

The researches of his little laboratory in Savannah exploring the pulping possibilities of pitch-ridgen southern pine provided much of the imagination back of the gigantic development in recent years of the pulp and paper industries in the South.

Potentially, there are, I think, even greater future possibilities in the Pacific Northwest. Much of its growing land is useful only for growing trees. The progress in forest fire protection, tree farms, tax improvements, and forest genetics will pave the way. But the new era of forestry will come more, I think, from men who by their enthusiasm, their faith and their works will do for the Big Timber of the Pacific Northwest what men like Charles H. Herty did for the lowly Pine Tree of the South.

Some ideas of hybridizing and growing stock improvement through the various genetics arts, are being widely applied. They are being more widely explored on an experimental basis in forestry largely, I believe, by the U. S. Forest Service. Their possibilities in forest industrial usage should be more widely considered. This may turn out to be the best way of making two trees grow where one grew before and making both trees more resistant to deterioration.

In Georgia some years ago lived and worked a chemist known to many of you in person and to all of you, I think, by his distinguished name, Charles H. Herty. He was slight, soft-spoken, and modest and a great companion. Often I have sat on the end of the same log with him. He had faith in southern pine.

## SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF FORESTRY IN THE INLAND EMPIRE

BAKER BROWNELL

Director of *The Montana Study*<sup>1</sup>

### I.

In the old days North Dakota was heavily forested, you will remember, and Paul Bunyan cleared it off in four weeks. He split the lumber into matches for the Swedish army, according to his contract, and then, because the King needed North Dakota for a Swedish kingdom, Paul did something that no lumberman up to that time had done: He removed the stumps. It was not a simple matter to remove them, but Paul met the emergency in his usual, original way. It seems that Babe, the blue ox, did not like to get his feet wet. So Paul Bunyan and his men got out the hose and flooded North Dakota with three feet of water. Then Babe was turned loose. The big ox roamed all over the state, stepping on the stumps to keep his feet out of water. So heavy was he that he drove each stump six feet into the ground. And thus North Dakota was made ready for the Swedish farmers.

Paul Bunyan is a symbol or prototype of American lumbering. His contract did require him to burn the brush and remove the stumps from North Dakota, but that, I believe, is the only instance in his long history of lumbering-off the continent where he concerned himself with the crucial problems of land-use and social stability that followed his axemen from Maine to Oregon. And his solution of them, even in North Dakota, I think you will agree, could have been better. Though Paul was likeable and hearty and could get out the timber in a big way, he was really a wrecker. He ranged across America like a fire destroying the forests. And though the lumber was marketed it did not change

the fact that he left behind him wastelands of eroded, useless soil, dead rivers and rotting communities. Only once did Paul Bunyan meet his match in felling timber. That was when he encountered the great fire in the Bitterroots. Paul retired after that. It is said that he now devotes himself to hunting and fishing. I hope he obeys the game laws.

If Paul had attended a good school of forestry in his youth he might have turned out different. I do not know. In any case the Paul Bunyan era of lumbering in the United States is over. Or if not, it ought to be. We have learned, I hope, that we cannot leave our forestry policy to him.

As we look back at the Bunyan era of forestry it is not difficult to make fundamental criticisms. First, he killed the land. Where he passed, the land stopped producing. The forests in effect stopped growing. The character of the watershed disintegrated. The soil as forest, farm or grazing land failed. He laid his axe into the roots of our sustained economy. He gathered one harvest, the virgin timber, and left the place blasted thereafter. If ever the land was brought into production at all, the cost was borne by his successors, and a terrible cost it was. I refer, of course, not to the homestead settlers of the Midwest, but to the commercial lumbering that swept across the Lake States, through the South and over the forested regions of the West.

Second: Where Paul Bunyan passed, the human communities were left to die. Their development became virtually impossible and the ghosts of dead towns now haunt America. For one town like Elma, Washington, which somehow saves itself from extinction, there are hundreds of lumber towns dead or dying all over the United States. High among the social problem areas of America are

<sup>1</sup>A three-year research project financed initially by the Humanities Division of one of the great foundations and sponsored by the State University system of Montana. Mr. Brownell is on leave from Northwestern University, where he is a Professor of Philosophy.

he cut-over lands of the Lake States, of the South, of Northern New England, and of various districts in the West such as Ravalli County, Montana, or cut-over counties in Washington and Oregon. In these regions relief rates usually are high and literacy is low, children go unfed and deficiency diseases flourish. In some of them whole populations are stranded, unable to get out, unable to live where they are. In other regions there is depopulation. More than three-fourths of the counties in the Great Lakes cut-over region are losing population. In the Pacific Coast States 25 per cent of the counties are being depopulated. In the Mountain States 53 per cent are being depopulated. Of the 3072 counties in the entire United States more than 82 per cent are losing rural population and more than 51 per cent are being depopulated, according to a study made in 1939 by Lively and Tauber. Much of this depopulation with its attendant economic waste, capital loss, migratory labor, low wages, disease, social disintegration and general decay is due to Paul Bunyan and his followers. He had a big time roaring around in the woods, but he left an unholy mess for the rest of us to clean up.

I will grant that Paul may be just a big, thoughtless boy at heart and did not know all the misery and disaster he was causing. I will grant too that the needs for rapid exploitation of resources may have seemed to outweigh sometimes the requirements of sustained welfare in social and economic life. But I will not grant that these apologies are valid now. We know better now. The United States Forest Service and other social minded folk have known better for a long time. These social implications of forestry have become, indeed, one of the foremost concerns of progressive foresters and lumbermen. They are problems that cannot be any longer ignored.

## II.

Lincoln County, in the northwest corner of Montana, is the scene of a current project in the social implications of forestry. In cooperation with the United States Forest Service, the Montana

sociologists, trained at Cornell, with experience in the Ozarks with rural and forest communities. In Lincoln County they very soon identified themselves with the communities of Libby and Troy, making clear that they were independent of both the Forest Service and J. Neils Lumber Company. This of course is precisely the approach that The Montana Study desired.

Their job was to study this active lumber region, not yet cut-over, but not without a history of booms and declines, and to find out so far as possible how community life could be made stable and worth while. It was a study designed to prevent ghost towns, a plan for a sustained yield program in human and social life coordinated with the sustained yield program in the material and economic field of the forestry service.

Lincoln County has the only remaining large stand of timber in Montana. Of its 2½ million acres 97 per cent are forested. Of the 7½ billion board feet of saw timber in the county, about ¾ are in National Forest and ¼ private. The population of Lincoln County is about 8000 and is less by about 10 per cent than what it was 20 years ago. Farms, mines and the railroad contributed altogether in 1939 about 3/10 of the basic income; relief money contributed about 1/10, and the forest industry contributed about 6/10 of the county's income. The total annual cash income of the 8000 people in the county averaged before the war about two million dollars, or roughly \$250.00 per person.

Although the county is outwardly peaceful and fairly busy, it can easily be inferred from these facts that underneath there is considerable social tension, instability and even some conflict. Three main centers of influence are predominant in the county. First, the Forest Service; second, two or three large private concerns of which a lumber firm, the J. Neils Company, is the most active; third, the community, including some organized labor, a few farmers, some small contractors and small lumbermen called gyppos and other unorganized groups. Troy, one of the two

larger towns, is definitely declining. Libby, the county seat, with the one large, operating sawmill, is at present prosperous.

The J. Neils Lumber Company is progressive and well managed. The owner family lives in Libby at the center of the company business. The company cooperates with the Forest Service, and contracts with the Forest Service are now under consideration which may give Lincoln County within a year one of the first, or possibly the first, sustained yield program in the United States. The company also owns or controls many of the main facilities and services of Libby; the bank and the power plant, for example, are generally considered by the community to be under the control of, if not the property of the company.<sup>1</sup> At least one reason for this is that there seems to be no other way in the present set-up whereby the town can have the bank or the power plant. The result, of course, is that economic, industrial and social power in the town and county are increasingly concentrated in one family. By the very nature of things and in spite of the good will of the Neils family, the town has difficulty in operating as a truly self-governing, cooperative community. Under the surface there is a good deal of tension, griping and feeling of insecurity both in Libby and in the county. This criticism comes for the most part from persons in declining communities, such as Troy, who feel that neither the Company nor the Forest Service is sufficiently considering their interests; from some labor groups, and more intensely from the gyppos, or small lumber contractors who feel that they are being squeezed out.

The Forest Service, on its part, has the difficult job of setting up a program that, on the one hand, is efficient in terms of management, money and materials, and, on the other, conducive to

<sup>1</sup> I am informed that this statement is misleading; that the Neils own only fifteen per cent of the stock of the bank, though W. Neils and two other company men are among the six directors; that the power company in Libby is owned by the Mountain States Power company, which buys power from the Neils power plant because it is cheaper, and that the power company in Troy is owned by the Neils, who have reduced the rates.

our project. It is of course a preliminary, exploratory project. Its recommendations at best must be tentative. Certain suggestions, however, are worth consideration. These in general are of two kinds: One kind of recommendation has to do with policies and procedures on the part of the Forest Service or the Neils Company which may have both social and technical value. Another kind of recommendation has to do with community procedures and organization which may lead to greater stability in communities and a more worthwhile life.

An example of the first line of approach is the question of roads. Should the Forest Service build a system of roads in the county? These roads would be designed to tap lumber and recreational areas and serve both the public and lumbermen for an indefinite period.

With such roads timber areas could be opened to the small operator who can not now afford to build roads of his own. Roads constructed under Forest Service supervision, furthermore, could be made less a hazard in respect to hillside erosion, fire, fouling the streams and destroying the soil. They could give access to recreational areas, and with well designed recreational housing, cabins and the like, they could encourage tourist trade. They could encourage diversified industry and part-time farms. Such roads, again, might well make unnecessary many and perhaps most lumber camps. Lumber workers might commute in trucks from their homes in town. This in turn might have an important stabilizing effect on community and family life in the region. And the savings in camp costs would help considerably on the cost of the roads. Such a policy by the Forest Service in respect to roads alone would have far-reaching effect both socially and economically. A wise decision in respect to them would necessarily take into account many and variegated aspects of the situation. Policy decisions of this sort can be a most important factor in the social character and stability of the region.

Some examples of the second, or community, line of approach, are: (1) Community study groups and planning coun-

cils. These are an excellent integrative device so long as the groups are really representative of the entire community and have leaders with initiative and some experience. The Montana Study has had excellent results with study groups in other counties.

(2) A public advisory committee on forest policy. This can go far towards building community morale by giving the citizens a part in the discussion of decisions that will affect their welfare and happiness.

(3) Consideration by the community of possible cooperative projects. This may lead to developments that neither private capital nor public money can well undertake. In this way the bank or even the power plant might conceivably be acquired by the community.

(4) The diversification of industry and manufacturing. This has great possibilities, if careful studies are made of regional resources, power, markets and transportation. Much of this diversification can be in the direction of small industries, or services, for local markets. In some cases small industries, such as vermiculite mining at Libby can be developed for a national market. Wild huckleberries and Christmas trees are other examples.

(5) The expansion of tourist trade, recreation, wild life. Lincoln County has some of the finest resources in the world in this field. Their development will depend, among other things, on roads, tasteful and comfortable accommodations, intelligent guide services. With a new hotel or so, good tourist camps and other civic improvements Libby and Troy themselves could become attractive tourist and travel centers. Troy especially, with probably the finest hunting and fishing in the Northwest, could become a national sportsman's resort.

(6) The development of part-time farming and the encouragement of home gardens and livestock. This should have a far larger part in the life and economy of the small community than it now has. Diet can be greatly improved, income increased and greater security assured, if the homestead itself is made more productive. The family and children become far more functional, productive and thus more stable. There is no excuse, for example, for a milk famine in Libby when many, if not most, of the resident families could well keep goats or a cow.

(7) Encouragement of a community band, orchestra, chorus, drama group, craft work shop, sports, and other forms of native expression. These are particularly important in making the community attractive to young people and to others who remain young in spirit. Coaching and leadership are usually necessary for such expressive work. The state and local educational system should be urged to assist.

(8) A clean-up and paint-up cam-

front the county for the careful planning of this great resource. Without planning the usual disastrous consequences will almost certainly ensue. There will be initial over-investment in hideous, uncomfortable tourist cabins set in the usual periphery of slums and junk piles about the approaches of each town. When the tourists have lodged for a year or so amid the shacks and billboards of these jerry-built recreational districts they will leave and many investors will go broke. Without intelligent planning there will be not only over-investment in poor recreational facilities, according to A. G. Lindh, but under-investment in good ones. Well located and attractive accommodations suited to the forest environment, cabins along a lake shore or among the trees on a promontory, expressing the cleanliness, the beauty and the silence of the mountains, are accommodations that tourists in the long run will seek and pay for. Without recreational planning this over-investment in bad accommodations and under-investment in good ones will combine to kill the tourist business.

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Completion of Highway Number 2, the northernmost national road, seems assured within the next two or three years. This is probably the most beautiful of all our east-west highways, and no part of it is more beautiful than that in Lincoln County. Rich opportunities will

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dent farmers and more wage labor of the seasonal, migratory kind. Once this was characteristic of the lumber industry and the wheat harvest; now it is extending to other products of the land. It is not conducive to a secure family life or a stable community. It is an anti-social tendency that in some regions is on the way to capture agriculture. With industrialization in fruit growing, in beets, in truck, in cotton, has come a broken, tattered army of millions of migratory farm laborers, more millions of share-croppers and nomadic tenants, broken communities, degraded families, illiterate, ill-fed, overworked children.

What the lumber industry and the Forest Service can do in coordinating sound community life with modern forestry and lumbering practice may help America to salvage its small communities in other fields. It may help us to cut short the degrading course of migrant agricultural armies, wandering homeless, voteless, voiceless over the face of the land.

Considerations such as these give emphasis to the attempt on the part of The Montana Study and the United States Forest Service to explore the possibilities of enriching and stabilizing the small forest community in relation to the sustained yield program. Lumbering has long been industrialized. It has gone through, I hope, the Paul Bunyan era of "cut out and get out." Today, in Lincoln County at least, it is trying to find ways to be socially responsible.

Many land-use industries have not gone through this cycle. Some agricultural practices are just now being industrialized. Industrial method, in contrast to agricultural and craft practices, rarely assimilates the worker. He gets his wages, but his family and community life have no part in the job. Industrial processes often require a mobile labor supply, involving a pool of surplus labor with chronic unemployment, in order to meet peak demands. This is particularly the case in the industrialization of products of the land. There is an increasing tendency to use fewer resi-

munities in America are disintegrating. They are draining away under the erosive influences of urban ways and mass industrial methods, and many of us are furthering that drainage far more than we are preventing it.

The family, as a significant, functional unit is declining. Wives and children more and more become economic liabilities. Production is limited more and more to one wage or salary earner who can in general attain economic security and comfort more easily without family obligations than with them. It is noteworthy that in those groups which profit most by the modern industrial and urban system, the reproduction rates are the lowest. The great city as a whole does not nearly reproduce itself. Within the urban economy the business and professional groups are far below the reproduction rate necessary to maintain themselves. It is statistically probable, for example, that the families of the people in this room will be extinct in a hundred years. By the same token the owners of commercial farms of good, black land are low on the reproductive side. In general in America only the poorest soil and the poorest people produce enough children to maintain the country's population. The landless farm workers, the share-croppers and tenants, the subsistence farmers of the southern mountains, from these who do not have the wealth or privileges of the modern urban system, will come the America of the future.

But crude population is not the only problem involved in the decline of the family and the small communities; I do not wish to appeal only to your loins. The disintegration of the community brings with it the disintegration of moral and social standards. It is no accident that the crime rates, insanity rates, suicide rates, death rates, are far higher in urban than in rural regions. Our democratic way of life has been fostered in small, neighborhood communities and will survive only in them. I am told by some that these are extreme statements. The problem of the survival of the small community is so critical, however, that I for one believe it is time for extreme statements.

Without great cost, the towns in Lincoln County could be made far more attractive than they are. Salmon City, Idaho, for example, is a little town without great natural advantages. Its streets, however, are neat and glistening clean. Its grass and shrubbery are well tended. There are none of the shacks, junk piles and general disorder that make many an American town a good place to leave. These are a few of the many possible lines of approach to community enrichment and stability in a foreign region. Alone they may not amount to much. If they can be coordinated, however, with wise and friendly policy directives on the part of the Forest Service and the J. Neils Company, there is every probability that the region may become a happy and secure place to live. Under the sustained yield program this probably will be done. If men will do their part as well as Nature so magnificently has done hers, there need be no doubt about Lincoln County.

### III.

I have sketched briefly one promising attempt to build a new comprehensive policy for forestry in relation to community life. Its objective is to treat forest use and forest growth, lumbering, milling, and wholesome community life as inseparable parts of the same problem. This, strange as it may seem, has never been done before as a general, operational policy. It is the answer that progressive lumber men and the United States Forest Service make to the disasters that Paul Bunyan brings upon us. The work has been exploratory and is far from finished. When the report comes in, we can study it more carefully, but the final test will be operational.

Behind my description of this project are certain questions and dilemmas that have not been answered. Perhaps they cannot be answered. Do the American people intend to maintain the small community and family pattern of life that has been so important in our democratic tradition? It is easy for us to make pious affirmations about the small community and family, and many Americans do, but the fact remains that the small com-