

EXTRACT FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD
AUGUST 18, 1958

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
AND THE
CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

ADDRESSES BY

SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY, OF MONTANA

in the United States Senate, May 13 and March 4, 1958



PRESENTED BY MR. NEUBERGER

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Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I think we are all very much aware that this year we are celebrating the centennial of one of our greatest Presidents and leaders, Theodore Roosevelt. Much has been and is being written of his contributions to the Nation in the many fields of his varied interests, but I feel that not enough attention has been given to his greatest service—the launching of the conservation movement on the vast sea of world history. Earlier this year the senior Senator from Montana spoke of Theodore Roosevelt as the godfather of conservation, explaining:

I have called Roosevelt the Godfather of Conservation, because although he did not sire it he raised it, gave it status, and endowed it with spiritual fervor.

Mr. President, no Member of this body has been truer to the principles of conservation established by Theodore Roosevelt than the great senior Senator from Montana [Mr. Murray], who now serves with such distinction as the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. His estimate of the service performed by our 26th President finds an echo a half-century ago in an article written by another great Senator the month Theodore Roosevelt stepped down from the Presidency; in March 1909, Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr., writing in the Progressive of Roosevelt's initiation of the conservation movement, said:

Nothing can be greater or finer than this. It is so great and so fine that when the historian of the future shall speak of Theodore Roosevelt he is likely to say that he did many notable things, among them that of inaugurating the movement which finally resulted in the square deal, but that his greatest work was inspiring and actually beginning a world movement for staying terrestrial waste and saving for the human race the things upon which, and upon which alone, a great and peaceful and progressive and happy race life can be founded.

What statesman in all history has done anything calling for so wide a view and for a purpose more lofty?

Similarly, in his proclamation of October 22, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower called upon the people of our country "to observe the 100th anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's birth throughout the centennial year beginning October 27, 1957, by appropriate activities and ceremonies, by the study of his life and teachings, and above all, by individual, personal rededication to those responsibilities of American citizenship which he so zestfully fulfilled."

On March 4 of this year the senior Senator from Montana, Mr. Murray, summarized on the Senate floor much of the conservation doctrine which Theodore Roosevelt taught, and on May 13 he discussed the first great conference on conservation, the first governors' conference of May 13-15, 1908. Therefore, Mr. President, in line with the request of President Eisenhower in his proclamation, I ask unanimous consent to have printed as a Senate document these two presentations by Senator James E. Murray, with whatever minor changes, addenda, or corrections the Senator may wish to make to his original text.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

American Forestry Association, which is meeting in Tucson, Ariz., on the hundredth anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's birth, October 27, for 4 days.

The Denver conference is intended, I understand, to commemorate the original conference on conservation about which I wish to speak today, and with especial emphasis on bringing down to the present day the concepts which that first great conservation conference of world history publicized and made a part of our national heritage. The Tucson conference will be devoted to the subject Water, Forests, and People, and certainly those are the three basic elements of the entire conservation movement. It is particularly appropriate that this conference be held under the auspices of the Forestry Association, because it was the movement for the preservation of our forests which gave birth originally to the whole conservation concept and which gave it much of its initial dynamic appeal.

It is my hope that when these conferences meet this fall the delegates to them will ponder thoughtfully the words of their predecessors of 50 years ago and give earnest and prayerful consideration to how they can best serve the great traditions passed down to them by the leaders who met in the White House a half-century before.

If these men and women who assemble in Denver and Tucson this October can seize the torch of conservation passed to them from an earlier generation and spread its flame throughout the land, they will have well and nobly served the memory of Teddy Roosevelt, the beloved Godfather of the Conservation Movement.

On October 4, 1907, speaking in Memphis, President Theodore Roosevelt announced his intention to call a conference on the conservation of natural resources in the following words:

As I have said elsewhere, the conservation of natural resources is the fundamental problem. Unless we solve that problem it will avail us little to solve all others. To solve it, the whole Nation must undertake the task through their organizations and associations, through the men whom they have made especially responsible for the welfare of the several States, and finally through Congress and the Executive. As a preliminary step, the Inland Waterways Commission has asked me to call a conference on the conservation of natural resources, including, of course, the streams, to meet in Washington during the coming winter. I shall accordingly call such a conference. It ought to be among the most important gatherings in our history, for none have had a more vital question to consider.

Referring to this conference in 1947 Gifford Pinchot wrote in his autobiography:

The governors' conference on conservation was the first of its kind—the first not only in America, but in the world. It may well be regarded by future historians as a turning point in human history. Because it introduced to mankind the newly formulated policy of the conservation of natural resources, it exerted and continues to exert a vital influence on the United States, on the other nations of the Americas, and on the peoples of the whole earth.

The conference set forth in impressive fashion, and it was the first national meeting in any country to set forth, the idea that the protection, preservation, and wise use of the natural resources, is not a series of separate and independent tasks, but one single problem.

It spread far and wide the new proposition that the purpose of conservation is the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time.

It asserted that the conservation of natural resources is the one most fundamentally important material problem of all, and it drove home the basic truth that the planned and orderly development of the earth and all it contains is indispensable to the permanent prosperity of the human race. That great truth was never so true as now.

The governors' conference put conservation in a firm place in the knowledge and thinking of the people. From that moment it became an inseparable part of the national policy of the United States.

But Pinchot, whom Teddy Roosevelt described as "the man to whom the Nation owes most for what has been accomplished as regards the preservation of the natural resources of our country," went on to add, hardly a decade ago:

That is, conservation was universally accepted until it began to be applied. From the principle of conservation there has never been, because there could not be, any serious open dissent. Even when applied in practice to the other fellow, it was unattackable. But when it began to interfere with the profits of powerful men and great special interests, the reign of peace came to a sudden end.

From that day to this, men and interests who had a money reason for doing so have fought conservation with bitterness, and in many cases with success. That war is raging still, and it is yet very far from being won.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S OPENING ADDRESS

On Wednesday morning, May 13, 1908, President Roosevelt opened the conference in the east room of the White House. Addressing the 44 governors and standing-room-only crowd of 500 assorted invited dignitaries, he set the tone of the conference with his opening 50-minute speech, and continued to dominate the meeting throughout its 3-day stand. As we honor both this conference and its convocator we can thrill to the majestic phrases and the keen insight expressed in the following excerpts from the address with which Teddy Roosevelt opened the White House conference on that historic May morning exactly 50 years ago today:

The occasion for this meeting lies in the fact that the natural resources of the country are in danger of exhaustion if we permit the old wasteful methods of exploiting them longer to continue. * * *

The growth of this Nation by leaps and bounds makes one of the most striking and important chapters in the history of the world. Its growth has been due to the rapid development, and, alas that it should be said, to the rapid destruction of our natural resources. Nature has supplied to us in the United States, and still supplies to us, more kinds of resources in more lavish degree than has ever been the case at any other time or with any other people. * * *

The wise use of all of our natural resources, which are our national resources as well, is the great material question of today. * * *

Disregarding for the moment the question of moral purpose, it is safe to say that the prosperity of our people depends directly on the energy and intelligence with which our natural resources are used. It is equally clear that these resources are the final basis of national power and perpetuity. Finally, it is ominously evident that these resources are in the course of rapid exhaustion. * * *

These questions do not relate only to the next century or to the next generation. It is time for us now as a nation to exercise the same reasonable foresight in dealing with our great natural resources that would be shown by a prudent man in conserving and wisely using the property which contains the assurance of well-being for himself and his children.

The natural resources I have enumerated can be divided into two sharply distinguished classes accordingly as they are or are not capable of renewal. Mines if used must necessarily be exhausted. The minerals do not and cannot renew themselves. Therefore, in dealing with the coal, the oil, the gas, the iron, the metals generally, all that we can do is to try to see that they are wisely used. The exhaustion is certain to come in time.

The second class of resources consists of those which cannot only be used in such manner as to leave them undiminished for our children, but can actually be improved by wise use. The soil, the forests, the waterways come in this category. In dealing with mineral resources man is able to improve on nature only by putting the resources to a beneficial use, which in the end exhausts them; but in dealing with the soil and its products man can improve on nature by compelling the resources to renew and even reconstruct themselves in such manner as to serve

increasingly beneficial uses—while the living waters can be so controlled as to multiply their benefits. * * *

We can enormously increase our transportation facilities by the canalization of our rivers so as to complete a great system of waterways on the Pacific, Atlantic, and gulf coasts and in the Mississippi Valley, from the Great Plains to the Alleghenies, and from the northern lakes to the mouth of the mighty Father of Waters. But all these various uses of our natural resources are so closely connected that they should be coordinated, and should be treated as part of one coherent plan, and not in haphazard and piecemeal fashion. * * *

We are coming to recognize as never before the right of the Nation to guard its own future in the essential matter of natural resources. In the past we have admitted the right of the individual to injure the future of the Republic for his own present profit. The time has come for a change. As a people we have the right and the duty, second to none other but the right and duty of obeying the moral law, of requiring and doing justice, to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources, whether that waste is caused by the actual destruction of such resources or by making them impossible of development hereafter. * * *

Any enactment that provides for the wise utilization of the forests, whether in public or private ownership, and for the conservation of the water resources of the country, must necessarily be legislation that will promote both private and public welfare; for flood prevention, waterpower development, preservation of the soil, and improvement of navigable rivers are all promoted by such a policy of forest conservation.

Finally, let us remember that the conservation of our natural resources, though the gravest problem of today, is yet but part of another and greater problem to which this Nation is not yet awake, but to which it must awake in time, and with which it must hereafter grapple if it is to live—the problem of national efficiency, the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the Nation.

As Gifford Pinchot expressed it in 1947:

T. R.'s epochal declaration fits like a glove the situation in which we and all other nations find ourselves today. In this atomic age it is even truer than it was when he made it, nearly 40 years ago.

And how T. R. would have applauded the Hells Canyon fight—

to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources * * * by making them impossible of development hereafter.

THE GOVERNORS' DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

On the final day of the conference, the assembled conferees unanimously adopted a Declaration of Principles which Governor Pinchot described as—

so simple, sound, and fine that the President himself, and not a few of the rest of us, believed it should be posted in every schoolhouse in the United States.

Certainly, many people who feel that the Nation still has much to do in living up to its conservation heritage and these principles would like to see posted in America's schoolrooms today this declaration, which, except for one section of five paragraphs relevant primarily to the conditions of 1908, is included here:

We, the governors of the States and Territories of the United States of America, in conference assembled, do hereby declare the conviction that the great prosperity of our country rests upon the abundant resources of the land chosen by our forefathers for their homes, and where they laid the foundation of this great Nation. We look upon those resources as a heritage to be made use of in establishing and promoting the comfort, prosperity, and happiness of the American people, but not to be wasted, deteriorated, or needlessly destroyed.

We agree that our country's future is involved in this; that the great natural resources supply the material basis upon which our civilization must continue to depend, and upon which the perpetuity of the Nation itself rests.

We agree that this material basis is threatened with exhaustion. We recognize as a high duty the adoption of measures for the conservation of the natural wealth of the country.

We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremittingly the attention of the Nation, the States and the people in earnest cooperation. These natural resources include the land on which we live, and which yields our food; the living waters which fertilize the soil, supply power and form great avenues of commerce; the forests which yield the materials for our homes, prevent erosion of the soil and conserve the navigation and other uses of our streams, and the minerals which form the bases of our industrial life, and supply us with heat, light, and power.

We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil wash should cease, that there should be reclamation of arid and semiarid regions by means of irrigation, and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, and to develop power in the interests of the people; that the forests, which regulate our rivers, support our industries and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil, should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased; that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of all the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.

* * * * *

We urge the continuation and extension of forest policies adopted to secure the husbanding and renewal of our diminishing timber supply, the prevention of soil erosion, the protection of headwaters, and the maintenance of the purity and navigability of the streams. We recognize that the private ownership of forest lands entails responsibilities in the interests of all the people, and we favor the enactment of laws looking to the protection and replacement of privately owned forests.

We recognize in our waters a most valuable asset of the people of the United States, and we recommend the enactment of laws looking to the conservation of water resources for irrigation, water supply, power and navigation, to the end that navigable and course streams may be brought under complete control and fully utilized for every purpose. We specially urge on the Federal Congress the immediate adoption of a wise, active and thorough waterway policy, providing for the prompt improvement of our streams and conservation of their watersheds required for the uses of commerce and the protection of the interests of our people.

We recommend the enactment of laws looking to the prevention of waste in the mining and extraction of coal, oil, gas and other minerals, with a view to their wise conservation for the use of the people, and to the protection of human life in the mines.

Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity.

I think there is today too little appreciation of the significance to mankind of this conference and the movement it launched. This may be because we are still so very wealthy in the resources we have at our disposal. But the time may well come, as our descendants feel the pinch of booming population on one side and declining resources on the other, when the 1947 prediction of Gifford Pinchot will come true and the governors' conference on conservation will be regarded by future historians as a turning point in human history. For as Pinchot tells us in his autobiography:

It spread far and wide the new proposition that the purpose of conservation is the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time.

Mr. President, I hope that my brief remarks will help just a little to increase the Nation's awareness of and faithfulness to the timeless principles of conservation. As T. R. said in his opening address 50 years ago today

Let us remember that the conservation of our natural resources is but part of another and greater problem to which this Nation must awake in time—the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the Nation.

And as the governors responded unanimously in their declaration of principles:

We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremittingly the attention of the Nation, the States, and the people in earnest cooperation.

Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity.

On the 50th anniversary of this historic conference which actually launched the conservation movement in the minds and hearts of the people of the United States and of the whole world, we could do far worse than study these principles and ask ourselves the two vital questions: "Where have we failed in the past to honor them?" and "How can we serve them better in the future?"

ADDRESS OF SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY OF MONTANA IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, MARCH 4, 1958

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S THINKING ON THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, just a quarter of a century ago, March 4, 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inaugurated as President of the United States. In the campaign for his election, I took an active part in Montana. We sent a solid delegation to the national convention to work for his nomination. In the campaign which followed, the Democrats of Montana were unanimous in working for his election. Today we are proud to have an opportunity to pay a much-deserved tribute to his memory as a friend of the common man—one of the greatest political leaders this country has ever had.

In the course of my remarks, I also want to pay tribute to another Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, who, a generation before had battled Wall Street monopolists in an effort to give the American people honest government. And I want especially to outline, largely in his own words, the development of our 26th President's thinking on the conservation of natural resources, particularly our water and power resources.

Franklin D. Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933, at a moment when our country was tottering on the brink of economic ruin. Our economy was prostrate. Fifteen million Americans were unemployed. Their families, and millions more, were in distress. Great industrial plants across the country were closed or their production schedules severely curtailed. The great copper mines of my State were closed. Urgent and angry demands were being made for relief and for economic action. Banks were closing by the thousands in all parts of the Nation. Farmers sometimes could not sell their produce for enough to pay the freight to market. All agriculture was bankrupt. Small-business men were going into bankruptcy by thousands. The whole country was in a state of panic.

Our economic system had broken down. Great wrongs and evils had developed under which large groups of our population were being exploited. Monopolistic practices permitted the few to enrich themselves at the expense of the many.

It was through vigorous, farsighted, and constructive action that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was able to lead America out of the depths of the great depression.

Franklin D. Roosevelt repeatedly pointed out that big business in the United States had completely ignored its social responsibilities. It had ignored its obligation to build a workable economic system in its greedy quest for higher and higher profits, and greater and greater economic power.

Every reform that Franklin Roosevelt proposed and carried through was met by bitter protests from those who had been beneficiaries of unchallenged monopolistic practices. They fought every law which would restrict their exploitation of the mass of citizens. They cared not if the people of the Nation were impoverished and millions bankrupted. They were out to establish themselves as the economic royalty of America. Both Franklin D. and Theodore Roosevelt called them the malefactors of great wealth.

Despite all opposition, under the courageous leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, this Nation pulled out of its worst depression and started to move ahead. Under his leadership, Congress enacted a whole series of laws which went a long way toward redesigning our economic system and providing safeguards for the common man. We provided a program for the stabilization of agriculture and restoration of the purchasing power of the farmers. We enacted laws using the full power of Government to protect small-business men, investors, and consumers from fraud and exploitation, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission Act. The banking laws were overhauled and a system of deposit insurance provided. We put the unemployed to work through the WPA and PWA.

At Franklin D. Roosevelt's insistence, we gave Federal recognition to labor's right to bargain collectively. We enacted his unemployment compensation program and provided a vast social-security program so our elder citizens might retire in dignity, with money to buy the necessities of life.

Under Franklin Roosevelt, we started developing the natural resources of this Nation for the benefit of all the people. The Tennessee Valley Authority was established. The South was emancipated to develop economically. The great Bonneville Power Administration was started, and it provided low-cost power for a light-metals industry in the Northwest, creating thousands of jobs.

Many other western resources were developed through reclamation and other economic programs of this great President—unquestionably one of our very greatest Presidents. The South and the West were freed from the control of eastern capitalists and allowed to grow and develop economic muscles of their own.

As one commentator has said: "Franklin D. Roosevelt moved the real Capital of the United States from Wall Street to Washington."

Mr. President, before I knew this day was to be devoted to addresses commemorating the administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt, I requested that some research be done for me on the parallels in the policies of these two great men.

Theodore Roosevelt, although nominally a Republican, was alarmed by the shortsightedness of growing monopolies in his era. He was alarmed by the exploitation of natural resources for selfish gain. He fought the Power Trust when it attempted to capture the water resources of the Nation. He fathered the Reclamation Act. He was first to advocate the policy, developed by Gifford Pinchot and Frederick Newell, that our great rivers should be developed from headwaters to mouth on a unified plan by a single agency—an arm of Government.

Mr. President, 2 years ago, and again last year, I sponsored a joint resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 35, to provide for a fitting com-

memoration of the founding of the national conservation movement. The event would have commemorated the 50th anniversary of the National Conference of State Governors on Conservation Problems, which was called in 1908 by President Theodore Roosevelt. Although he was nominally called a Republican, I have always regarded "T. R." as a Democrat in his basic policies.

It was my great honor to be joined by 65 other Members of the United States Senate in the proposal which I offered to provide for a conservation 50th anniversary year in 1958. This joint resolution passed this body without a dissenting vote. I shall comment later in my remarks on what happened to this resolution in the House of Representatives—and why it happened.

Mr. President, one cannot study the policies of Theodore Roosevelt in the recreation, conservation, and water resource fields without being struck with the fact that Franklin D. Roosevelt, 25 years later, gave effect and substance to the very policies which Teddy Roosevelt vigorously advocated.

For example, Teddy Roosevelt knew the real source of agitation for States rights over water resources development in the public domain. In 1910, he called it fairly comic for eastern capitalists to be howling about States rights. He pointed out that what the people behind the States rights furor really wanted was the right to exploit the waterpower resources of Western States and drain the profits off to their New York banks.

If he thought their pleas were fairly comic 50 years ago, T. R. would probably regard today's Power Trust propaganda as an absolute farce.

That is what it is—pure farce. The Hells Canyon Dam stretch of the Snake River is not being developed in partnership. It has been given away by the present administration to a Maine corporation, to underdevelop and exploit for private profit.

Mr. President, the emasculation of Senate Joint Resolution 35 in the House to prevent discussion of Theodore Roosevelt's policies was symbolic of our times.

In the twenties, the Nation forgot the policies and the warnings of Theodore Roosevelt against greedy, profit- and power-seeking private interests. Responsibilities to the common man were forgotten. Responsibility for a sound economic system was forgotten in the race to get rich quick.

The great depression resulted.

In the 5 years just past, we have forgotten the teachings of both Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt. We apparently forgot what tight money, a Cabinet composed of corporation executives, a prostrate agriculture, and excessive profit-taking could do to the economy. We started giving away natural resources. We have all but stopped western resources development with slowdowns and a "no new starts" policy. We stopped expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority in compliance with a scheme blueprinted by Adolph Wenzell of the First Boston Corp. It was a scheme for private power interests eventually to take over this self-liquidating public agency.

We have yielded to the guidance of the same type of big-business thinking, big-business Cabinet, and big-business domination of Government that has brought tragedy on the Nation before.

It is well for the Senate, and for the whole Nation, to take this day to meditate about the policies of the two Roosevelts.

Theodore Roosevelt foresaw what the stifling hand of profit-greedy monopolists would do to our country.

Franklin D. Roosevelt rescued the Nation from the awful consequences of a decade of control by irresponsible monopolists, and saved our democracy for the common man.

Both were great Presidents in the Democratic tradition. If my Republican friends disagree with that—I use a capital “D”—I remind them that history records few things more clearly than that Teddy Roosevelt was nominated Vice President because Boss Platt and Mark Hanna did not want him to be Governor of New York for another term. Their party was trying to shelve this Democratic-acting party member when they accidentally started him on his way to the White House.

This Nation needs another man today, poured in the Roosevelt mold, who can bring administrative decision-making back from New York to Washington, and administer the Government for the common man.

To my very great disappointment, the House of Representatives has delayed and amended Senate Joint Resolution 35 which was intended to stimulate a yearlong anniversary of policies established by Theodore Roosevelt, so that it is no longer useful to take the resolution to conference and endeavor to enact it.

The resolution set aside 1958 for an anniversary of the founding of the national conservation movement, dating it from the 1908 conference of governors on conservation called by President Theodore Roosevelt.

The House of Representatives limited the proposed anniversary Commission's funds to \$20,000—wholly inadequate for the purpose and unworthy of the event it was to commemorate. Six other amendments emasculated the resolution further. The report on the resolution provided that the Commission could not in any event participate in discussion of public development of hydroelectric resources as against private development.

The latter admonition was, of course, a complete giveaway of the forces that emasculated the joint resolution.

Selfish private interests want no events that will review and remind the public of Theodore Roosevelt's battles against the Power Trust and other monopolists.

For the benefit of those Americans who want an unexpurgated review of Theodore Roosevelt's policies in the resources field, I requested my assistants to gather representative quotations from his papers on three subjects: Conservation of resources for recreation, conservation generally, and conservation of water and power resources.

The quotations are a complete explanation why no conservation anniversary year, reaching back into the Teddy Roosevelt era, was desired by those who helped emasculate Senate Joint Resolution 35.

T. R. ON RECREATION RESOURCES

Two statements by Theodore Roosevelt on the subject of recreation resources as an aspect of conservation tell the story of his views.

The first is an excerpt from his autobiography describing a visit to Yosemite with the great woodsman and naturalist, John Muir, which has poetry of description hard to surpass. It reads:

When first I visited California, it was my good fortune to see the "big trees," the Sequoias, and then to travel down into the Yosemite, with John Muir. Of course, of all people in the world he was the one with whom it was best worthwhile thus to see the Yosemite. * * * John Muir met me with a couple of packers and 2 mules to carry our tent, bedding, and food for a 3 days' trip. The first night was clear, and we lay down in the darkening aisles of the great Sequoia grove. The majestic trunks, beautiful in color and in symmetry, rose around us like the pillars of a mightier cathedral than ever was conceived even by the fervor of the Middle Ages. * * * The second night we camped in a snowstorm, on the edge of a grove of mighty silver fir; and the next day we went down into the wonderland of the valley itself. I shall always be glad that I was in the Yosemite with John Muir and in the Yellowstone with John Burroughs (Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 311-312).

Other concepts of the Rough Rider's thinking grew while he was President, but long before he came to the White House Roosevelt had learned in the woods of Maine and on the plains of North Dakota the value of the mighty cathedrals of nature in the re-creation of the human spirit. The idea of the importance of outdoor recreation for physical, spiritual, and mental health was as much a part of him when he became President as were his ideas of integrity and public service. Thus we see him including in his first annual message to the Congress a description of the need to "set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole" the forest reserves and some of "the flower-clad meadows of our mountains."

In cases where natural conditions have been restored for a few years, vegetation has again carpeted the ground, birds and deer are coming back, and hundreds of persons, especially from the immediate neighborhood, come each summer to enjoy the privilege of camping. Some at least of the forest reserves should afford perpetual protection to the native fauna and flora, safe havens of refuge to our rapidly diminishing wild animals of the larger kinds, and free camping grounds for the ever-increasing numbers of the men and women who have learned to find rest, health, and recreation in the splendid forests and flower-clad meadows of our mountains. The forest reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole and not sacrificed to the shortsighted greed of a few (first annual message to Congress, December 3, 1901).

T. R. AS A CONSERVATIONIST

Roosevelt describes the beginning of his work in the field of conservation in his autobiography while discussing his service as Governor of New York. He says:

In addition to labor legislation, I was able to do a good deal for forest preservation and the protection of our wildlife. All that later I strove for in the Nation in connection with conservation was foreshadowed by what I strove to obtain for New York when I was Governor; and I was already working in connection with Gifford Pinchot and Newell. I secured better administration, and some improvement in the laws themselves. The improvement in administration, and in the character of the game and forest wardens, was secured partly as the result of a conference in the executive chamber which I held with 40 of the best guides and woodsmen of the Adirondacks (Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 284).

This was the beginning of his active work for conservation, and it is interesting to note that already the names of Gifford Pinchot and Frederick Newell are mentioned, the two men closest to him for years in the conservation field.

Frederick Haynes Newell was hydrographer for the United States Geological Survey between 1890 and 1902 and its chief engineer from

14 THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

1902 to 1907, following which he served as its Director for 7 years until 1914. Roosevelt describes him as a model public servant, and credits him with the inception of the plan for the Reclamation Service, which became the Bureau of Reclamation.

Every item of the whole great plan of reclamation now in effect was undertaken between 1902 and 1906. By the spring of 1909 the work was an assured success, and the Government had become fully committed to its continuance. The work of reclamation was at first under the United States Geological Survey, of which Charles D. Walcott was at that time Director. In the spring of 1908 the United States Reclamation Service was established to carry it on, under the direction of Frederick Haynes Newell, to whom the inception of the plan was due. Newell's single-minded devotion to this great task, the constructive imagination which enabled him to conceive it, and the executive power and high character through which he and his assistant, Arthur P. Davis, built up a model service—all these have made him a model servant. The final proof of his merit is supplied by the character and records of the men who later assailed him (Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 388).

Roosevelt started his term as President, probably thanks primarily to his work with Pinchot and Newell, with a complete realization of the basic element of resources conservation, the importance of forests to land and water conservation, and stated it briefly for all the Nation to see in his first annual message to Congress.

The forests are natural reservoirs. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them in drought they make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing, and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with silt. Forest conservation is, therefore, an essential condition of water conservation (first annual message to Congress, December 3, 1901).

Starting with this basic awareness Roosevelt devoted a great share of his tremendous energies to putting through the changes which he saw were necessary to effectuate even the most fundamental resource conservation policies; thus the Reclamation Service began its work with enactment of the act of 1902, and for the first time the Government foresters and the national forests were placed under the jurisdiction of the same department of Government when the Forest Service was set up as an agency of the Department of Agriculture. Soil conservation received national attention for the first time, and the importance of our great river resources became widely recognized under the President's leadership. And as his own grasp of the subject broadened and deepened with experience he stated and restated the issues for the Nation and its leaders, like the great educator he was. Thus we see the superb summary of the problem in his seventh annual message to Congress. Speaking of conservation as the fundamental problem he describes the reward of foresight for the Nation and warns, "But there must be the look ahead; there must be a realization of the fact that to waste, to destroy our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land" can only result in bringing disaster on our children.

The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our national life. We must maintain for our civilization the adequate material basis without which that civilization cannot exist. We must show foresight; we must look ahead. As a nation we not only enjoy a wonderful measure of present prosperity but if this prosperity is used aright it is an earnest of future success such as no other nation will have. The reward of foresight for this Nation is great and easily foretold. But there must be the look ahead; there must be a realization of the fact that to waste, to destroy our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right

to hand down to them amplified and developed. For the last few years, through several agencies, the Government has been endeavoring to get our people to look ahead and to substitute a planned and orderly development of our resources in place of a haphazard striving for immediate profit (seventh annual message to Congress, December 3, 1907).

The achievements of T. R. in the field of conservation were not accomplished without opposition. He himself describes this opposition in his seventh annual message to Congress and says of it, "This opposition is, I think, dying away."

Speaking of the work of the Reclamation Service, he said:

There has been, of course, opposition to this work; opposition from some interested men who desire to exhaust the land for their own immediate profit without regard to the welfare of the next generation, and opposition from honest and well-meaning men who did not fully understand the subject or who did not look far enough ahead. This opposition is, I think, dying away, and our people are understanding that it would be utterly wrong to allow a few individuals to exhaust for their own temporary personal profit the resources which ought to be developed through use so as to be conserved for the permanent common advantage of the people as a whole (seventh annual message to Congress, December 3, 1907.)

It is difficult to believe that T. R. actually believed that opposition would ever completely die, for surely no one knew better than he that there will always be selfish, greedy, and shortsighted men and corporations who would trade the long-run national interest for their own temporary personal profit. As long as there are great resources like Hells Canyon still unexploited there will be self-serving interests like the Idaho Power Company anxious to seize them for inadequate development, which is the worst kind of waste. As long as there are trees standing in the national forests and parks we shall have to be on our guard lest they be plundered, as the notorious Al Serena mining claim is now being stripped—not of minerals—but of timber. This is merely part of the perpetual struggle of democratic government, and each generation must win it anew, for once one of these battles is irrevocably lost, the damage may not be repairable for centuries.

T. R. gave special consideration to this type of resource in his last annual message, describing them as the resources which can be improved in the process of wise use. Those who think that the inadequate development of Hells Canyon can be excused on the basis of economy or immediacy should reconsider their judgment in the light of these statements from the lips of the greatest Republican President of the past 97 years.

If there is any one duty which more than another we owe it to our children and our children's children to perform at once, it is to save the forests of this country, for they constitute the first and most important element in the conservation of the natural resources of the country. There are of course two kinds of natural resources. One is the kind which can only be used as part of a process of exhaustion; this is true of mines, natural oil and gas wells, and the like. The other, and of course ultimately by far the most important, includes the resources which can be improved in the process of wise use; the soil, the rivers, and the forests come under this head. Any really civilized nation will so use all of these three great national assets that the nation will have their benefit in the future. Just as a farmer, after all his life making his living from his farm, will, if he is an expert farmer, leave it as an asset of increased value to his son, so we should leave our national domain to our children, increased in value and not worn out (eighth annual message to Congress, December 8, 1908).

With barely a year to serve in his second term, Theodore Roosevelt had become so convinced of the historic importance of the new conservation movement that he determined to call a conference of the

State governors to dramatize the subject. For a description of this conference, its purpose, and its achievements, I want to include here a brief excerpt from the writings of Roosevelt's Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot.

The governors' conference on conservation was the first of its kind—the first not only in America, but in the world. It may well be regarded by future historians as a turning point in human history. Because it introduced to mankind the newly formulated policy of the conservation of natural resources, it exerted and continues to exert a vital influence on the United States. * * * It spread far and wide the new proposition that the purpose of conservation is the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time (Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*).

After 50 years it is easy to evaluate Roosevelt's inauguration of the conservation movement as his greatest work, but in closing my remarks on T. R.'s conservation policies today, I want to refer to an analysis made in the *Progressive*, by Robert La Follette, in March 1909. This a truly remarkable analysis, for it is no cool, considered estimate made in the clear light of history's perspective. This is the snap judgment of one of the combatants in the fray while the battle was in a temporary lull, but no historian has stated it better or analyzed it more clearly, and none is likely to.

SENATOR ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, IN THE *PROGRESSIVE*, MARCH 1909 (IMMEDIATELY AFTER T. R. STEPPED DOWN FROM OFFICE)

Roosevelt steps from the stage gracefully. He has ruled his party to a large extent against its will. He has played a large part in the world's work, for the past 7 years. The activities of his remarkably forceful personality have been so manifold that it will be long before his true rating will be fixed in the opinion of the race. He is said to think that the three great things done by him are the undertaking of the construction of the Panama Canal and its rapid and successful carrying forward, the making of peace between Russia and Japan, and the sending around the world of the fleet.

These are important things, but many will be slow to think them his greatest services.

And, then, there is the great and statesmanlike movement for the conservation of our national resources, into which Roosevelt so energetically threw himself at a time when the Nation as a whole knew not that we are ruining and bankrupting ourselves as fast as we can. This is the greatest thing that Roosevelt did, undoubtedly. This globe is the capital stock of the race.

It is just so much coal and oil and gas. This may be economized or wasted. The same thing is true of phosphates and other mineral resources. Our water resources are immense and we are only just beginning to use them. Our forests have been destroyed; they must be restored. Our soils are being depleted; they must be built up and conserved.

These questions are not of this day only or this generation. They belong to all the future. Their consideration requires that high moral tone which regards the earth as the home of prosperity to whom we owe a sacred duty.

This immense idea Roosevelt, with high statesmanship, dinned into the ears of the Nation until the Nation heeded. He held it so high that it attracted the attention of the neighboring nations of the continent, and will so spread and intensify that we will soon see the world's conferences devoted to it.

Nothing can be greater or finer than this. It is so great and so fine that when the historian of the future shall speak of Theodore Roosevelt he is likely to say that he did many notable things, among them that of inaugurating the movement which finally resulted in the square deal but that his greatest work was inspiring and actually beginning a world movement for staying terrestrial waste and saving for the human race the things upon which, and upon which, alone, a great and peaceful and progressive and happy race life can be founded.

What statesman in all history has done anything calling for so wide a view and for a purpose more lofty?

Last week population experts predicted that in the year 2050 the world population will be 7 billion people. I wondered where the resources were coming from to support them and their economy. Surely, if they are able to survive at all, it will be only because of an intensification of the conservation movement started by Theodore Roosevelt, and how true the words of Robert La Follette will ring then.

“T. R.” ON THE CONSERVATION OF WATER AND POWER

In discussing Theodore Roosevelt's views toward the conservation of our water and power resources, it must be noted first that he was not dogmatic in any sense, nor was he swayed by the shibboleths which the propagandists of today toss so freely upon the winds. Perhaps it was because his mind was uncluttered by emotional phrases and phoney slogans that he was so able to think clearly and incisively in solving the problems with which he dealt. In any event, that he brought to his work a free and open mind he demonstrated in his second annual message as Governor to the Legislature of the State of New York on January 3, 1900.

THE STATE AND PUBLIC UTILITIES

It has become more and more evident of late years that the state will have to act in its collective capacity as regards certain subjects which we have been accustomed to treat as matters affecting the private citizen only, and that furthermore, it must exercise an increasing and more rigorous control over other matters which it is not desirable that it should directly manage. It is neither possible nor desirable to lay down a general hard-and-fast rule as to what this control should be in all cases. There is no possible reason in pure logic why a city, for instance, should supply its inhabitants with water, and allow private companies to supply them with gas, any more than there is why the General Government should take charge of the delivery of letters but not of telegrams. On the other hand, pure logic has a very restricted application to actual social and civic life, and there is no possible reason for changing from one system to the other simply because the change would make our political system in theory more symmetrical (second annual message as Governor to the Legislature of the State of New York, January 3, 1900).

Certainly those are not the words of a man who would be confused today by the cries of “socialism” and “free enterprise” which so often make the rafters of this Chamber ring. And because he could approach these problems with logic rather than emotion he could see that the Federal Government has a vital task to perform in the development of our rivers; this he spelled out in his first message to the Congress in December 1901, just after he became President.

The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved; and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same stream.

The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams, the water

should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow (first annual message to Congress, December 3, 1901).

Having decided that the Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works, Roosevelt was, of course, faced immediately with the problem of who should profit from the water power which these developments could make available. A half century ago he faced up to this issue with the same forthrightness that he demonstrated at every time of decision throughout his career. At this time the electric industry was still in its early infancy; power companies were thought of as merchants of illumination; yet even then Roosevelt, with Pinchot and some of his colleagues, was beginning to see the future significance of the electric industry in our civilization.

So when the Congress passed a bill to allow a private dam to be constructed at Muscle Shoals by N. F. Thompson & Associates, Theodore Roosevelt sent it back to the Hill with a very clear veto message dedicated to the rather simple proposition that if the Government is called upon to improve a stream for navigation it should sell the power developed to help pay the cost.

MUSCLE SHOALS VETO MESSAGE—EXCERPT

The recent development of the application of waterpower to the production of electricity available for use at considerable distances has revealed an element of substantial value in streams which the Government is or is liable to be called upon to improve for purposes of navigation, and this value, in my judgment, should be properly utilized to defray the cost of the improvement. Wherever the Government constructs a dam and lock for the purpose of navigation there is a waterfall of great value. It does not seem right or just that this element of local value should be given away to private individuals of the vicinage, and at the same time the people of the whole country should be taxed for the local improvement.

It seems clear that justice to the taxpayers of the country demands that when the Government is or may be called upon to improve a stream the improvement should be made to pay for itself, so far as practicable. * * * I think it is desirable * * * that a general policy appropriate to the new conditions caused by the advance in electrical science should be adopted under which these valuable rights will not be practically given away, but will be disposed of after full competition in such a way as shall best conserve the public interest (Congressional Record, vol. 36, p. 3071 (Mar. 4, 1903)).

Several comments are in order at this point. In the first place, President Roosevelt's veto of this bill preserved the Muscle Shoals resource so that 30 years later it could become the primary resource around which the TVA battle raged; it is exceedingly appropriate that Theodore Roosevelt, the man who breathed life into the principles of conservation, should have been so instrumental in making possible, long after his death, the development which showed the whole world the way to best apply those same principles in a river basin.

Secondly, if it was the first Roosevelt who saved the resource for the future, it was the second Roosevelt who signed the bill putting it to work for all the people of the Nation, some 30 years later. The Democratic Roosevelt and the Republican Roosevelt, leading our Nation a quarter of a century apart, could hardly have been closer together than they were on the issue of conservation and resource development.

Thirdly, I pause long enough to ask what has happened to the ideas of Theodore Roosevelt in his own party? Was it the party of the

great conservationist President which proposed the principle of so-called "partnership" as the proper way to develop our river resources? Was it Theodore Roosevelt's party which proposed the John Day Dam partnership scheme for the great lower Columbia River project, asking that the power companies be allowed to install the generators in the Government's dam—and on the excuse that this would save the taxpayers money? If anyone has any question as to where Theodore Roosevelt would have stood on partnership, let him reread the Muscle Shoals veto message, because T. R. couldn't have stated it any clearer if he had been discussing John Day Dam itself.

In his autobiography, Theodore Roosevelt tells of his decision that the public should retain title to the waterpower sites of the Nation not already lost to private ownership.

The work of the Bureau of Corporations as to waterpower was equally striking. In addition to bringing the concentration of waterpower control first prominently to public attention, through material furnished for my message in my veto of the James River dam bill, the work of the Bureau showed that 10 great interests and their allies held nearly 60 percent of the developed waterpower of the United States. Says Commissioner Smith: "Perhaps the most important thing in the whole work was its clear demonstration of the fact that the only effective place to control waterpower in the public interest is at the power sites; that as to powers now owned by the public it is absolutely essential that the public shall retain title" (Autobiography, p. 410).

Similarly he tells of the fight of the waterpower interests against his administration's position that the developer of any site should pay the Government an annual rental for the use of the public resource and the administration maintenance of the position requiring payment.

Up to the time the national forests were put under the charge of the Forest Service, the Interior Department had made no effort to establish public regulation and control of waterpower. Upon the transfer, the Service immediately began its fight to handle the power resources of the national forests so as to prevent speculation and monopoly and to yield a fair return to the Government. On May 1, 1906, an act was passed granting the use of certain power sites in southern California to the Edison Electric Power Co., which act, at the suggestion of the Service, limited the period of the permit to 40 years, and required the payment of an annual rental by the company, the same conditions which were thereafter adopted by the Service as the basis for all permits for power development. Then began a vigorous fight against the position of the Service by the waterpower interests. The right to charge for waterpower development was, however, sustained by the Attorney General (Autobiography, p. 394).

Thus did Roosevelt's thinking develop and with it the principles which have become our laws. Roosevelt describes this development and struggle himself in a statement which also spells out the principle of stewardship by the executive departments of our resources. I want to direct the attention of my good friend, the senior Senator from Oregon, to this statement, because it is only a short step from the principle of stewardship by the Executive of the public welfare to the principle of stewardship by this generation of our natural resources for future generations. No one has been as consistent in spelling out this principle as the Senator from Oregon. He should enjoy reading Theodore Roosevelt's statement of the stewardship principle.

The idea that the Executive is the steward of the public welfare was first formulated and given practical effect in the Forest Service by its law officer, George Woodruff. * * *

This theory of stewardship in the interest of the public was well illustrated by the establishment of a waterpower policy. Until the Forest Service changed the plan, waterpowers on the navigable streams, on the public domain, and in the

national forests were given away for nothing, and substantially without question, to whoever asked for them. At last, under the principle that public property should be paid for and should not be permanently granted away when such permanent grant is avoidable, the Forest Service established the policy of regulating the use of power in the national forests in the public interest and making a charge for value received. This was the beginning of the water policy now substantially accepted by the public, and doubtless soon to be enacted into law. But there was at the outset violent opposition to it on the part of the waterpower companies, and such representatives of their views in Congress as Messrs. Tawney and Bede.

Many bills were introduced in Congress aimed, in one way or another, at relieving the power companies of control and payment. When these bills reached me I refused to sign them; and the injury to the public interest which would follow their passage was brought sharply to public attention in my message of February 26, 1908. The bills made no further progress (Autobiography, p. 397).

As his experience in these fields grew, Teddy Roosevelt came more and more to realize the great value of the resources involved in the development of our rivers, and he became increasingly more protective of them. At the same time he came to understand the need for comprehensive development plans for these resources if they were not to be wasted. Both these ideas, the great value of the waterpower resources and the need for comprehensive development were mentioned in Roosevelt's seventh annual message to Congress.

Moreover, the development of our waterways involves many other important water problems, all of which should be considered as part of the same general scheme. The Government dams should be used to produce hundreds of thousands of horsepower as an incident to improving navigation; for the annual value of the unused waterpower of the United States perhaps exceeds the annual value of the products of all our mines.

I have appointed an Inland Waterways Commission to study and outline a comprehensive scheme of development along all the lines indicated. Later I shall lay its report before the Congress (seventh annual message to Congress, December 3, 1907).

It was the Inland Waterways Commission which brought Roosevelt's thinking on river development to full flower, with his message transmitting its report to the Congress. In one brief paragraph, Theodore Roosevelt spelled out the basic principle that "each river system, from its headwaters in the forest to its mouth on the coast, is a single unit and should be treated as such." For 50 years this has stood as the ultimate statement on comprehensive, integrated water resource development, and no one is likely to improve upon it in the future.

Every stream should be used to its utmost. No stream can be so used unless such use is planned in advance. When such plans are made, we shall find that, instead of interfering, one use can often be made to assist another. Each river system, from its headwaters in the forest to its mouth on the coast, is a single unit and should be treated as such (S. Doc. No. 325, 60th Cong., 1st sess.; message transmitting to Congress the preliminary report of the Inland Waterways Commission, February 26, 1908).

But is the Eisenhower administration treating the Columbia River Basin as "a single unit"? Hardly so. It would be more accurate to say that it considers the basin not as a single river system but as a package of grab-bag presents, to be handed out indiscriminately to anyone who chooses to take a chance. Again, what has happened to the Republicanism of Teddy Roosevelt? Or what of the principles of even President Taft? It was Taft who took Roosevelt's principle of a basin being a single unit and carried it to its logical conclusion—that it would only introduce chaos into the picture to have multiple ownership of the projects in a single river basin.

The lower river is being improved by a series of dams belonging to the Federal Government. This dam, situated in the upper reaches of the river, is, according to the report of the engineers, capable of becoming part of this general Federal improvement of navigation. To introduce a diversity of title into a series of dams which may become eventually a part of a single improvement directed at the same end would, in my opinion, be highly objectionable (White River veto message by President Taft, August 6, 1912).

Apparently the present administration cannot even agree with its more conservative forebears; for if there was ever a case which the White River veto described, it is Hells Canyon, where the dam in the upper reaches of the river is clearly capable of becoming a part of the general Federal improvement, where the lower river is being improved by a series of dams belonging to the Federal Government—Bonneville, The Dalles, John Day, McNary, and Ice Harbor. Why, the Eisenhower administration has not only turned its back on Theodore Roosevelt; it has apparently rejected William Howard Taft as too far to the left.

Roosevelt himself spelled out a few of the facts of life with regard to this river development in a Denver speech after his return from Africa a year after he left the White House. I would suggest that my colleagues read this excerpt from that speech carefully and consider how compatible Teddy Roosevelt's position is with the Hells Canyon giveaway.

We should make it our duty to see that hereafter power sites are kept under control of the general government for the use of the people as a whole in a way which shall encourage development of the water power, but which shall not create a monopoly or permit the development to be antisocial—to be in any respect hostile to the public good.

The Nation alone has the power to do this effectively, and it is for this reason that you will find those corporations which wish to gain improper advantage and to be freed from official control on the part of the public, doing all that they can to secure the substitution of State for National action.

There is something fairly comic about the appeal made by many of these men in favor of State control, when you consider that the great corporations seeking these waterpower privileges in any given State are at least as apt to be owned outside the State as within.

In this country nowadays, capital has a national and not a State use. The great corporations which are managed and largely owned in the older States are those which are most in evidence in developing and using the mines and water-powers and forests of the new Territories and States from Alaska to Arizona.

I have been genuinely amused during the past 2 months at having arguments presented to me on behalf of certain rich men in New York and Ohio, for instance, as to why Colorado and other Western States should manage their own water-power sites.

Now these men may be good citizens according to their own lights, but actually their special interests obscure their sense of public need; and as their object is to escape an efficient control exercised in the interest of all the people, they clamor to be put under the State, instead of under the Nation.

If we are foolish enough to grant their requests, we shall have ourselves to blame when we wake up and find that we have permitted another privilege to entrench itself and another portion of what should be kept for the public good to be turned over to individuals for purposes of private enrichment (Theodore Roosevelt, Denver speech, 1910).

I think we should notice especially how Roosevelt disposed of the States rights arguments of his day; he knew well that selfish economic interests really lay behind the noble appeals for State control, and he considered them fairly comic in 1910. If they were fairly comic to T. R. in 1910, he would find some of the similar appeals of the past 20 years completely farcical. His speech delivered in 1910 exactly describes the Hells Canyon situation, where we have the Idaho Power

Company, owned largely in the East, incorporated in Maine, exploiting through underdevelopment the resources of the West. It goes further than that, for Teddy Roosevelt understood how the product of that exploitation, electric power, will be sold to the people of the West and the profits will then be shipped back east to the big stockholders. I think that is what the economists mean when they say we in the West have an extractive economy—our economic resources are extracted from us by eastern interests and shipped right out of the area.

In the Rainy River Dam veto message of 1908 we see how T. R.'s understanding of the electric industry's place in our society was growing. "Already," he says, "the evils of monopoly are becoming manifest."

RAINY RIVER DAM VETO

We are now at the beginning of great development in waterpower. Its use through electrical transmission is entering more and more largely into every element of the daily life of the people. Already the evils of monopoly are becoming manifest; already the experience of the past shows the necessity of caution in making unrestricted grants of this great power.

The present policy pursued in making these grants is unwise in giving away the property of the people in the flowing waters to individuals or organizations practically unknown, and granting in perpetuity these valuable privileges in advance of the formulation of definite plans as to their use. In some cases the grantees apparently have little or no financial or other ability to utilize the gift, and have sought it merely because it could be had for the asking.

In place of the present haphazard policy of permanently alienating valuable public property we should substitute a definite policy along the following lines:

First. There should be a limited or carefully guarded grant in the nature of an option or opportunity afforded within reasonable time for development of plans and for execution of the project.

Second. Such a grant of concession should be accompanied in the act making the grant by a provision expressly making it the duty of the designated official to annul the grant if the work is not begun or plans are not carried out in accordance with the authority granted.

Third. It should also be the duty of some designated official to see to it that in approving the plans the maximum development of the navigation and power is assured, or at least that in making the plans these may not be so developed as ultimately to interfere with the better utilization of the water or complete development of the power.

Fourth. There should be a license fee or charge which, though small or nominal at the outset, can in the future be adjusted so as to secure a control in the interest of the public.

Fifth. Provision should be made for the termination of the grant or privilege at a definite time, leaving to future generations the power or authority to renew or extend the concession in accordance with the conditions which may prevail at that time (42d Congressional Record, pt. 5, 4698, April 13, 1908).

It is also worthy of note that here, in 1908, T. R. laid out clearly and concisely the basic principles of the Federal Water Power Act of 1920. That act and the Federal Power Act which followed it provided all the necessary means for carrying out Theodore Roosevelt's policies completely in the public interest. Only the men who administer the act could destroy its effectiveness to the extent we see in the FPC license for the underdevelopment of Hells Canyon.

Again we see in the James River veto message of the following year the growing awareness of the dangers inherent in the electric power monopoly problem, as he says:

The people of the country are threatened by a monopoly far more powerful, because in far closer touch with their domestic and industrial life, than anything known to our experience.

JAMES RIVER VETO

In T. R.'s message returning without approval a bill to authorize private construction of a dam and water-power development in James River, Mo., due to insufficient protection of the public interest, he quotes from his letter of March 18, 1908, to the Senate Committee on Commerce concerning bills granting water rights which said that he would—

sign no bills hereafter which do not provide specifically for the right to fix and make a charge and for a definite limitation in time of the rights conferred.

He argues that the National Government has power to impose conditions since it has power to deny use of navigable streams, and continues:

Believing that the National Government has this power, I am convinced that its power ought to be exercised. The people of the country are threatened by a monopoly far more powerful, because in far closer touch with their domestic and industrial life, than anything known to our experience. A single generation will see the exhaustion of our natural resources of oil and gas and such a rise in the price of coal as will make the price of electrically transmitted waterpower a controlling factor in transportation, in manufacturing, and in household lighting and heating. Our waterpower alone, if fully developed and wisely used, is probably sufficient for our present transportation, industrial, municipal, and domestic needs. Most of it is undeveloped and is still in national or State control.

To give away, without conditions, this, one of the greatest of our resources, would be an act of folly. If we are guilty of it, our children will be forced to pay an annual return upon a capitalization based upon the highest prices which "the traffic will bear." They will find themselves face to face with powerful interests entrenched behind the doctrine of "vested rights" and strengthened by every defense which money can buy and the ingenuity of able corporation lawyers can devise. Long before that time they may and very probably will have become a consolidated interest, controlled from the great financial centers, dictating the terms upon which the citizen can conduct his business or earn his livelihood, and not amenable to the wholesome check of local opinion.

The great corporations are acting with foresight, singleness of purpose, and vigor to control the waterpowers of the country. They pay no attention to State boundaries and are not interested in the constitutional law affecting navigable streams except as it affords what has been aptly called a "twilight zone," where they may find a convenient refuge from any regulation whatever by the public, whether through the National or State Government. * * *

I esteem it my duty to use every endeavor to prevent this growing monopoly, the most threatening which has ever appeared, from being fastened upon the people of this Nation (43d Congressional Record, pt. 1, 978, January 15, 1909).

He concludes with a repetition of the policy statement in the Rainy River veto message.

And how clearly Roosevelt saw the electric industry development of the future, the increasing consolidation of the industry and its control from the great financial centers. Roosevelt and Pinchot saw this development in its blossom time; today, 50 years later, we have only to look and we shall see the fruit hanging heavy on the bough.

To speak of the work of Theodore Roosevelt in the field of conservation is to speak of his alter ego, Gifford Pinchot, who justly shares with him the pinnacle position in the history of the conservation movement. I have called Roosevelt the godfather of conservation, because, although he did not sire it, he raised it, gave it status, and endowed it with spiritual fervor. Gifford Pinchot was the father of the movement, and no one was quicker to acknowledge it than Theodore Roosevelt. "Gifford Pinchot," he wrote, "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."

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. He was already in the Government service as head of the Forestry Bureau when I became President; he continued throughout my term, not only as head of the Forest Service, but as the moving and directing spirit in most of the conservation work, and as counselor and assistant on most of the other work connected with the internal affairs of the country. 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. A few months after I left the presidency he was removed from office by President Taft (Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 385).

It is interesting to imagine that Gifford Pinchot himself probably cherished this statement of Roosevelt's autobiography as the highest praise he ever received. At least we know that when he came to write his own autobiography and history of the conservation movement he chose for its title a brief excerpt from this statement of Roosevelt's, *Breaking New Ground*.

Because of the identity of thought between these two men on all aspects of the field of conservation and power development, I believe it is perfectly proper to close this discussion of the development of Theodore Roosevelt's thinking with respect to power development with an excerpt from Pinchot's writing after T. R.'s death. We have no statement of the President's thinking on the problem during his last 6 years after the completion of his autobiography, but we can be certain that had he survived to be elected President in 1920 we should have had many words on the subject from him, and that they would have been close in thought to those of his great friend and adviser Gifford Pinchot when, as Governor of Pennsylvania in 1925, he transmitted to the general assembly the report of the giant power survey board. By this time Pinchot was, as Roosevelt would have been, fully aware of the impact of electricity on our economy and our society. I commend this statement to the careful reading of any thoughtful person who would consider in these trying times where our society is going and where we would have it go, for much of Pinchot's description of the situation he saw developing is truer today by far than it was when he wrote it.

THE ELECTRIC MONOPOLY

(Governor Pinchot's message of transmittal of the report of the giant power survey board to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania (February 1925))

It is almost impossible to imagine the force and intimacy with which such a monopoly will touch and affect, for good or evil, the life of every citizen. The time is fully in sight when every household operation from heating and cooking to sweeping and sewing will be performed by the aid of electrical power; when every article on the average man's breakfast table—every item of his clothing—every piece of his furniture—every tool of his trade—that he himself did not produce, will have been manufactured or transported by electric power; when the home, the farm, and the factory will be electrically lighted, heated, and operated;

when from morning to night, from the cradle to the grave, electric service will enter at every moment and from every direction into the daily life of every man, woman, and child in America.

We complain, and with justice, that the cost of food doubles between the farmer who grows it, and the housewife who buys it. But if the cost of electric current only doubled between the generating station and the householder's meter the present rates would be cut into small pieces. Producers of electric current commonly sell it to large consumers for a fifth or a tenth of the price they charge to the head of a family, and for much less than the small industrial consumer pays. It is the small user, the average consumer, to whom the companies charge their highest rates.

Nothing like this gigantic monopoly has ever appeared in the history of the world. Nothing has ever been imagined before that even remotely approaches it in the thoroughgoing, intimate, unceasing control it may exercise over the daily life of every human being within the web of its wires. It is immeasurably the greatest industrial fact of our time. If uncontrolled, it will be a plague without previous example. If effectively controlled in the public interest it can be made incomparably the greatest material blessing in human history.

In the near future electric energy and its products will be as essential, as ever present, and as pervasive as the air we breathe. The unregulated domination of such a necessity of life would give to the holders of it a degree of personal, economic, and political power over the average citizen which no free people could suffer and survive.

The very existence, for example, of industries upon which the prosperity of Pennsylvania is based might be endangered by discrimination in favor of other States. This is no fanciful illustration, for the industries of Switzerland are suffering now from just such discrimination by Swiss power companies in favor of German, French, and Italian manufacturers.

The situation is almost magical in its boundless possibilities for good or evil. On the good side, it is as though a beneficent power were about to shower upon us gifts of unimaginable beauty and worth. On the bad side, it is as though an enchanted evil spider were hastening to spread his web over the whole of the United States and to control and live upon the life of our people.

No such profound change in economic life is possible without profound changes in law and government. It is the part of statesmanship by foresight to make these changes easy, and to take such account of the mistakes of the past that we shall neither pervert the possibilities nor disappoint the legitimate hopes with which we enter the new era of electricity.

THE GREATEST ECONOMIC QUESTION

What the new civilization to which giant power is leading will actually become no man can yet foretell. Steam brought about the centralization of industry, a decline in country life, the decay of many small communities, and the weakening of family ties. Giant power may bring about the decentralization of industry, the restoration of country life, and the upbuilding of the small communities and of the family. In this hope of the future lies the possibility of new freedom and great spiritual enrichment of individual life.

Men can use steam power only where it is generated. That is why steam has concentrated vast numbers of people in industrial cities. In a steam-driven civilization the worker must go to the power, but in an electrically driven civilization the power will be delivered to the worker. Steam makes slums. Electricity can replace them with garden cities.

Next to a supply of natural resources sufficient to feed, clothe, and shelter our people, this is the greatest of the economic questions which face the human race. I do not raise it. It has raised itself. But having forced itself upon us, there is but one course we can properly pursue: That is to look it squarely in the face, estimate its possibilities for good or evil, and address ourselves like men to the vast problem of adjusting the growing power of electricity to the growing needs of humanity, remembering that in any solution fit to last and capable of lasting the public good must always come first. Giant power is the best answer to this gigantic problem that has yet been proposed.

This much is certain—that if we control it instead of permitting it to control us, the coming electrical development will form the basis for a civilization safer, happier, freer, and fuller of opportunity than any the world has ever known.

No subject has come before you at this session, nor will any come, that holds within it so vital and far-reaching an influence as this over the daily life of the

present and future men, women, and children of Pennsylvania and of the whole United States. For good or evil, for economic freedom or industrial bondage, this change is upon us. What it shall bring depends upon ourselves. Of a truth we are in the valley of decision.

As Pennsylvania and the Nation deal with electric power so shall we and our descendants be free men, masters of our own destinies and our own souls, or we shall be the helpless servants of the most widespread, far-reaching, and penetrating monopoly ever known. Either we must control electric power, or its masters and owners will control us.

Today control of the electric industry is increasingly concentrated by the great financial houses of New York, by mushrooming interconnections between systems and by joint construction of mammoth generating facilities. The industry's political activity is concentrated, at least in Washington, through the National Association of Electric Companies, and its propaganda activities involving millions of dollars of the ratepayers' money each year are directed through the centralized channels of the Electric Companies' Advertising Program (ECAP) and the Public Information Program (PIP), while in a thousand places across the Nation the political and economic pressure of the individual companies is applied to create conformity with their ideas.

I want to close by reading two brief excerpts from this Pinchot statement; he said:

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