," in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 10-28; and McGeary, pp. 190-197, 213-225.

Party in 1912. But in 1910 and 1911, all progressive Republicans agreed, it would be premature to form a new national party as long as there was a chance of capturing the "Grand Old Party," the G.O.P. That chance lay in Theodore Roosevelt's candidacy for the Republican nomination in 1912.<sup>15</sup>

Until Roosevelt consented to run in 1912, Gifford and Amos Pinchot backed liberal Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin for the Republican nomination. When TR announced his candidacy, the Pinchot brothers left LaFollette to help Roosevelt, who had always been their first choice. LaFollette, who had little chance under any circumstances of winning the Republican nomination, continued in the race for nominee against Taft and TR, bitterly refused to join with the Roosevelt forces at the Republican convention, and stayed with the G.O.P. in 1912. Finally, after years of fighting to win the Republican Party over to liberalism, LaFollette in 1924, at the end of his life, formed his own third party, also called the "Progressive Party."<sup>16</sup>

The Progressive Party has often been viewed as merely a vehicle for TR's candidacy for President. In reality, the situation was the other way around. Theodore Roosevelt was the instrument used by the progressive Republicans to capture the G.O.P. And when this attempt failed, TR was used to launch and rally popular support for the new Progressive Party.

TR became a candidate in 1912 for the Republican nomination only

<sup>15</sup>On Governor Joseph M. Carey of Wyoming, see information in *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, 1961); and *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1892- ). On the Republican Progressive League of New Mexico, led by Miguel A. Otero and Bronson Cutting, who both joined the Progressive Party in 1912, see Patricia Cadigan Armstrong, *A Portrait of Bronson Cutting Through His Papers, 1910-1917* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1959); and Robert W. Larson, "The Profile of a New Mexico Progressive," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XLV (1970), pp. 233-244. On the Citizens' Party of Denver, led by Edward P. Costigan and Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey, who both joined the Progressive Party in 1912, see Colin B. Goodykoontz, editor, *Papers of Edward P. Costigan Relating to the Progressive Movement in Colorado, 1902-1917* (Boulder, Colo., 1941).

<sup>16</sup>On LaFollette's candidacy in 1912, see Robert M. LaFollette, *LaFollette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences* (1913; University of Wisconsin edition, 1960), chs. XI-XIII and Appendix; Mowry, pp. 173-178, 185-187, 200-208; Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 121-157. Also see Holt, pp. 63-80.

The title "Progressive Party" has been used at least four times in American History: by Theodore Roosevelt's supporters in 1912-1916; by Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., in his independent presidential campaign in 1924; by Senator LaFollette's sons, Philip LaFollette and Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., in 1934-1946 for their state party in Wisconsin, which unsuccessfully attempted to become a national party in 1938; and by the party founded in 1948 by Henry A. Wallace. In addition, many political organizations, like the National Progressive Republican League founded in 1911, and the Progressive National Committee of 1936, have used the name "progressive."

with great reluctance. He knew the odds were against him, and he believed that by running he risked his reputation and his place in history. He became a candidate, after persistent and urgent appeals from reformers, out of a sense of duty to the principles for which he stood, and to the men on the firing line of politics who were fighting for those principles. When, on one occasion in 1911, Roosevelt told a group of friends that he did not want to run in 1912, Frank Knox, a former Rough Rider (and future Secretary of the Navy), said bluntly: "Colonel, I never knew you to show the white feather, and you should not do so now." Roosevelt, according to the sense of honor and duty by which he tried to live, had no choice but to run for the nomination in 1912. And when he had been given the overwhelming mandate of the Republican primaries, once again he had no real choice but to continue as a candidate. He had been counted out at the Republican convention by the bosses, not the people. Had he any right to toss aside the popular mandate he had received from the people in the primaries? Any other course but continuing in the campaign would have been craven and self-serving. Victory in November, TR knew, was unlikely, but perhaps his candidacy could establish a new reform party on firm and lasting foundations.

The opportunity to found a new party was thus embraced by many reformers of all types, from social workers to veteran politicians, who had come to a crossroads and were ready to take a new path.

"We have got to break the grip of the old corrupt parties before we can hope for popular prosperity and justice," wrote Amos Pinchot in 1912. "At last we have an opportunity to do this. We now have a chance to put in power a new party — a party that is not made up of machine politicians and representatives of selfish special interests. It is made up chiefly of men who see in the new party a chance to make America a better place for the average man to live in. The Progressive Party is simply the result of the people's need for justice."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Frank Knox quoted from Henry L. Stoddard, *As I Knew Them: Presidents and Politics from Grant to Coolidge* (New York, 1927), pp. 390-391. Frank Knox was Secretary of the Navy under Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940-1944. For a detailed discussion of TR's decision to run in 1912, see Gable, Ph.D. dissertation, pp. 26-34, 63-71. Also see the records of Roosevelt's private talks with Robert Grant in March, 1912, and with Otto H. Kahn in the winter of 1915-1916, on his reasons for running in 1912: Robert Grant to James Ford Rhodes, March 22, 1912, *TR Letters*, VIII, Appendix II, pp. 1465-1461; Frederick S. Wood, editor, *Roosevelt As We Knew Him* (Philadelphia, 1927), Otto H. Kahn, pp. 250-254.

Amos Pinchot quoted from a broadside form letter, "Dear Sir," dated November 2, 1912, used in Pinchot's Congressional campaign, copy in TRCH. Also see Amos R.E. Pinchot, "Two Revolts Against Oligarchy: The Insurgent Movements of the Fifties and of Today," *McClure's Magazine*, September, 1910, pp. 581-590; and *What's the Matter With America? The Meaning of the Progressive Movement and the Rise of the New Party*, pamphlet from 1912 in TRCH.

The first national convention of the Progressive Party met August 5-7, 1912 in Chicago. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President and Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California for Vice President. The convention adopted a comprehensive platform called the "contract with the people." The platform, and TR in his speech to the convention, entitled "A Confession of Faith," boldly called for such measures as votes for women, wages and hours laws, the conservation of natural resources, the abolition of child labor, the regulation of business through federal commissions, "direct democracy" reforms like referendum and recall and the primary system and social insurance to deal with "the hazards of sickness, accident, invalidism, involuntary unemployment, and old age." Here was an agenda for the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

In 1912 the Progressive Party ran candidates for governor, Congress, the legislature, and local offices in most states. Considered from the standpoints of ability, experience, and reputation, the Progressive tickets were indeed impressive. Gubernatorial candidates included former Secretary of Commerce and Labor Oscar S. Straus in New York, former federal commissioner of corporations Herbert Knox Smith in Connecticut, novelist and state legislator Winston Churchill in New Hampshire, and former Senator Albert J. Beveridge in Indiana. Candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives included Amos Pinchot in the 18th District in New York City; Mayor Roy O. Woodruff of Bay City, Michigan, who was to serve thirty-four years in Congress; Professor Yandell Henderson, Yale physiologist, in Connecticut; former Democratic Congressman W. Bourke Cockran on Long Island; William H. Hinebaugh, a county judge since 1902, in the 12th District of Illinois; and Jacob Alexander Falconer, who had been speaker of the state house, running for Congressman-at-large in Washington. The *Review of Reviews* said that the "Progressive candidates for Congress were — typically — men of high standing, brilliancy, and promise . . ." Unlike most other third parties, the Progressive Party did not lack credible

<sup>18</sup>Quotation on social insurance from Roosevelt, "A Confession of Faith," *TR Works*, XVII, p. 269. The minutes of the convention, *First National Convention of the Progressive Party*, typed ms., are in TRCH and TRLC. For the Progressive platform of 1912, see Donald Bruce Johnson, editor, *Nation Party Platforms* (2 vols.: Urbana, Ill., 1978), vol. I, pp. 175-182; and *A Contract With the People: Platform of the Progressive Party Adopted at Its First National Convention, Chicago, August 7, 1912*, pamphlet in TRCH. There are many accounts of the convention. See particularly Jane Addams, "My Experiences as a Progressive Delegate," in Christopher Lasch, editor, *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 162-169; Richard Harding Davis, "The Men at Armageddon," *Collier's*, August 24, 1912, pp. 10-11; Mark Sullivan, "Armageddon at Chicago," *Collier's* August 24, 1912, p. 13; and William Allen White, *The Autobiography of William Allen White* (New York, 1946), pp. 482-488.



All cartoons from the Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Harvard College Library.

leadership.<sup>19</sup>

In Pennsylvania, where Gifford Pinchot became a leader in the new party, the G.O.P. was controlled by the reactionary and flagrantly corrupt Senator Boies Penrose. When the Progressive Party was founded, Penrose's Republican henchmen in Harrisburg legally preempted or registered the party names of "Progressive", "National Progressive", "Roosevelt", and others, thereby attempting to deprive the new party of any recognizable label on the ballot. The Progressives in Pennsylvania, therefore, became the "Washington Party." (It should be noted that Penrose had preempted the name "Lincoln" as well as "Roosevelt.")

Pennsylvania ballot, the new party also established a "Bull Moose Party," which had an organization in Lancaster County, and a "Roosevelt-Progressive Party," which largely existed on paper. So it was that only in Pennsylvania was the name "Bull Moose Party" a legal designation for the new party.<sup>20</sup>

Typical of the high caliber of the Progressive candidates in 1912 were the Washington-Bull Moose nominees for Congress in Pennsylvania. Among them were Brigadier General Willis J. Hulings, who had been in both houses of the state legislature; former Mayor Fred E. Lewis of Allentown; the Rev. Henry Willson Temple, professor of political science and history at Washington and Jefferson College, who was to serve twenty years in Congress; and the newspaper editor M. Clyde Kelley, also to serve twenty years in Congress.<sup>21</sup>

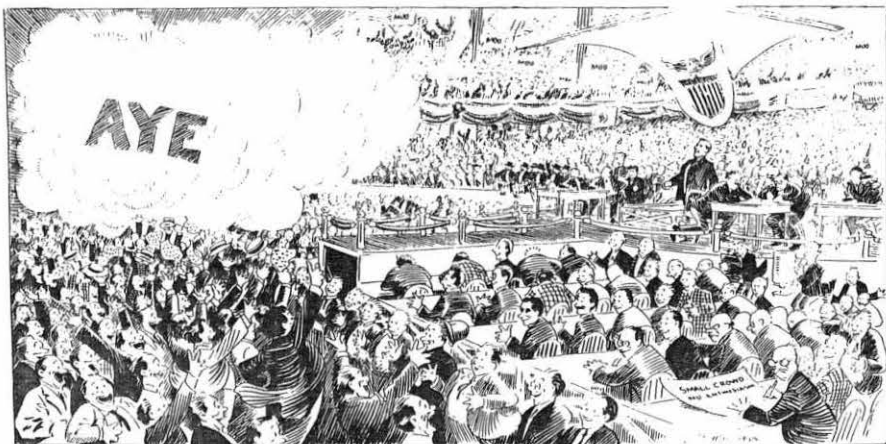
<sup>19</sup>"Progressive candidates for Congress . . .," *Review of Reviews*, December, 1912, p. 653. On the Progressive candidates for governor, Congress, and other offices in 1912, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 19-59, 111-112.

<sup>20</sup>The most detailed history of the Washington Party is given in Martin L. Fausold, *Gifford Pinchot: Bull Moose Progressive*. On party labels in Pennsylvania, see Fausold, p. 131; and William Flinn to TR, July 17, 1912, TRLC. There were at least nine political parties in Pennsylvania by 1914. The Progressive Party generally was labeled "Progressive Party" or "National Progressive Party" in other states. The principal leaders of the Washington Party were Gifford Pinchot, Dean William Draper Lewis of the University of Pennsylvania, Edwin A. Van Valkenburg, editor of the Philadelphia *North American*, Alexander P. Moore, editor of the Pittsburgh *Leader*, the group of Progressive Party Congressmen elected in 1912, and William Flinn. McGeary, p. 226, says of William Flinn of Pittsburgh: "Flinn, a former partner in the old Matthew Quay Republican machine, had a limited interest in progressivism, but was a bitter opponent of Penrose." Flinn's background in machine politics made him suspect to many Progressives around the nation, but TR considered him one of the ablest and most useful politicians recruited by the new party. On Senator Penrose, see Walter Davenport, *Power and Glory: The Life and Times of Boies Penrose* (New York, 1931). Pennsylvania had long been infamous for corrupt politics and boss rule. Fausold, p. 128, says: "Pennsylvania needed progressivism . . . ."

<sup>21</sup>For information on Hulings, Lewis, Temple, and Kelley, see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*.

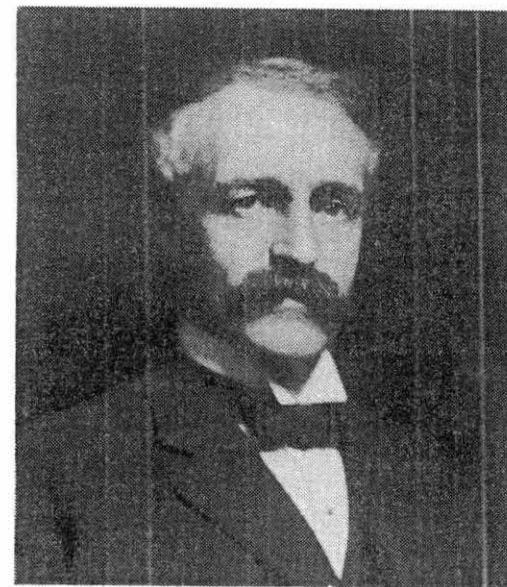
The story of the campaign of 1912 has been told many times. The contest was exciting and bitter. Roosevelt and the Progressives were attacked as radicals and socialists by the Republicans and Democrats. Abuse and misrepresentation were often characteristic of the appeals of the old parties. The Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, effectively portrayed himself as a moderate standing between the reactionary Republicans and the radical Progressives. On October 14, TR, on the way to an auditorium in Milwaukee, was shot by an insane anti-third-term fanatic, but he spoke for over an hour before going to the hospital. ". . . It takes more than that to kill a bull moose," TR told the crowd.<sup>22</sup>

The results of the elections were similar in most states and for most offices: the Democrats won with the traditional Republican vote split between the Progressives and the G.O.P. Wilson was elected with 6,301,254 votes to Roosevelt's 4,127,788 and Taft's 3,485,831. While TR placed second, other Progressive candidates usually came in third.



*Theodore Roosevelt nominated at the Progressive convention of 1912. Senator Beveridge presides.*

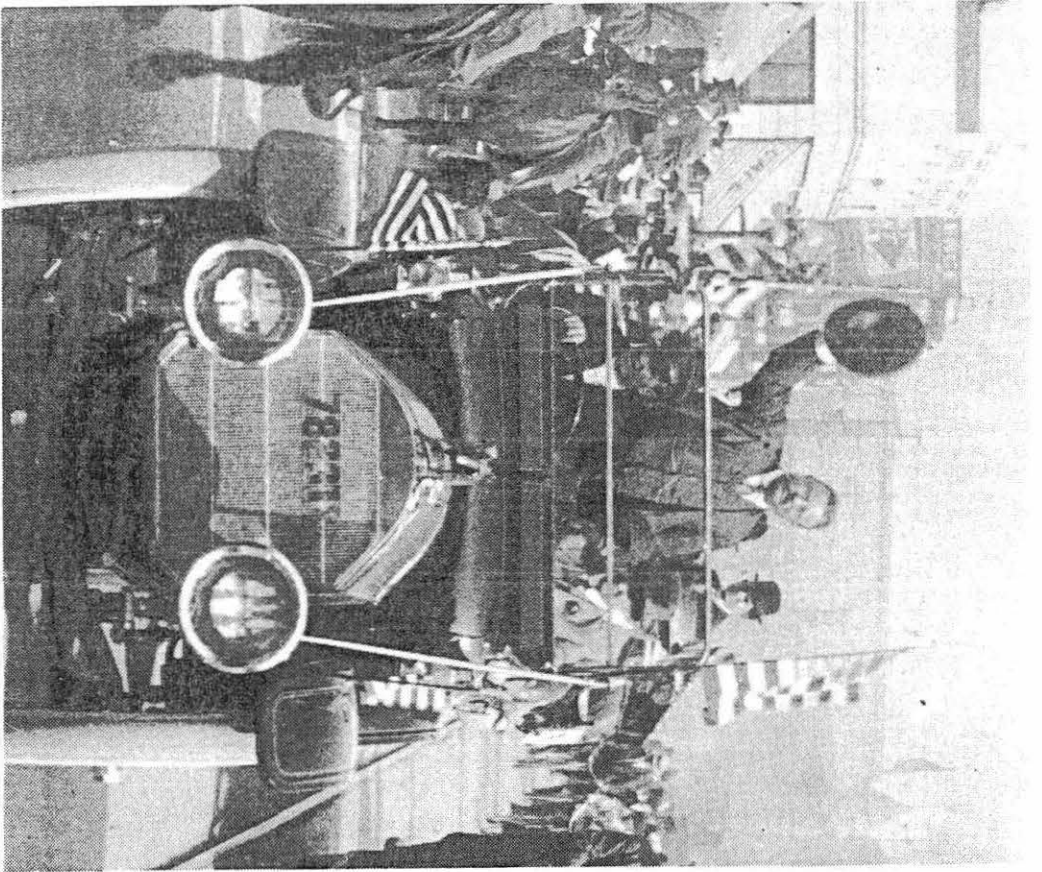
<sup>22</sup>"It takes more than that . . .," TR quoted from stenographic transcript of speech in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 14, 1912, after being shot, *TR Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 320. TR was shot in the chest. He was back on the campaign trail on October 30. On the 1912 campaign, see Joseph L. Gardner, *Departing Glory: Theodore Roosevelt as Ex-President* (New York, 1973), pp. 260-280; Harbaugh, ch. 27; Frank K. Kelly, *The Fight for the White House: The Story of 1912* (New York, 1961); Link, *Wilson and the Progressive Era*, pp. 1-24; Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House*, pp. 467-520; and Mowry, pp. 274-283. Roosevelt's 1912 campaign speeches are in *TR Works*, vol. XVII. Wilson's speeches are in John Wells Davidson, editor, *A Crossroads of Freedom: The 1912 Campaign Speeches of Woodrow Wilson* (New Haven, 1956). President Taft did little campaigning after the Republican convention.



*Gifford Pinchot*

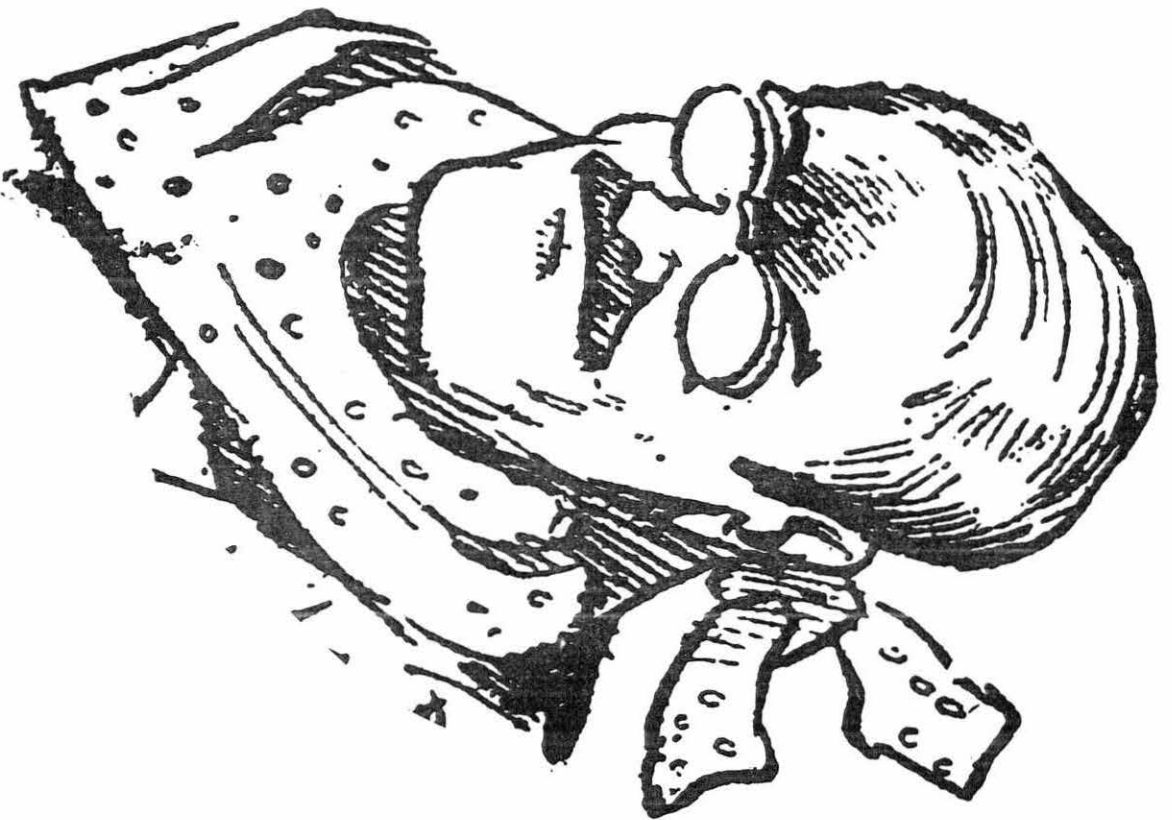


*Amos R.E. Pinchot*



*Courtesy Harrison Engle*

*TR campaigning in Los Angeles in 1912.*



*William Flinn of Pittsburg wearing a Bull Moose campaign bandanna.*



The Bull Moosers had divided the Republican Party, but clearly they had not put it out of business.

The Progressive Party, however, did do well enough in 1912 to inspire the Bull Moosers to continue the fight. TR had come in second in the national vote, and he carried six states: Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, Washington, and California. Taft carried only two states, and for the first and last time in history the Republican Party came in third in a presidential election. Progressives had won a strong position in the legislatures of at least eight states. Amos Pinchot was defeated in New York, but some twenty Bull Moosers, including no less than six from Pennsylvania, were elected to the U.S. House. Then, in the elections of 1913, Progressives elected mayors in Portland, Oregon, Canton and Akron, Ohio, thirteen municipalities in Michigan, six in New Jersey, and four in Indiana, while gaining seats in the New York and Massachusetts legislatures, thereby seeming to confirm the Bull Moosers' belief in the future of their party. But the true test for the party, everyone knew, would come in the state and Congressional elections of 1914, when at the very least the Progressives would have to hold their own in order to survive.<sup>23</sup>

The year 1914 saw a defiant and determined charge by the Bull Moose herd. Once again, the candidates fielded by the Progressive Party in 1914 were outstanding in terms of background and talent. Gubernatorial candidates included Governor Hiram W. Johnson, running for reelection in California; former Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield in Ohio; the Wesleyan University economics professor Willard Fisher in Connecticut; the Denver Citizens' Party leader Edward P. Costigan in Colorado; Frederick M. Davenport, professor of law and politics at Hamilton and a former state senator in New York State; and the well-known newspaper publisher Henry J. Allen in Kansas. In 1914, as a result of the 17th amendment, U.S. Senators were popularly elected for the first time, and the Progressive candidates for the Senate included Beveridge in Indiana, Herbert Knox Smith in Connecticut, Congressman Victor Murdock in Kansas, former state attorney general Benjamin Griffith in Colorado, Bainbridge Colby (later U.S. Secretary of State) in

<sup>23</sup>For an analysis of the voting in the elections of 1912, on the determination of the Progressives to continue with the party, on the elections of 1913, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 131-181. The Progressives won strong positions in the legislatures of New Hampshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Montana, Washington, and California in 1912. The vote in 1912 for the race in the 18th Congressional district in New York City was Thomas G. Patten (Democrat) 13,704 50%; Amos R.E. Pinchot (Progressive) 6,644 24.3%; S. Walter Kaufman (Republican and Independence League) 4,943 18%; and Algernon Lee (Socialist) 2,085 7.6%. The six Progressive Congressmen elected in 1912 from Pennsylvania were M. Clyde Kelley, Fred E. Lewis, Arthur R. Ruple, Anderson H. Walters, Henry Willson Temple, and Willis J. Hulings.

New York, and Gifford Pinchot in Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot, opposed Senator Boies Penrose for reelection and waged a hard-hitting campaign. Pinchot attempted but failed to secure a fusion movement with the Democrats against the G.O.P.<sup>24</sup>

The results of the elections of 1914 were an almost total defeat for the Progressive Party. Johnson was reelected in California, but the other 20 Bull Moose candidates for governor were beaten. Gifford Pinchot and all the other Progressive candidates for the Senate were defeated. Most of the Progressive Congressmen elected in 1912, including all six from Pennsylvania, were not returned to Washington. In some states the Progressives came in fourth behind the Socialist Party. The Democrats did well in the elections of 1914, while the Republicans staged a comeback in many states. The Progressives had failed to replace the Republicans, and they were unable to beat the Democrats. By 1915 little was left of the Progressive Party except a group of colonels without troops.<sup>25</sup>

Why were the Progressives defeated in 1912 and 1914? There seem to be several reasons. First, the Progressive platform was probably too radical for most Americans at that time. Second, it was hard for a new party to overcome the opposition of two old and well-established parties. Third, the moderate progressivism of Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats seemed to satisfy many middle-of-the road and reform-minded voters. Finally, the two old parties were heterogeneous coalitions, embracing the ethnic, cultural, and economic pluralism of the American scene. And the old parties were deeply rooted in the soil of the American past. The Progressives were unable to repeal the past, or to meet the

<sup>24</sup>On the Progressive candidates and campaign in 1914, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 182-228, 281-287; Gable, Ph. D. dissertation, pp. 476-612. On Gifford Pinchot's campaign in Pennsylvania, see Fausold, pp. 128-193; McGeary *Gifford Pinchot*, pp. 242-259; and M. Nelson McGeary, "Gifford Pinchot's 1914 Campaign," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXI (1957), pp. 303-318. All further citations from McGeary refer to his book *Gifford Pinchot*.

<sup>25</sup>On the results of the 1914 elections, see Gable *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 223-228; Gable, Ph. D. dissertation, pp. 591-598, 609-612; *New York Times*, January 17, 1915. Also see TR to Hiram W. Johnson, November 6, 1914, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 832-833; TR to William Allen White, November 7, 1914, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 834-840; and, with particular references to Pennsylvania, Alexander P. Moore to TR, November 4, 1914, Alexander P. Moore to TR, November 7, 1914, TR to Willis J. Hulings, November 28, 1914, TRLC. The vote in Pennsylvania was Boies Penrose (Republican) 519,830; Gifford Pinchot (Washington Party) 269,175; A. Mitchell Palmer (Democrat) 266,436. Adding up the totals in the election of 1914, we find that the Democrats and the Republicans each polled about 6,000,000, compared with approximately 2,000,000 for the Progressives. The Progressive total in 1914 was about one half of TR's vote in 1912. Roosevelt's only public statement on the 1914 results was to tell reporters to read II Timothy 4:3-4.

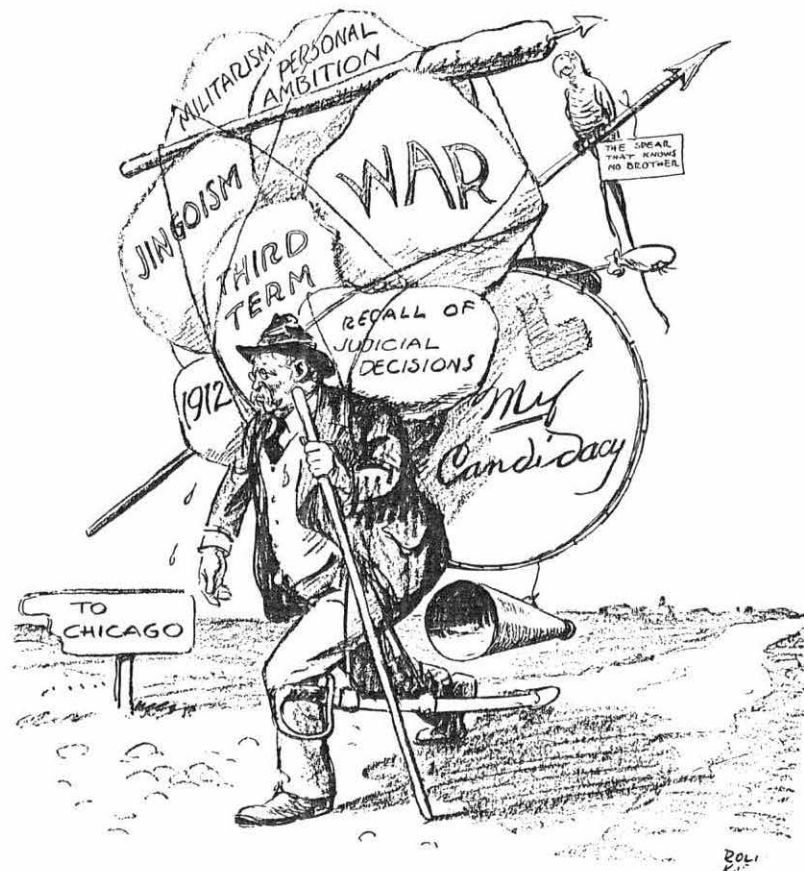
multitude of challenges presented by American pluralism. The historic factors that made South Carolina vote Democrat and Vermont vote Republican could not be swept away overnight. Furthermore, most Progressive leaders were Protestants from northern European stock, and most had been Republicans. The rhetoric and philosophy of the Progressive Party reflected this background. Therefore, the Progressive Party's appeal, as it turned out, was really limited to a faction of one segment of the general population.<sup>26</sup>

World War I began in Europe during the summer of 1914, and soon Americans were turning their attention to the issues of foreign policy, military preparedness, and intervention. TR, Gifford Pinchot, and the majority of Bull Moose leaders favored military preparedness and a hard-line policy towards Germany. Amos Pinchot, Jane Addams, and a significant minority of Bull Moosers opposed preparedness and entry into the war. But the "big stick" concepts of TR, Gifford Pinchot, and other Progressives prevailed within the Bull Moose herd, and were reflected in all the Progressive Party's official pronouncements. Gifford Pinchot informed an Ohio civic group in 1915: "The only subject upon which I am willing to speak, because it seems to me the paramount question now, is the interest of the United States in the war. The talk . . . will not be relished by any pro-Germans in my audience."<sup>27</sup>

Although many Progressive leaders doubtless still hoped for the survival of the party as an independent entity, the official statement issued by the Progressive National Committee in January of 1916, and Roosevelt in his speeches and writings in 1915 and 1916, made it clear that the party's top priority in 1916 would be the defeat of President Wilson on the issues of preparedness and foreign policy. The Progressive National Committee announced in January of 1916 that the Bull Moose

<sup>26</sup>On the background of the leaders of the Progressive Party, see particularly Chandler, "The Origins of Progressive Leadership"; Janick's essay on the Connecticut Progressives; Jeffrey's essay on the Vermont Progressives; and E. Daniel Potts, "The Progressive Profile in Iowa," *Mid-America*, XLVII (1965), pp. 257-268. On the rhetoric and appeal of the Progressives, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 85-98, 133-146.

<sup>27</sup>"The only subject . . .," Gifford Pinchot quoted by Fausold, p. 197. On Gifford Pinchot's attitudes on World War I, see Fausold, pp. 194-216. On Amos Pinchot's views on the war, see Hooker, "Biographical Introduction," in Amos R.E. Pinchot *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 68-71. On the views of other Progressive Party leaders on preparedness, see Allen's biography of Miles Poindexter; Gable *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 229-249; Frances Kellor, *Straight America* (New York, 1916), a book on preparedness written by a prominent Progressive and social worker; speeches and statements in *Meeting of the Progressive National Committee, Chicago, January 11-12, 1916* (New York, 1916), Progressive National Committee Files, TRCH; "The Newer Nationalism," *New Republic*, January 29, 1916, pp. 319-321; and speech of Raymond Robins to 1916 Progressive National Convention, *New York Times*, June 8, 1916.



Cartoonist Rollin Kirby's view of TR's presidential candidacy in 1916.

and Republican conventions would meet at the same time in Chicago. "We take this action, believing that the surest way to secure for our country the required leadership will be by having, if possible, both the

<sup>28</sup>"We take this action . . .," A Statement Unanimously Adopted at the Meeting of the Progressive National Committee at Chicago, January 11, 1916," in *The Progressive Party: Its Record from January to July, 1916*, pp. 7-9, quotations, p. 9, book published in 1916 by the Executive Committee of the Progressive National Committee, copy in TRCH. Also see *Meeting of the Progressive National Committee, Chicago, January 11-12, 1916*. Roosevelt's writings and speeches in 1914-1916 have been collected in *America and the World War* (1915), and *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* (1916), both in vol. XVIII of *TR Works*. Also see Roosevelt, "The Heroic Mood," statement to press at Port of Spain, Trinidad, March 9, 1916, *TR Works*, vol. XVII, pp. 410-413; and see vol. XVIII of Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 229-249; Mowry, chs. XII-XIV.

Progressive and Republican Parties choose the same standard-bearer and the same principles," said the Progressives. "In this turning point in world history, we will not stick on details; we will lay aside partisanship and prejudice." All observers realized, of course, that the Progressives had Roosevelt in mind as the joint Progressive-Republican candidate.<sup>28</sup>

The remnant of the Progressive Party met in Chicago, June 7-10, 1916, for the second and last Bull Moose national convention. The Republicans, as planned, met at the same time in the same city, and both parties appointed committees to confer on a joint nominee. The Republicans refused to consider Roosevelt, the Progressives insisted on Roosevelt, and negotiations broke down. The Progressive convention then nominated TR, while the Republican convention chose Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes, who because of his position on the court had not been involved in the political battles of the previous four years.

Believing that the defeat of Wilson on preparedness and foreign policy was the great national need, Roosevelt declined the Progressive nomination and backed Justice Hughes. The Progressive National Committee met on June 26, 1916, after Hughes had made public his positions on the issues of the day, to consider the party's course. After a heated debate, the Progressive National Committee voted 32-6, with 9 abstentions, to endorse Hughes. With the adjournment of that meeting, the Progressive Party was disbanded.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup>On the 1916 Progressive National Convention, the 1916 Republican National Convention, and the June 26, 1916 meeting of the Progressive National Committee, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 241-249; John A. Garraty, "T.R. on the Telephone," *American Heritage*, IX (1957), pp. 98-108; Harold L. Ickes, "Who killed the Progressive Party?" *American Historical Review*, XLVI (1941), pp. 306-337; Mowry, pp. 345-360; *New York Times*, June 8-12, 1916, and June 26-27, 1916; *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Republican National Convention* (New York, 1916); Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 212-225; *The Progressive Party: Its Record from January to July, 1916*, which includes the 1916 Progressive National Platform, statements by TR, speeches given at the June 26 meeting, resolutions adopted on June 26, and other materials on the course of the party in 1916; TR to Progressive National Convention, telegram, June 10, 1916, *TR Letters*, VIII, pp. 1062-1063; TR to Progressive National Committee, June 22, 1916, *TR Letters*, VIII, pp. 1067-1074; Stoddard, pp. 426-437; White, pp. 520-527. A group of antifusionist Progressives met in Indianapolis on August 2, 1916, but could find no presidential candidate to run on an independent Progressive ticket. John M. Parker of Louisiana had been nominated for Vice President at the 1916 Progressive National Convention, and antifusionist Progressives hoped that Parker would in some way stay in the race. But Parker soon returned to the Democratic Party and backed Wilson. Progressive electors did, however, remain on the ballot in some states and received a few votes. A meeting of former Progressives in St. Louis in April, 1917, voted to merge with the Prohibition Party. Amos Pinchot and some other Progressives formed the "Committee of 48" in 1918, which helped establish the Farmer-Labor Party in 1920, and LaFollette's Progressive Party of 1924. None of these meetings after June 26, 1916, of course, in any legal or official way represented the Progressive Party.

In the fall campaign, most former Bull Moose leaders, including Gifford Pinchot, followed TR's lead, and returned to the Republican Party and supported Hughes. A smaller group of Bull Moosers, including Amos Pinchot, backed Wilson on the issues of progressivism and peace. Amos Pinchot was Chairman of the Wilson Volunteers of New York in 1916.<sup>30</sup>

Campaigning for Wilson's reelection, Amos Pinchot, who had often differed with TR on issues during the lifetime of the Progressive Party, and who was now totally estranged from TR over the war, accused Roosevelt of selling out the Progressive Party to conservative interests, and of becoming "the bell hop of Wall Street." In response, on November 3, 1916, a few days before the election, TR wrote to Amos Pinchot: "Sir: When I spoke of the Progressive Party as having a lunatic fringe, I specifically had you in mind. On the supposition that you are of entire sound mind, I should be obliged to say that you are absolutely dishonorable and untruthful. I prefer to accept the former alternative. Yours truly."<sup>31</sup>

Wilson was narrowly reelected. (He was inaugurated in March, 1917, and asked for a declaration of war the next month). Analysis of the voting in the election of 1916 shows that most former Bull Moosers voted for Hughes, but enough Progressives went with Wilson, particularly in the Western states, to provide the President with his margin of victory. Roosevelt, of course, was disgusted by the performance of the voters in the Western states. Referring to TR's views on the Western states, Amos Pinchot, on November 11, 1916, wrote to President Wilson in congratulation: "I note with chagrin that according to the Vocal One, the center of population of soft citizens has moved west. We must now adjust ourselves to the idea, that every man who rides a bucking horse or wears a Stetson hat has been deceiving us. Whereas we thought him something

<sup>30</sup>See Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 248-249; Hooker, "Biographical Introduction," in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 68-69; Arthur S. Link and William M. Leary, Jr., "Election of 1916," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Fred L. Israel, editors, *History of American Presidential Elections* (4 vols.: New York, 1971), vol. III, pp. 2245-2345; Mowry, pp. 359-366.

<sup>31</sup>TR to Amos R.E. Pinchot, November 3, 1916, *TR Letters*, VIII, p. 1122. On "the bell hop of Wall Street" and other charges of Amos Pinchot, see Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>32</sup>Amos R.E. Pinchot to Woodrow Wilson, November 11, 1916, quoted from Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 69-70. For an analysis of the Bull Moose vote and Wilson's reelection, see Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), pp. 124-164. On Amos Pinchot's support of Wilson, also see Woodrow Wilson to Amos R.E. Pinchot, September 20, 1916, in Arthur S. Link and associates, editors, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (49 volumes to date: Princeton, N.J., 1966- ), vol. 38, p. 190.

of a rugged American, the election proves that he is only a whited mollicoddle . . . .

"It is hard for me to get used to the idea of your victory and Mr. Hughes' defeat, for I have hardly ever been on the winning side."<sup>32</sup>

The internal history of the Progressive Party reveals much about the ideas of the Progressives, and about the problems of reform movements and reform parties. Although the Progressives condemned, and sought to escape, the factionalism of the old parties, the Progressive Party was itself troubled by factional disputes. The principal conflicts within the Progressive Party were over these main issues: antitrust policies, the leadership of Executive Committee Chairman George W. Perkins, fusion with the old parties, whether to give priority to "social education" or practical politics, what issues to emphasize, and the questions of preparedness and whether or not to enter World War I. Amos and Gifford Pinchot were deeply involved in all these disputes.

TR and most Progressive Party leaders favored the regulation of big business by powerful federal commissions, like the Federal Trade Commission and Securities and Exchange Commission of today, with antitrust suits being used as a reserve weapon. In contrast, Amos and Gifford Pinchot believed in a thorough-going antitrust policy, which was to restore open competition and small-unit capitalism. The view held by the Pinchot brothers was also that of many agrarian progressives in all parties, and was preached by Woodrow Wilson during the 1912 campaign. It should be noted that by 1914 the Wilson administration had shifted to Roosevelt's philosophy of regulation, and that basically a similar policy has been followed, more or less, by the federal government ever since.

At the Progressive convention of 1912, during the deliberations of the platform committee, the Pinchot brothers locked horns on the antitrust question with the most important financial backer of the new party, George W. Perkins. Ultimately, the Pinchot brothers and others accused Perkins of attempting to "steal" lines endorsing the Sherman Antitrust Act from the platform. Roosevelt wanted to retain the Sherman Antitrust Act, and greatly expand its provisions on conduct in the market place; but he doubted that a return to nineteenth-century economic conditions through "trust-busting" was either desirable or possible. At the convention and later, TR tried to paper over the differences between the two approaches to the problems of controlling modern business. And it seems clear that most Bull Moose leaders agreed with his position on regulation and the Sherman Act. But the antitrust issue plagued Roosevelt during the 1912 campaign, when the Democrats accused him of favoring "legalized monopoly."<sup>33</sup>

Amos Pinchot, who viewed himself as a "radical" in the Progressive Party, advocated government ownership wherever the restoration of competition seemed impossible, as with railroads and utilities. He unsuccessfully tried to convince his brother Gifford to speak in favor of some form of government ownership in Gifford's 1914 campaign for the Senate. Amos Pinchot's ideas on government ownership, his attacks on Wall Street, his ardent belief in trust-busting, and his close friendship with many Socialists in this period, led some observers then and later, to see Amos as the great "radical" leader in the Progressive Party. But to call Amos a "radical" can be misleading.

The key to Amos Pinchot's economic theory was his belief that freedom and market-place competition went hand-in-hand. In other words, Amos Pinchot, with some reservations, was a follower of classical capitalism. During the Bull Moose years, this philosophy made him a trust-buster. Later, in the 1930s, these same views made him an opponent of the New Deal and big government. In contrast, Gifford Pinchot always believed in big government and federal power. As a consequence, in the 1930s Gifford Pinchot supported the New Deal of the second President Roosevelt.<sup>34</sup>

Both of the Pinchot brothers were opposed to the leadership of George W. Perkins, the Chief executive officer of the Progressive Party. Perkins, known as the "dough moose" of the Bull Moose herd because of his heavy financial support of the Progressive Party, was a member of the boards of United States Steel and International Harvester, and a former partner of J.P. Morgan. Because of his big business connections, Perkins' professions of progressivism were challenged by reformers of all parties. Amos Pinchot believed that Perkins wanted to take over the new party for Wall Street. From 1912 through 1916, the Pinchot brothers and many

<sup>33</sup>"Legalized monopoly," Woodrow Wilson quoted from *New York Times*, September 3, 1912. On the dispute over the Sherman Act, antitrust policy, and the Progressive platform, see O.K. Davis, *Released for Publication* (Boston, 1925), pp. 326-336; Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *McCarthy of Wisconsin* (New York, 1944), pp. 157-174; Gable *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 98-105, 269-271; John A. Garraty, *Right-Hand Man: The Life of George W. Perkins* (New York, 1960), pp. 264-273; William Draper Lewis, *The Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 369-376; Mowry, pp. 269-273; Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 170-177; White, pp. 482-488. And see William Draper Lewis to TR, August 11, 1912, TRLC; TR to Amos R.E. Pinchot, December 5, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 661-670; TR to Francis J. Heney, December 13, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 672-676; TR to George L. Record, December 13, 1912, TRLC. Perkins and the Pinchot brothers disagreed as to what lines had been included by the platform committee in the plank on business, and the dispute became public after the election of 1912. The lines in question endorsed the Sherman Act. The quarrel seems to have resulted from an honest misunderstanding among those who took part in the deliberation over the platform. But it was fueled by the animosity of the Pinchot brothers and others to Perkins.

other Bull Moosers tried repeatedly and unsuccessfully to remove Perkins from his position of leadership. Again and again attacks on Perkins were beaten back by Roosevelt. Convinced that the party needed Perkins's executive skills, and mindful of Perkins's generous support of the Progressive cause, Roosevelt stubbornly defended his party manager.

Perkins was, evidence indicates, a sincere moderate progressive, and certainly he paid his dues to the party. But he was often inept as a politician, and his public image without question made him a poor choice as a public spokesman for the Progressive Party. Both Perkins's leadership in the Progressive Party, and the quarrels over his position, hurt the party.<sup>35</sup>

The party was also damaged by the dispute of 1914 over fusion with the old parties. In the elections of 1914, Roosevelt tried to unite with New York Republicans on a state ticket to beat the Tammany Hall Democrats. And in Pennsylvania Gifford Pinchot attempted to combine with the Democrats on a state ticket to defeat the Penrose Republicans. Both efforts at fusion failed, and Progressives accused TR and Gifford

<sup>34</sup>On Amos Pinchot's economic views, see Helene Maxwell Brewer's essay in *Dictionary of American Biography*; Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York, 1967), pp. 26, 43, 49, 60, 74-77, 94, 98-99, 111, 144, 179, 187, 192; and Helene Maxwell Hooker (Brewer), "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*. Also see Amos R.E. Pinchot, *The Crime of Private Monopoly: Its Cost to the Public and the Wage-Earner*, undated pamphlet in TRCH, based on article in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1913, and an address to the ACPSS. On Amos Pinchot's efforts in 1914 to promote some form of government ownership, and to convince Gifford Pinchot to take up this issue in his 1914 campaign, see Fausold, pp. 125, 152-160; Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 125, 152-160; Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 40-41, 52-53; and McGeary, pp. 242-243. Amos Pinchot planned to run for the Senate from New York as a Progressive in 1914 to promote his views on government ownership and other issues, but gave up the idea because it was thought that a race by Amos would hurt Gifford's campaign in Pennsylvania. On Amos Pinchot's views on the New Deal, see above references in Graham, and see Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 80- . On Gifford Pinchot's views on the New Deal, see McGeary, pp. 392-396, 414, 421-425. Otis L. Graham, Jr., says that Amos Pinchot's advocacy of some forms of government ownership "to the intellectually careless . . . sounded like socialism." But, Graham states, "all Amos wanted was a return to old style competitive capitalism." Graham sees Amos as a "special sort of progressive, the radical conservative." Amos Pinchot wrote in 1915, quoted by Hooker, p. 41: "I believe in competition in industry. I do not hold with either monopolists or socialists, for both advance the elimination of competition in industry." Amos Pinchot's views on economics must be seen in the context of his general ideas about society and government. . . . He regarded all aggregations of power as a threat to the individual," writes Hooker. Amos Pinchot described himself in 1934, quoted by Graham, p. 75, as "one of the old breed of individualists."

Pinchot of trying to destroy the Progressive Party as an independent organization.<sup>36</sup>

Other disputes also divided Progressives. There were quarrels about emphasizing various issues, and over taking up new issues like prohibition, a cause favored by Gifford Pinchot. More important and basic was the debate over whether to give priority to the social education of the public or to practical politics. Should the emphasis be on education or organization? This question found Amos Pinchot favoring the priority of social education over politics, and Gifford Pinchot, then and later in his career, trying to find a balance. Theodore Roosevelt also believed a balance was possible, and he deplored the infighting among Progressives on this and other matters. "Of course I am having my usual difficulties with the Progressive Party, whose members sometimes drive me nearly mad," TR wrote his son Quentin in 1913. "I have to remember, in order to keep myself fairly good-tempered, that even though the wild asses of the desert are mainly in our ranks, our opponents have a fairly exclusive monopoly of the swine."<sup>37</sup>

The issues of World War I, as we have seen, found TR and Gifford Pinchot on one side, and Amos Pinchot on the other. In the end, the war issues reunited the Progressive Party with the Republicans, at least on paper.

The disputes within the Bull Moose herd doubtless hurt the Progressive Party in many ways, and have been a favorite topic for historians. But two points should be kept in mind. First, it was not internal dissension that brought about the demise of the Progressive Party. The Bull Moosers were killed by the Democrats and Republicans,

<sup>35</sup>On the controversies over George W. Perkins, see Fausold, pp. 98-102, 109-115, 167-170; Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 98-106, 117-120, 152-153, 188-192, 230-231; John A. Garraty's biography of Perkins; Mowry, pp. 291-299; Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 37-59, 165-225, 248-263. And see Amos R.E. Pinchot to TR, December 3, 1912, AREP to TR, December 23, 1912, TRLC; Gifford Pinchot to TR, November 23, 1912, GP to TR, December 17, 1912, GP to TR, January 1, 1913, GP to TR, January 20, 1913, TRLC; TR to Gifford Pinchot, November 11, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 637-638; TR to Amos R.E. Pinchot, December 5, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 661-670; TR to Gifford Pinchot, December 21, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 677-679; TR to Amos R.E. Pinchot, December 31, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 682-683; Medill McCormick to TR, November 18, 1912, Charles E. Merriam to TR, November 20, 1912, TRLC. Some correspondence relative to Perkins is reproduced in *History of the Progressive Party*. It was in TR's letter of November 11, 1912 to Gifford Pinchot that Roosevelt said that had he been elected President in 1912 he would have appointed Gifford as Secretary of State. TR addresses Gifford Pinchot: ". . . O Mr. Secretary of State that-was-to-have-been!" George W. Perkins was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Progressive National Committee, 1912-1916, and in this post served as the chief executive officer of the party. Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana was Chairman of the Progressive National Committee, 1912-1914, and Congressman Victor Murdock of Kansas was Chairman of the Progressive National Committee, 1914-1916.

or, to put the matter another way, they were shot down by the voters. Other factors previously discussed, such as the failure to attract liberal Democrats and diverse ethnic groups, account for the death of the Progressive Party. After the defeats of 1914, it would have been virtually impossible to run a respectable campaign, particularly on the state level, in 1916. Secondly, although Progressives disagreed on some points, it is clear from the historical record that there was general agreement in the party on the platform of 1912 and the principles put forth in Roosevelt's 1912 campaign addresses.

What the internal disputes do show is that factionalism and infighting are probably endemic to all organizations, movements, and parties, even those based on definite principles and a coherent ideology.

The conventional view is that the Progressive Party was a tragic failure; that the forces of reform were divided and weakened by this third-party movement; that promising careers were cut off in a dead-end street; that Theodore Roosevelt's talents and personal popularity were squandered on a Quixotic crusade inspired by his own egotism; and that, in short, the Progressive Party was an exercise in impracticality and futility.<sup>38</sup>

This viewpoint is based on several facts and on several assumptions. The facts are that most of the Bull Moose candidates, including TR and the Pinchot brothers, were defeated; that the party failed in its stated

<sup>36</sup>On fusion in New York, Pennsylvania, and other states in 1914, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 192-201. On fusion in Pennsylvania, see Fausold, pp. 141-182; McGeary, pp. 242-259; William Flinn to TR, July 14, 1914, Melvin P. Miller to TR, September 10, 1914, William Draper Lewis to TR, September 15, 1914, R.R. Quay to TR, September 17, 1914, A. Nevin Detrich to TR, October 2, 1914, H.W.D. English to TR, October 6, 1914, R.R. Quay to TR, October 29, 1914, Thomas Robins to TR, November 27, 1914, TRLC. In New York State, TR attempted to have a liberal Republican run for governor on both the Republican and Progressive tickets. When this plan failed, the New York Progressives ran a straight ticket against the G.O.P. and the Democrats. In Pennsylvania in 1914, the Washington Party organization endorsed Gifford Pinchot for the U.S. Senate, and William Draper Lewis for governor. Because of various political problems, previously explained, there were on paper three "Progressive parties" in Pennsylvania: the Washington Party, which was the real center of partisan organization, the Roosevelt-Progressive Party, and the Bull Moose Party. Pinchot was unopposed in all three primaries of the Progressive parties, but Lewis was opposed by Judge Charles N. Brumm. Lewis won the Washington and Roosevelt-Progressive primaries, but lost the Bull Moose Party nomination to Brumm. Shortly thereafter, Lewis withdrew from the race, and endorsed Vance McCormick, the Democratic candidate for governor. It was hoped that in turn Congressman A. Mitchell Palmer, the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, would withdraw in favor of Pinchot. But Palmer refused to leave the race, and McCormick, while accepting the endorsement of the Washington Party, declined to back Pinchot for the Senate. Brumm remained in the gubernatorial contest as a protest candidate against the abortive fusion. In November, 1914, Boies Penrose, the Republican, was reelected to the Senate over Pinchot and Palmer, with Palmer coming in third, and the Republican candidate for governor was elected over McCormick and Brumm.



*Hiram W. Johnson and TR as Sancho Panza and Don Quixote.*

<sup>37</sup>"Of course I am having . . .," TR to Quentin Roosevelt, September 29, 1913, TRCH. On the disputes over various issues, and the debate on social education and political organization, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 182-206. For Gifford Pinchot's views on prohibition, see McGeary, pp. 244-245, 265, 283, 288, 302-307, 315-318, 324, 343, 348, 350, 382-383.

<sup>38</sup>These views are expressed in one form or another in many books, including John M. Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), George E. Mowry's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement*, and Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York, 1931), all influential studies. Pringle sees Roosevelt as an adolescent berserker. Mowry says that the Progressive Party hurt the cause of Republican progressivism, and that only a "a few" of the Bull Moosers had successful political careers after 1916. Blum speaks of TR's last years as characterized by "hubris." He says of TR's post-presidential years: "He took arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing lost too much."

purpose to unite all reformers under one banner; and that after only four years of existence the Progressive Party went out of business. The assumptions on which this conventional interpretation of the Progressive Party are based are, first, that the sole reason for the existence of the Progressive Party was Roosevelt's ambition for a third term in the White House; second, that most of the beliefs of the Progressives were naive or impractical; and, third, that success in politics and in history can be measured almost entirely by the results of elections.

The question of the successes and failures of the Progressive Party, however, is far more complicated than may first appear. The conventional view of the Progressive Party overlooks many factors worthy of consideration.

Yes, most Bull Moose candidates were defeated. And, yes, the Progressive Party failed to survive. But the party accomplished a great deal, and virtually every plank in the Progressive platform of 1912 was eventually adopted by state and federal governments.

First, it should be noted that the Bull Moose bolt from the Republican convention in 1912 firmly established the presidential primary system. Presidential politics was thereby democratized, and parties became more responsive to, and controlled by, their constituents. Never since 1912 has a political party dared go against the clearly expressed mandate of the presidential primaries.<sup>39</sup>

Secondly, the record shows that in the years 1912-1916 the Progressive Party did much to advance the cause of reform. The Progressive National Committee in December, 1912, established the "Progressive Service," an organization which drafted bills for federal and state legislation, and publicized the program of the Progressive platform. The social worker, Frances Kellor, was head of the Progressive Service, and the list of those who worked with the Service reads like a "who's who" of social work and the social sciences.

The Progressive Service was divided into two bureaus and four departments: the Bureau of Education, chaired by Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay of Columbia; the Legislative Reference Bureau, with William Draper Lewis as chairman and Donald Richberg as director; the Department of Social and Industrial Justice, headed by Jane Addams; the Department of Conservation, led by Gifford Pinchot; the Department of Popular Government, which was headed by Amos Pinchot's close friend George L. Record; and the Department of Cost of Living and Corporation

<sup>39</sup>On the presidential primary system, see TR's articles and speeches in 1910-1912, *TR Works*, XVII. The presidential primary system has been widely criticized over the years, but no viable democratic alternative has been suggested. The presidential primaries, of course, do not always produce a clear winner, and in such cases the choice of candidate must be left to the national convention.

Control, directed by Robert G. Valentine, former commissioner of Indian affairs. Both Gifford and Amos Pinchot were active workers for, and promoters of, the Progressive Service. Eventually, the Progressive parties in twenty-one states also set up Progressive Service organizations on the state level.

The Progressive Service published books and pamphlets (some twenty titles), sent out speakers, and drafted bills and provided supporting briefs and experts to testify before legislative committees. Progressive bills were presented in state legislatures, and a "Progressive Congressional Program," consisting of sixteen bills, was introduced in the U.S. House by the Bull Moose Congressmen. Included in the Progressive Congressional Program were three bills known as the "trust triplets," introduced by Congressman Victor Murdock, and drawn up by Donald Richberg, Herbert Knox Smith, and Gifford Pinchot, which proposed a federal trade commission with powers to prevent unfair competition and suppress monopolies.<sup>40</sup>

On both the state and national levels of government, Democrats and Republicans, under pressure from the Progressive Party, and fully aware of the challenge and alternative posed by the third party, adopted and wrote into law many measures proposed by the Progressives during the years 1912-1916. In Maine, Vermont, Oregon, and California, Progressives were instrumental in the passage of important social, political, and economic legislation. Progressive state legislators in Maine, holding the balance of power, helped Democrats pass bills for workmen's compensation and reduced working hours; and Progressives in Vermont could take credit for the adoption of the primary system, workmen's compensation, and other measures. In Oregon three bills introduced by the Progressive Party were passed, including legislation for a widows' pension system. The California legislature, controlled by the Progressive Party in 1913, passed a law creating a minimum wage. It also set up the Industrial and Welfare Commission which was responsible for regulating wages, hours, and working conditions, and it established the Industrial Accident Commission and insurance fund.

On the national level, President Woodrow Wilson coopted one plank after another from the Bull Moose platform. The Federal Trade

<sup>40</sup>On the Progressive Service, see Jane Addams, "A Plan of Work," (1912) typed ms. in TRCH; Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*, pp. 197-217; Fausold, pp. 120-125; *First Quarterly Report of the Progressive Service* (New York, 1913), copy in TRCH; Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 154-155, 162-172, 175, 180, 184-188, 192, 214, 219, 251; Frances A. Kellor, "A New Spirit in Party Organization," *North American Review*, June, 1914, pp. 872-892; *Organization of the Service* (New York, 1913), TRCH; Richberg, pp. 36-57. The TRCH has the minutes of meetings of the Progressive Service committees, correspondence and files related to the Service, and all publications of the Service. For the Progressive bills in Congress, see *Progressive Congressional Program* (New York, 1914), copy in TRCH.

Commission (1914), the Clayton Antitrust Act (1914), the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act (1916), and other measures and policies adopted under Wilson were based on proposals the Progressives had championed, and Wilson had opposed, in 1912. In office Wilson largely abandoned the limited liberalism he had espoused in the 1912 campaign, and adopted much of the advanced progressivism of the 1912 Bull Moose platform. Wilson owed his reelection in 1916 to a considerable extent to his move to the left after 1912.<sup>41</sup>

As TR said in 1914: "... So in compelling the other parties, sometimes one, sometimes the other, reluctantly to move forward for the service of human-kind, and the betterment of the conditions of life, and of government, the Progressive Party, without office and without power, has yet fulfilled the highest mission a political organization can have."<sup>42</sup>

The Progressive Party also did much to advance the status of women in politics in the days before women's suffrage was adopted nationally. Women delegates were much in evidence at the Progressive National Convention of 1912, and four women were made members-at-large of the Progressive national Committee to insure female representation. Jane Addams, Frances Kellor, and other women held important posts in the party. TR said, at a women's suffrage meeting in 1913, that the party favored an "equal partnership of duty and right" between men and women.<sup>43</sup>

The Progressive Party by 1916 had proven to be one of the most

<sup>41</sup>On the Progressives and state legislation, see Warren Marion Blankenship, "Progressives and the Progressive Party in Oregon, 1906-1916," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1966, pp. 217-222, 226; Winston Allen Flint, *The Progressive Movement in Vermont* (Washington, D.C., 1941), pp. 61-103; Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 169-170; George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 135-224; Elizabeth Ring, *The Progressive Movement of 1912 and the Third Party Movement of 1924 in Maine* (Orono, Maine, 1933), pp. 39-44. On Wilson and the Progressive platform, see Link, *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace*, and Link, *Wilson and the Progressive Era*.

<sup>42</sup>"... So in compelling ...," "Speech of Colonel Roosevelt at Boston, August 17," (1914) typed ms., TRCH.

<sup>43</sup>"Equal partnership . . .," TR, "Woman Suffrage Demanded In the Interests of Good Government," speech at Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, May 2, 1913, typed ms., TRCH. On women and the Progressive Party, see Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 40-41, 42, 44, 51, 58, 76, 80, 82, 107, 129, 148, 152, 163, 165-168, 170-171, 202-203, 206, 208, 209, 213, 222, 225, 232-233. While the Progressive Party may be said to have been in advance of public opinion on many questions like rights for women, it should be noted that the party was not "progressive" on the race issue. Blacks were excluded from the Progressive Party in many Southern states, although they were allowed in the party in the North. Roosevelt endorsed the "lily-white" policy, hoping to attract white Southern Democrats to the Progressive Party. On the Progressive Party and the blacks, see Paul D. Casdorff, *Republicans, Negroes, and Progressives in the South, 1912-1916* (University, Alabama, 1981); and Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 60-74.

effective pressure groups in American history. Like the Free Soil Party and the Populist Party before them, the Progressives made significant contributions to their own times and to the future.

Since 1916 most of the other Progressive proposals not adopted during the party's lifetime have become the law of the land, including women's suffrage, social security for the aged, disabled, and unemployed, and federal regulation of all aspects of interstate commerce. And surely the campaign of education and agitation carried on by the Progressive Party contributed to the eventual adoption of these measures." "... I firmly believe," TR wrote Judge Ben Lindsey shortly after the election of 1912, "that we have put forward the cause of justice and humanity by many years. The educational value of the campaign is worth very much." At the same time he wrote to a friend in California: "... Much good came even though we failed. We have really posed the vital questions that are now before the nation, and the parties will have to deal with them . . . ." In 1914 Roosevelt predicted that eventually the entire substance of the





Progressive platform would be adopted, "even although it is done in formulas superficially so different as to enable people to say that it is not the same thing."<sup>44</sup>

The ideas that parties should be based on principles, that the party system should be realigned to reflect the division between liberals and conservatives, and that there should be a political party dedicated to liberalism did not die with the passing of the Progressive Party in 1916. Amos Pinchot in 1918 was one of the founders of the Committee of 48, which helped establish the short-lived Farmer-Labor Party of 1920; and in 1924 he supported Robert M. LaFollette's Progressive Party. Gifford Pinchot returned to the Republican Party, and worked to turn the G.O.P. into America's liberal party. He always hoped to win the Republican presidential nomination, and he stood ever ready to lead a new progressive party into battle if the G.O.P. and the Democrats failed the cause of liberalism.

In 1940 and again in 1944, Gifford Pinchot, nearing the end of his life, endorsed the Democratic presidential candidate, supporting Franklin D. Roosevelt for a third and fourth term. In 1944 Gifford Pinchot was responsible for initiating secret negotiations between the liberal Republican Wendell L. Willkie, the G.O.P. candidate in 1940, and the liberal Democrat FDR, for planning the creation of a new liberal party to be established after World War II. ". . . We ought to have two real parties — one liberal and the other conservative," said the second President Roosevelt. These tentative plans, of course, came to nothing (and both Willkie and FDR died before the end of the war); but the old Bull Moose ideas on the party system continued to attract many who gave serious thought to the state of American politics.<sup>45</sup>

Since 1960 we have seen the Republican Party, under the influence of the supporters of Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan and Southern converts to the G.O.P., become the party of conservatism, while the Democratic Party, following the course charted by FDR, has been the party of liberalism. By the 1980s, there was a conservative-liberal dichotomy between Republicans and Democrats. In other words, the Bull

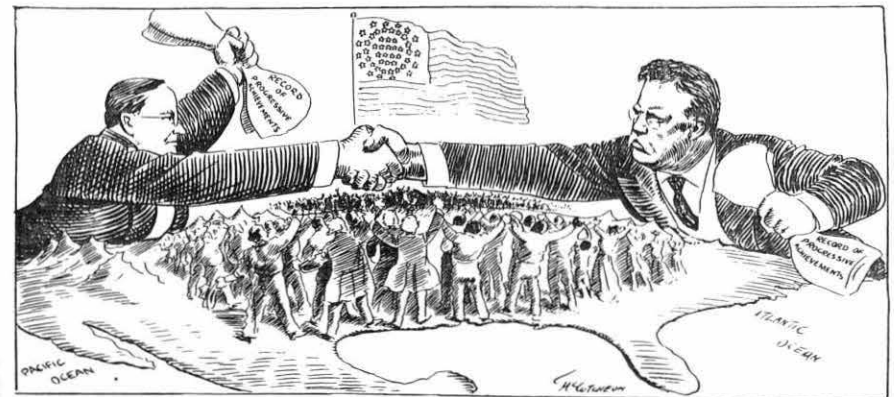
<sup>44</sup>"I firmly believe . . ." TR to Ben Lindsey, November 16, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, p. 650; "much good . . ." TR to Charles Dwight Willard, November 14, 1912, *TR Letters*, VII, pp. 645-647; "even although . . ." TR to Arthur Dehon Hill, November 9, 1914, *TRLC*.

<sup>45</sup>The story of Gifford Pinchot, Willkie, FDR, and the proposed new liberal party is documented in Samuel I. Rosenman, *Working With Roosevelt* (New York, 1952), pp. 463-470, FDR quoted, p. 463. Also see James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: Soldier of Freedom* (New York, 1970), pp. 510-513. For Amos Pinchot's efforts to found a new party, see Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 72-76. On Gifford Pinchot's hopes to turn the G.O.P. to liberalism, his interest in running for President, his willingness to form a new party, and his endorsements of FDR, see McGeary, pp. 258-259, 269-272, 387-391, 421-425.

Moose ideas about the party system were largely realized, although in ways not foreseen by the Progressives back in 1912.

Undergirding all the planks in the Progressive Party platform of 1912, was the Progressive philosophy known as the "New Nationalism." And the New Nationalism became an important and lasting contribution to American political theory and practice. The most famous statement of this philosophy was given in Theodore Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" address, delivered at Osawatimie, Kansas, on August 31, 1910. Most of that Kansas speech was drafted for Roosevelt by Gifford Pinchot. And the "New Nationalism" was an advanced and mature expression of views long held by both Gifford Pinchot and TR. Subsequently, the New Nationalist philosophy was further developed in the writings and speeches of Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, Walter Lippmann, and other Bull Moosers, and in the Progressive platform and the publications and official statements of the Progressive Party.

The New Nationalism was a synthesis of the two chief and antagonistic philosophies in American political history — the philosophies of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. TR, Gifford Pinchot, and the Bull Moose Progressives believed that Hamiltonian means should be used for Jeffersonian ends. That is to say, the New Nationalism taught that a strong federal government and a nationalist approach to problems, as advocated by Alexander Hamilton, but minus Hamilton's elitism, should be used to serve the needs of Thomas Jefferson's conception of democracy, minus Jefferson's beliefs in states' rights and *laissez-faire*. Roosevelt wrote in 1913 that Progressives were "Hamiltonian in their belief in a strong and efficient National Government and Jeffersonian in their belief in the people as the ultimate authority,

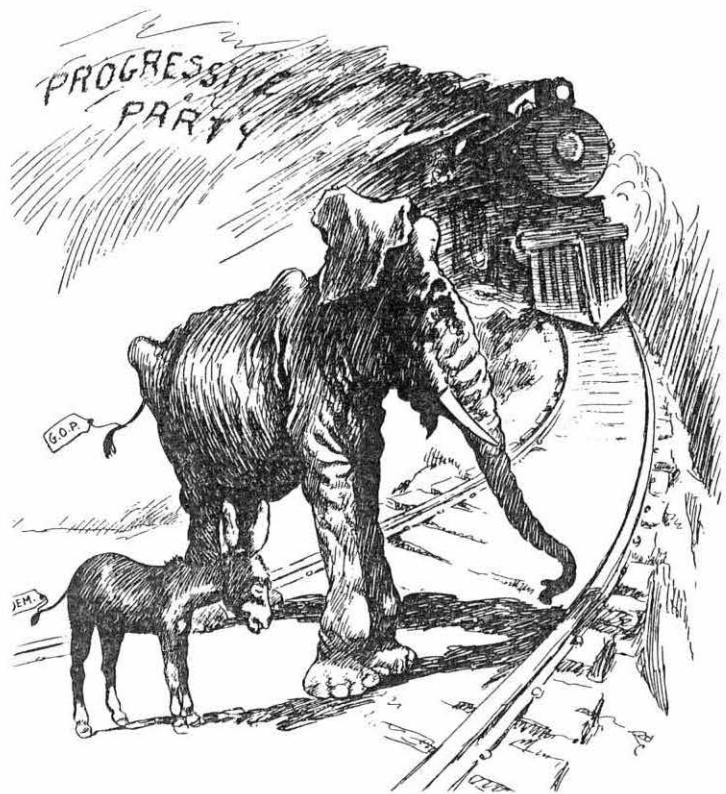


Hiram W. Johnson of California and Theodore Roosevelt of New York join hands in 1912.

and in the welfare of the people as the end of Government." This simple yet brilliant formula forms the theoretical basis of twentieth-century American liberalism.<sup>46</sup>

In sum, the Progressive Party, through preaching and practice, contributed much to the United States. Victory and defeat, success and failure, in politics and history are not as simple and obvious as may first appear.

It might be supposed that the political careers of the Bull Moose leaders would have ended with the Progressive Party's demise. Such was not the case. Four of the former Bull Moose Congressmen from Pennsylvania, Willis J. Hulings, M. Clyde Kelley, Henry Willson Temple, and Anderson Howell Walters, returned to the U.S. House after 1914. Henry J. Allen was elected Governor of Kansas, and John M. Parker became Governor of Louisiana, offices for which they had been defeated as Progressives. Hiram W. Johnson of California was elected to the Senate in 1916, and served until his death in 1945. Many former Bull Moosers were elected to the U.S. House and Senate, served in the



cabinet, became governors, or held other public positions of prominence. The record of public service of the former Progressives is indeed impressive.<sup>47</sup>

The Pinchot brothers, of course, remained very active in politics and public affairs after 1916. Amos R. E. Pinchot, first drawn into politics by the movement which led to the Progressive Party, was for the rest of his life an able and noted political writer and activist. Amos Pinchot was the chairman of the American Union Against Militarism during World War I, a founder and leader of the National Civil Liberties Bureau and then the American Civil Liberties Union, a force in anti-New Deal groups and the Committee on Constitutional Government, and a member of the national committee of America First. As can be seen from this list of endeavors, Amos Pinchot was, as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* said in 1919, an "underdog fancier." Educating the public on the issues, standing up for the minority, promoting freedom, and defending civil liberties were his chief purposes in life. He stands as one of the greatest champions of civil liberties in this century. The attorney George L. Rublee said that Amos Pinchot was "intelligent and acute, loveable and gallant," and so he was. Amos Pinchot modestly summed up his long and useful career when he wrote: "The main point which I make my apology for my existence is not that I have been right about things, but that I have tried hard to make people take an interest in public problems . . . ." America will always have need for people like Amos Pinchot.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup>"Hamiltonian in their belief . . .," TR, *Autobiography* (1912) in *TR Works*, XX, p. 414. On the New Nationalism, see Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York, 1909); Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann and the Progressive Era, 1900-1925* (New York, 1961); Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 9-11, 12-14, 81-98, 102-105, 124-126, 207-216, 240-242; Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous With Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (New York, 1952); TR, "The New Nationalism," *TR Works*, XVII, pp. 5-22; TR, *The New Nationalism* (New York, 1910). The term "New Nationalism" was coined by Herbert Croly in *The Promise of American Life* (1909), but the philosophy was based on ideas long held by TR. For Gifford Pinchot and the Osawatomie speech, see McGeary, pp. 192-193; Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 112-116.

<sup>47</sup>On the subsequent careers of Bull Moose Congressmen, see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*. Listings of former Bull Moosers and their public offices after 1916 are given in Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, pp. 251-252, 291-292.

<sup>48</sup>"The main point . . .," Amos R.E. Pinchot to Burhans Newcombe, October 29, 1931, quotation supplied by Eugene M. Tobin from his forthcoming book to be published by Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn., *Organize or Perish: America's Independent Progressives, 1913-1933*. Quotations from Rublee and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* from Hooker, "Biographical Introduction" in Amos R.E. Pinchot, *History of the Progressive Party*, pp. 16, 72. This analysis of Amos Pinchot's career is based on Hooker's "Biographical Introduction" and her article in *Dictionary of American Biography* as well as Otis L. Graham, Jr.'s *Encore for Reform*.



When Gifford Pinchot left the Forest Service in 1910, he entered the world of partisan politics. He wrote to Sir Horace Plunkett, while considering whether to run for the Senate in 1914: "The decision I must make on this question involves the general direction of my work for the rest of my life . . ." Indeed it did. Politics in a sense also brought Gifford Pinchot a wife; For Cornelia Bryce, whom he married in 1914, was deeply involved in the Progressive Party, and was introduced to him by TR. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot became and remained Gifford Pinchot's greatest political asset and helpmate.<sup>49</sup>

Gifford Pinchot, as we have seen, was defeated as the Washington Party's candidate for the Senate in 1914. But he did not withdraw from the political arena. On December 29, 1914, he wrote an open letter to his Pennsylvania political supporters. "I am going ahead with the fight for

<sup>49</sup>"The decision . . .," Gifford Pinchot quoted by McGeary, p. 246. On Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, see Louis Filler's article in *Dictionary of American Biography: Supplement Six* (New York, 1980); *Grey Towers National Historic Landmark*; McGeary, pp. 249-251; and *The Other Pinchots of Grey Towers*. Filler writes of Mrs. Pinchot in the 1930s: "For a time she was, among women concerned with social issues, second in visibility only to Eleanor Roosevelt, with whom as a child she went to dancing school."

political and economic freedom in Pennsylvania," he asserted. "I propose to keep on . . ." And "keep on" he did. Gifford Pinchot was elected Governor of Pennsylvania in 1922 and again in 1930. His two administrations are widely regarded as among the most productive and important periods in the history of Pennsylvania. During his first term, Pinchot settled the anthracite coal strike of 1923, reorganized the state government, and eliminated the state's huge deficit. In his second term, he built some 20,000 miles of rural roads, thereby becoming known as the governor who got "the farmers out of the mud." During both terms, he fought for reform of public utilities. In his 1923 inaugural address as governor, Gifford Pinchot said that his victory was "the direct descendant of the Roosevelt Progressive movement of 1912." Gifford Pinchot's distinguished political career was one of the greatest legacies of the Progressive Party.<sup>50</sup>

As for Theodore Roosevelt, just as he had supposed, his candidacy in 1912 and his leadership of the Progressive Party were widely misunderstood. He did not ultimately lose his high place in history. He made it to Mount Rushmore, for TR's contributions to the nation were too great to be ignored by posterity. But the Bull Moose years remain the least appreciated and understood period of his career. He saw in advance that this would probably be the case, and that political martyrdom awaited him. But Theodore Roosevelt went ahead, and embraced his fate, because he believed as he said in 1912: "The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside . . . In the long fight for righteousness the watchword for all of us is spend and be spent. It is of little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup>Quotations from McGeary: "I am going ahead . . .," p. 254; "the farmers out of the mud," p. 374; "the direct descendant . . .," p. 292. On Gifford Pinchot's first term as governor, 1923-1927, see McGeary, pp. 286-312; on the second term, 1931-1935, McGeary, pp. 358-386.

<sup>51</sup>TR, "The Right of the People to Rule," address at Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 20, 1912, *TR Works*, XVII, pp. 151-171, quotation, p. 170.

## About the Author

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*All cartoons from the Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Harvard College Library.*

*"The Light Will Shine On"*