

# **A General History of the Mark Twain National Forest Fall, 2012**

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## **Abstract**

*A review of documentary materials relating to establishment of the Mark Twain National Forest and its land management boundaries sheds light on formational processes involved in development of the National Forest System in southwest Missouri, initiated more than ninety years ago. Analysis of historical narratives, administrative documents, transcripts of radio interviews, correspondence, informational brochures, maps, photographs, and newspaper articles serves to modestly enrich the standardized history of federal land management in the area, as well as its effects on local communities.*

## **Introduction: Development of the National Forest System**

On February 7, 1922, a newspaper article appeared in the St. Louis Star under the headline “MOVE STARTED TO GET TWO FEDERAL PARKS IN STATE.” It described the return of Charles F. Hatfield, General Manager of the St. Louis, Missouri Convention, Publicity and Tourist Bureau, from a trip to Washington D.C., during which he had petitioned and received support from members of the Missouri congressional delegation in establishing “a movement through which it is hoped eventually to obtain two national recreation parks in the Ozark mountain region of Missouri, totaling more than 1,000,000 acres, to be paid for by the Federal Government.” Hatfield continued by stating that appropriation of such lands by the United States “would be of more value to St. Louis and Missouri than twenty conventions brought to the city. It would bring persons from all over the United States, tourists and others, for recreational privileges, such as hunting, fishing, and camping would be allowed<sup>1</sup>.”

The Federal movement to preserve national forestlands began during the late 1800s, when United States land policy shifted from a focus on disposition of the public domain to an emphasis on conservation in reaction to the relentless exploitation of America’s natural resources, particularly in the West (US Forest Service 1997:i). Revenue from public land sales was a major component of the Federal budget prior to ratification of a national income tax in 1913, and from its inception, United States public land policy had been designed to pacify the country’s wilderness by increasing settlement within it, establishing sovereignty over it, and making full use of it to develop economic resources for industrial and individual initiatives (Steen 1991:2; Thomason and Douglas 2000:3). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fully one-half of the nation was transferred from federal ownership to state, corporate, and individual possession pursuant to statutes Congress had passed in order to dispose of the public domain; land sales accounted for the disposition of millions of acres, many of them consummated under fraudulent circumstances (Conrad 1997:18). Grants to railroads and settlers would eventually account for a quarter of the Nation’s land area,

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<sup>1</sup> Unnumbered Photostat of an article appearing in the St. Louis Star, February 7, 1922. Clipping on file at the Mark Twain National Forest Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri. A scan of the Photostat is presented as Figure 1.

conveyed in large part via the Transcontinental Railroad and Homestead Acts of 1862, respectively (Steen 1991:3; 1992:4).

For the United States, substantial benefits were to be derived from unrestrained exploitation of its natural resources. The era of logging had provided workers with hundreds of thousands of jobs, and the nation with inexpensive construction materials in the form of milled lumber for burgeoning cities and towns; the rigors of long-distance travel were eased, and the country's centers of trade were linked through networks of steel rail laid upon countless wooden crossties, each individually hewn from native timber (Conrad 1997:17). By the mid-1800s, resources of all sorts, particularly the forests, were being ruthlessly exploited with no thought for long-term sustainability (Hough 1878:7; Thomason and Douglas 2000:3).

Before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it had become painfully obvious that forest, mineral, and soil resources, once perceived as being without limit, were finite and, in some areas, nearing depletion. Perhaps as much as two-thirds of the nation's timberlands had been cut-over. Of equal concern was erosion of the soil resulting from unrestricted logging and the fires which frequently followed cutting, leaving exposed soils vulnerable to agents of erosion (Figure 2). Numerous tributary streams and rivers were suffering the choking effects of excessive siltation and erosional deposition of upland soils, adversely affecting navigability, while excessive runoff from denuded soils resulted in an increased potential for severe flooding. Wildlife species, ranging in scale from the buffalo to the carrier pigeon, had disappeared from areas where they had once proliferated (Conrad 1997:17; US Forest Service 1935:1).

Forestry work by the Federal Government formally began a full century after the Declaration of Independence, when in 1876 Congress authorized the appointment of the first federal forestry agent, Dr. Franklin B. Hough, a physician, statistician, and naturalist (US Forest Service 1976:13). Working under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture, he conducted a study (compiled in multiple volumes between 1877 and 1882) on the supply and demand for timber and other forest products, on various means used successfully abroad to manage forests and the means that might be used in the United States to preserve and renew forests, and on the influence of forests on climate (Thomason and Douglas 2000:4; US Forest Service 1976:13).

Completed in 1877 and published the following year, Hough's *Report upon Forestry* called for a new kind of forest management and a re-examination of property rights; he described the forest situation in highly critical terms, condemning the public's wasteful pioneer mentality toward forestlands and the profligate greed of timber companies. Hough referred to the enduring practice of unauthorized timber cutting on public lands and sale of the resultant product to unscrupulous dealers as "the doings of timber thieves," and forcefully recommended strict enforcement of existing laws; he advocated for a reformation of lumbering practices, and, more significantly, for the Federal Government to set aside public domain lands as forest reserves (Frome 1984:13-14; Hough 1878:8-9;16).

In 1881, the Division of Forestry was created within the Department of Agriculture, and Hough was appointed to head the Division (Conrad 1997:18). The Division of Forestry, however, had no actual forest or forest lands under its control, reserved lands then being nominally administered by the Department of the Interior—it served only as a fact-finder for questions

pertaining to forests and forest policy (US Forest Service 1976:15). Creation of forested public lands explicitly protected from disposition would not occur for another ten years, with inclusion and subsequent passage of a sixty-eight word provision to a bill revising existing land laws. Hough's successor at the Division of Forestry, Bernard Fernow, has long been credited by professional historians with playing an influential role in attachment of the critical rider to the General Revision Act—or Land Revision Act—of 1891 (Ise 1920:109,115). A story unto itself, it has been demonstrated that it was Congressman William Steele Holman of Indiana, ranking minority member of the House Public Lands Committee in the Republican-dominated 51st Congress, who was responsible for inserting a briefly-debated bit of language, known as “Section 24,” into the Land Revision legislation immediately prior to its passage (Arnold 1992:12-13). Section 24 states:

That the President of the United States may, from time to time, set apart and reserve, in any State or Territory having public land bearing forests, in [*sic*] any part of the public lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth, whether of commercial value or not, as public reservations; and the President shall, by public proclamation, declare the establishment of such reservations and the limits thereof.

(act of March 3, 1891, ch.561, § 24; 26 Stat. 1103)

The significance of the Section 24 provision was to grant authority to the President of the United States to “set apart and reserve” from the public domain lands to form public reservations. Section 24 has been judged sufficiently consequential in the history of Federal land management and conservation that the General Revision Act is most often referred to as “the Forest Reserve Act of 1891” (Hedin 2012:2).

President Benjamin Harrison was quick to make use of the new law, setting aside the Yellowstone Forest Reserve by presidential proclamation in 1891. Before his term was up two years later, Harrison, guided by the Division of Forestry, had created fifteen Forest Reserves containing over thirteen million acres. As things stood, however, the Reserves existed only on paper and in reality were no better protected than unreserved lands in the public domain (Conrad 1997:19). Between 1891 and 1897, the Harrison and Cleveland Administrations would withdraw more than forty million acres from public entry; these lands were not actively managed, but existed in a twilight state of limbo (Ise 1920:137; Steen 1991:28). Operational plans for reserved forests would not be approved by Congress until passage of the Organic Administration Act was secured on June 4, 1897 (16 U.S.C. §§ 473-482 and 551), authorizing the hiring of employees within the Department of the Interior to survey, evaluate, and administer the forests, as well as opening of the Reserves for management and controlled use (US Forest Service 1976:16).

In 1898, Gifford Pinchot, an energetic, well-connected forester and renowned conservationist, was named head of the Division of Forestry within the Department of Agriculture (Steen 1991:32; US Forest Service 1961a:1), overseeing a staff of twelve persons: six for clerical and six for scientific work (US Forest Service 1976:17). One of Pinchot's first goals was to gain administrative authority over the Forest Reserves, still under control of the Department of the Interior. Given Interior's shortcomings in combating trespass and fraud on the Forest Reserves, it became willing to allow the Division of Forestry to manage reserved lands on a de facto basis via a hybrid bureaucratic arrangement wherein Pinchot would report to the Secretary of the

Interior. Concurrently, Pinchot worked to transform the Division of Forestry from a largely technical advisory agency to a decentralized and flexible management organization capable of overseeing the vast new Forest Reserves (Conrad 1997:22).

In 1901, Congress bureaucratically elevated the status of the Division of Forestry, remaking it as the Bureau of Forestry (act of March 2, 1901, 31 Stat. 929). Over the following four years, agitation for permanent transfer of the Forest Reserves to the Department of Agriculture continued with President Theodore Roosevelt's full support and urging (Ise 1920:156). The act of February 1, 1905 (33 Stat. 626) provided for transfer of the Forest Reserves (then comprised of some fifty-six million acres of government-held lands) and Reserve personnel from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture. In turn, the Agricultural Appropriation Act of March 3, 1905 (effective date July 1; 33 Stat. 872) officially renamed the Bureau of Forestry the US Forest Service, with Gifford Pinchot as its head. Reserve lands would be administered by 734 Forest Service personnel, of whom 268 were in the Washington office and 466 in the field service (US Forest Service 1976:18-19; Conrad 1997:22).

Although the organizational structure of the US Forest Service has evolved over time, it remains essentially the same as that envisioned by Pinchot from the agency's inception, and deserves brief mention here. As Chief of the Forest Service, Pinchot promoted a policy of decentralization characterized by a system of localized National Forest administration which would prove a source of strength to the Service (Smith 1930:37). A basic tenet of agency management was the concept of "line authority," whereby decision-makers at each level of the organization would act as reasonably autonomous units, answering only to authority up and down the line. Line authority descended from the Chief of the Forest Service, located at the Washington Office, to the Regional Foresters, the Forest Supervisors, and the District Rangers in turn, each assisted by a staff of specialists (Conrad 1997:23-24). The grass-roots work of the Forest Service was primarily implemented by the District Rangers and their subordinates, while the Forest Supervisors directing each Forest, the Regional Foresters responsible for groups of Forests, and the Chief of the Forest Service formulated policy.

Introduced with composer F. H. Losey's orchestral piece *Forest Whispers* playing in the background, Galen W. Pike, Forest Supervisor of what was then referred to as the Gardner National Forest of southwest Missouri, was interviewed by Springfield radio station KWTO on September 7, 1936, during which he was asked to describe the Forest Service's organizational structure. Having done so, the interviewer appears to have been temporarily bemused by the widely scattered loci of Forest Service authority in the lengthy chain of command between southwest Missouri and Washington, D.C. A prepared transcript of the broadcast interview, one of eighteen compiled under a single cover, relates Supervisor Pike's response to the interviewer:

KWTO: Boy, that's an unwieldy arrangement, isn't it [*sic*]

PIKE: Quite the contrary, and very effective as a means of decentralizing administration. Under such a plan each Ranger District is virtually a Forest Unit in itself. And the more directly we can deal with the public, the better results we secure.

(US Forest Service 1937a:11-12)

Passage of the Forest Reserve Act of 1891 had marked a profound achievement for conservationists. Over the next fifteen years, four successive presidents placed more than 94 million acres of western lands into Forest Reserves, later called “National Forests,” through withdrawal of those lands from the public domain. Conversely, Forest Reserves came more slowly to the East, where extensive, contiguous blocks of public domain lands were virtually absent from the landscape. Establishment of National Forests in the eastern states on a truly significant level would require that the Federal Government purchase private land from willing sellers, however there was no clear legislative authority for the government to do so. That would come with enactment of the Weeks Law in 1911 and its amending legislation, the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924 (Shands 1992:26; US Forest Service 1976:22,24).

The Weeks Act (16 USC § 552) was signed into law by President Howard Taft on March 1, 1911, providing the primary statutory mechanism for creation of National Forests in the eastern states (Conrad 1997:31). It authorized acquisition by the United States of forest lands designated as necessary to the protection of navigable streams, such lands to be derived chiefly through willing-sale by private landowners; it established a pattern for cooperation between states as well as between the Federal Government and the states in protecting forest lands from fire; and it created the National Forest Reservation Commission to oversee land acquisition activities within circumscribed geographic areas containing lands qualifying for purchase under the Act, or “Purchase Units.” The legislation was not without some limitations. Under the Weeks Act, state and federal cooperation in fire protection efforts and the purchase of land for National Forests by the United States were explicitly limited to lands located on the headwaters of navigable streams. Furthermore, such lands could not be acquired by the government unless the legislature of a state within which such lands were located had given its statutory approval, in the form of an Enabling Act, or “Consent Act,” to do so (US Forest Service 1961a:1,3; Snowe 2011:71; Graves 1911:2).

In 1924 Congress passed the Clarke-McNary Act (16 USC § 564-567), which, together with its provisions relating to state forestry and fire protection, amended the Weeks Act by authorizing the United States to purchase lands specifically to further the long-term, sustainable production of timber as well as for the protection of navigation within the watersheds of navigable streams (US Forest Service 1932:2). Under Clarke-McNary, the type of land the government could acquire was substantially expanded. Whereas the Weeks Act had limited purchases to the headwaters of navigable rivers, Section 6 of Clarke-McNary relaxed that restriction. Once passed, the stage had been set for the Federal Government to negotiate the purchase of any “forested, cut-over, or denuded land within the watersheds of navigable streams as...may be necessary to the regulation of the flow of navigable streams or for the production of timber” (Miller 2011:24).

### **The Mark Twain National Forest**

The preceding overview of the National Forest System’s formative period was derived almost exclusively from widely available secondary-source narratives produced by historians, conservationists, members of the forestry community, and/or government officials for colleagues, posterity, and members of the interested public. Although reviews of this type of literature frequently yield generalized pictures of history that serve admirably to acquaint readers

with a specific historical context, they are somewhat monochromatic and do little to illuminate the sub-historic particulars that comprise events at a state, community, or individual scale. The following narrative relies on selected source materials that pertain in varied ways and with somewhat more specificity to development of Missouri's Mark Twain National Forest. Excerpts of historical narratives, analysis of administrative documents, reviews of radio interview transcripts, official correspondence, informational brochures, maps, photographs, newspaper articles, and observations based on participatory experience were considered in an attempt to coax a small measure of color from the historical record.

## **Part 1: The "National Forest Question in Missouri"**

In the February 7, 1922 St. Louis Star article cited above, Charles F. Hatfield, General Manager of the St. Louis Convention, Publicity and Tourist Bureau, clearly expressed his desire to see the Federal Government purchase lands in Missouri for the creation of two "national recreation parks." He described the government's authority under the Weeks Act of 1911 to acquire lands at the headwaters of navigable streams as well as the requirement that the state legislature first pass an Enabling Act allowing such purchases. More than a decade after passage of Weeks, Hatfield declared that the state of Missouri "must have been asleep on the job not to have made some attempt to take advantage of its privileges" under the law. "Either that, or it might have been a question of individuals wanting to sell lands, or of state's rights advocates not wanting the federal government to own lands in Missouri<sup>2</sup>."

Hatfield continued: "I don't think that it is generally known that in October, 1914, engineers of the Federal Forest Service, after surveys in Missouri, recommended the purchase of two tracts of land," however acquisition of those lands was not implemented due to the lack of an Enabling Act (or "Consent Act") in the state. It is not surprising that Hatfield was a fervent advocate for establishment of National Forests in Missouri; the lands proposed by the Forest Service for procurement in 1914 were located in relatively close proximity to the St. Louis area. As General Manager of the St. Louis Convention, Publicity and Tourist Bureau, he would have been well-aware of the substantial benefits to be derived from increased tourism in the central and south-central portions of the state. Upon his return to St. Louis, Hatfield commenced a publicity campaign to have the two National Forests created in Missouri, asking Governor Arthur M. Hyde—later to become Secretary of Agriculture under President Hoover—and several state legislators to begin action on passing an Enabling Act. Thus began more than seven years of debate on the "National Forest Question in Missouri" (Conrad 1997:82).

There was strong opposition to government interference in what many considered to be the internal affairs of the 24<sup>th</sup> state, much of it led by State Forester Frederick Dunlap of the Missouri Agricultural Board's forestry division, whose office was financed in-part through federal matching funds allocated under authority of the Clarke-McNary Act. Dunlap's precise reasons for opposing Weeks Act purchases in Missouri were unknown to Forest Service officials of the time, given that he failed to express his objections to them in writing (Conrad 1997:82; McConnell 1963:9-10). Missouri's industrial leaders and professional foresters were clearly

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<sup>2</sup> Unnumbered Photostat of an article appearing in the St. Louis Star, February 7, 1922. Clipping on file at the Mark Twain National Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

opposed to the establishment of National Forests in the state, preferring instead to consolidate what support did exist for conservation forestry in the hands of a state agency headed by educated forestry professionals. It appears that industrialists within Missouri preferred a state forestry organization rather than a federal agency, most likely because the former would be more susceptible to their influence (Benac 2010:110).

On June 8, 1929, the Missouri General Assembly finally passed an Enabling Act to allow the US Forest Service to purchase cutover land in the state, however the legislature undermined its own action by restricting federal ownership of lands to no more than 2,000 acres in any single county, of which no tract could be more than 25 acres in size (McConnell 1963:9). The legislature had effectively prevented the Forest Service from establishing purchase units in Missouri, and for all practical purposes negated the Enabling Act it had just passed; the state legislature, however, would still be able to claim to those advocating for National Forests in Missouri that it had nevertheless granted its consent to establish them (Benac 2010:120; McConnell 1963:9).

Partly as a result of the declining quality of the state's forests, it was estimated that Missouri only produced 24 percent of the forest products it consumed during the early 1930s. Additionally, the state was faced with the prospect of having large areas of land within its boundaries that persistently failed to yield appreciable tax revenue (Benac 2010:121-122; Shands 1992:33). Individuals and associations concerned with the future of Missouri forests were all too aware of economic pressures brought about by the Great Depression, and eventually came to consider governmental assistance in the form of federal expenditures within the state a necessary component of any recovery (Benac 2010:121-122; Conrad 1997:82). In 1933, the Enabling Act was amended to authorize the acquisition of 25,000 acres per county. The following year the Enabling Act was again amended to increase the county acreage limit to 100,000 acres. A final amendment to the Consent Law was passed by the Missouri legislature on April 16, 1935, eliminating the limitations on acreage altogether (McConnell 1963:13).

## **Part II: National Forest Land Acquisition**

By 1933, the political climate in Missouri had changed sufficiently to allow the Forest Service to begin purchasing qualifying lands for what would eventually become two of twenty-two New Deal forests proclaimed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt within the eastern United States (Conrad 1997:85). At the time of their acquisition, parcels comprising the eastern National Forests were mostly suited to the production of wood products and other forest values, but were in generally poor condition due to excessive timber cutting, over-grazing, frequent repeated burning, and erosion (US Forest Service 1961a:9). As would become evident, the New Deal forests were established not only for purposes of rehabilitating eroded, cut-over lands, but as a means to provide a measure of relief to hard-pressed local economies as well (Shands 1992:33).

A brief manuscript produced by the US Forest Service Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri during 1935 contains a narrative dated December, 1934 describing the general impoverishment of Ozarks timberlands at that time (US Forest Service 1935:1); it was written during the early years of Forest Service land acquisition in the tone of an informational pamphlet for distribution to the public, and its intent, at least in part, appears to have been to allay lingering concerns that

National Forest development in the state was a “federal land grab” rather than what the agency represented as a benevolent necessity. The document begins as follows:

The Ozarks of Missouri a generation ago were noted for their extensive stands of magnificent pine and hardwoods. Logging and lumbering were bustling industries and billions of feet of timber were cut with no thought of the future of the workers, or such natural resources as timber, game, water, and soil.

Under this system of unrestrained exploitation, the seemingly inexhaustible stands of pine were the first to go, to be followed soon by the hardwoods. The timber exhausted, the lumber companies moved to other regions, presumably for further exploitation, leaving the declining towns so typical of the Ozark region and reminiscent of the ghost towns of the mining regions of the West. The workers left stranded by this movement were forced to turn to the soil for livelihood, aided and abetted by land sharks and real estate promoters anxious to dispose of the now nearly valueless lands.

The soil supported the people on a reasonable standard of living for a time, but unscientific methods of cropping and burning of the woods followed by torrential rains finally resulted in a complete loss of the shallow top soil, except for the small part of the region comprising the wider stream bottoms. This, in conjunction with the common and continued practice of frequent woods burning done with the misconception of improving pastures – [*sic*] has resulted in vast areas with a rather complete ground cover of loose rocks and a scattering of badly injured and defective trees, remnants of the original virgin stands. Game has largely disappeared, and once fine fishing streams are now filled with silt for long stretches and subject to periodic floods.

During this period of soil and timber loss and deterioration, the people have gradually become more poverty stricken until large relief expenditures are necessary to prevent deaths by exposure and starvation. Illiteracy is on the increase and in some sections is disturbingly common.

An updated informational pamphlet based on the above text was produced for the Forest in 1961. A comparison of the two reveals the presence of potentially informative editorial choices. A single shared paragraph is appended below for illustrative purposes; text appearing in boldface denotes the 1961 language, while that appearing in italics depicts text deleted from the original version:

**Under this system of unrestrained exploitation, the seemingly inexhaustible stands of pine were the first to go, followed soon by the hardwoods. The timber exhausted, the lumber companies moved to other regions,** *presumably for further exploitation, leaving the declining towns so typical of the Ozark region and reminiscent of the ghost towns of the mining regions of the West.* **The woods workers left stranded by this movement were forced to return to the soil for their livelihood,** *aided and abetted by land sharks and real estate promoters anxious to dispose of the now nearly valueless lands.*

(US Forest Service 1961b:1)

It appears possible that the softened tone of the 1961 language presented above may represent an increased sensitivity toward the Forest's ongoing relationship with the timber industry and less of a need to demonstrate that the agency stood exclusively with the "common man". It is not clear when the changes were made, or if they appear in intermediate versions of the document. By 1961, however, the Forest Service had maintained an active, visible presence in Missouri for nearly three decades, and initial reactions among most resistant elements of the local population to long-term government entry into the Ozarks had likely mellowed considerably. Conversely, the changes noted above may simply have represented an editorial choice made to minimize perceived political slant.

In either case, the author paints a portrait of lands and people in dire need of Federal intervention, a refrain common to official Forest Service publications written before and since. Agency sponsored literature intended both for internal use and public distribution appear to be consistent in stating that forestlands acquired during the Great Depression had long been suffering the effects of poor land management practices, that locally intensive restoration and prudent administration of such lands would assure their eventual recovery, and that development of National Forests in economically depressed areas would benefit local communities as well as the American public at-large.

Following the stock market crash of late October, 1929, the Great Depression hit rural America—already in a state of general recession caused by agricultural overproduction and low prices—extremely hard. The impact on local communities and economies was devastating; business failures and farm foreclosures were appallingly common. In many of the less productive upland areas of the Ozark Highlands, families lost their land to banks and mortgage companies in wholesale amounts. The New Deal solution for this problem was injection of money into communities by various emergency relief measures. Forest Service purchase of land would, in theory, not only put money in the hands of consumers, but it would also provide money to circulate in local economies and would create jobs, and over time would broaden the economic base by restoring timber and forest resources. Instead of dealing with large, western landowners such as lumber companies and railroads, the Forest Service was now dealing primarily with distressed and bankrupt farmers, tenants, and squatters. The agency had become involved in a completely new role—one of trying to help solve the social and economic problems of individual landowners trying to hold on to a way of life in some of the most economically depressed areas of the country (Conrad 1997:67, 69-70).

Generally, the procedures for National Forest land acquisition began when purchase agents had examined and selected an area meeting the requirements of the Weeks and Clarke-McNary Acts; these lands were then organized it into a proposed Purchase Unit, several of which might eventually be combined to form a Forest. Field agents then set about negotiating purchase agreements with willing landowners, both individual and corporate, attempting where possible to consolidate parcels into large, contiguous areas. On the basis of land examinations and evaluation of timber resources, tentative agreements as to terms of sale were arranged and proposals presented for successive approval to the Supervisor's Office, the Regional Office, and then the Washington Office. The Secretary of Agriculture then submitted proposed land purchases to the National Forest Reservation Commission for final approval (Conrad 1997:33; Smith 1930:90-91). The function of the Commission itself was to determine whether the

proposed Purchase Units contained lands suitable for incorporation into the National Forests, whether they qualified under the applicable laws, and whether there were sufficient funds available from those appropriated by Congress to execute the land purchase (Smith 1930:122).

For the most part, purchases were opportunistic; federal buyers had to take what was offered and try to collect enough land into a unit that could become a viable national forest, generally considered to be fifty-percent of the lands within approved Purchase Units. Many landowners willingly sold their land to the federal government, but retained timber and mineral rights for a period of years; some declined to do so altogether (Shands 1992:35; Tinker 1935:4). Due to the differential presence of willing sellers in various areas, National Forest System lands in the eastern states are frequently patchworks of public and private ownership.

A preliminary survey of the Missouri Ozarks for lands qualifying for acquisition by the United States under Weeks/Clarke-McNary occurred during the summer of 1933, under the direction of S.D. Anderson, a specialist on detail from the Forest Service Regional Office in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Crowell 1953:1). A historical narrative prepared in 1963 for internal Forest Service use states that a preliminary report was completed by USFS Staff Officer William L. Barker of the Regional Office in Milwaukee on June 16, 1933, recommending formation of—and subsequent land acquisition within—four Purchase Units in Missouri: the Clark, Fristoe, Gasconade, and Pond Fork (McConnell 1963:11-12). The report was submitted via the Washington Office and Secretary of Agriculture to the National Forest Reservation Commission for purchase approval, which was granted on August 30, 1933, (US Forest Service 1935:2). A map of the original Purchase Unit locations is presented as Figure 3.

Existing state legislation had a significant impact on the distribution of proposed Purchase Units across the landscape of Missouri. As a result of the 25,000 acre per county restriction imposed on National Forest land purchases in effect under the 1933 amendment to the Missouri Enabling Act, Purchase Unit location was confined to areas where multiple counties converged in order to consolidate Forest lands to the greatest extent possible, a trend visible in Figure 3. The Missouri legislature amended the Enabling Act of 1929 during special session for a second time during 1934, raising the 25,000 acre per county purchase limits imposed on the Forest Service by the prior amendment to 100,000 acres. The act was amended a third and final time on April 16, 1935, eliminating the acreage limit altogether (McConnell 1963:11, 13).

As a consequence of the greater access to purchasable land within each county brought about by amendments to the Missouri Enabling Act, boundaries of the four original Missouri Purchase Units were extended on March 26, 1934; additionally, two new Purchase Units, the Gardner and Wappapello, were approved by the National Forest Reservation Commission, bringing the gross land area on the six Purchase Units to 2,207,040 acres located in twenty-one counties. The Commission approved further extensions for the Clark, Fristoe, Gardner, Pond Fork, and Wappapello Units, as well as the addition of two more Purchase Units, the St. Francois and the Table Rock, on January 21, 1935, raising the total gross purchasable land area on all eight Purchase Units to 3,014,265 acres located in twenty-eight counties (US Forest Service 1940:19; US Forest Service 1937b:14). Before the end of 1935, a net total of 982,000 acres had been purchased—or optioned and approved for purchase—by the government for between \$1.00 to

\$3.00 dollars per acre, absent special values such as exceptionally good stands of merchantable timber (US Forest Service 1937a:15).

Once an option to acquire lands had been approved by the National Forest Reservation Commission and the Secretary of Agriculture had formally elected to implement a purchase, it could take some time to finalize the transaction and issue payment to the seller. In a September 14, 1936 interview with Springfield radio station KWTO, Forest Supervisor Galen W. Pike of southwest Missouri responded to the following question on the topic:

KWTO: How long after the option is drawn does the government pay for the land?

PIKE: After title has been approved and conveyance made to the government, or, in the average case, from six months to a year. Some of the early cases took more than two years.

(US Forest Service 1937b:25-26)

Extended delays in issuing land purchase disbursements were frequently a result of defective titles, which had to be perfected or cleared by attorneys and Forest Service title experts before a purchase transaction could be consummated with payment (US Forest Service 1937b:26). Meanwhile, landowners who had offered to sell their lands—some of whom were in a state of extreme financial distress—were waiting for their money.

As with Nature, commerce abhors a vacuum, and an abundance of people willing to sacrifice a portion of their land sale proceeds for immediate payment brought about the presence of relatively benign land speculators, or “land-jobbers,” in areas where National Forests were being established. Speculators would buy private lands involved in an acquisition proposal at somewhat less than what the government would eventually pay for it, and might pay the landowner’s back taxes as well, thus clearing the title. The landowner was willing to sell because he or she would receive payment immediately and did not have to wait months or years for it. Often, the profits made by land-jobbers amounted to a fraction of a dollar per acre, so few were getting rich; with many thousands of acres being purchased, however, a speculator could make a reasonable profit (Conrad 1997:33).

Although such records are currently conserved in an electronic database, the Mark Twain National Forest retains custody of several hard copy district-specific Land Status Atlases; these are administrative folios of cartographic and tabular information cataloging the legal authority, seller, purchase date, location, and acreage of lands acquired by the Forest Service in Missouri, organized according to Purchase Unit/District, Township, Range, and Section. A review of land acquisition data for Township 23 North, Range 18 West, a single, randomly selected thirty-six square mile Township located within the boundaries of the Pond Fork Purchase Unit, indicates that between March 2, 1935 and May 28, 1986, 16,815 acres were acquired by the Forest Service, via 141 separate transactions, 77 percent of which occurred prior to 1940. Six-thousand and fourteen acres were acquired from unencumbered private landowners; 1,770 acres from private landowners in foreclosure; 753 acres from banks; 480 acres from lumber companies; 1,098 acres through exchange for other lands; and 6,701 widely distributed acres purchased from a single individual named in the Atlas as “L. F. P. Curry,” an apparent land-jobber that seems to

have been active primarily during 1935 (US Forest Service 1988). A detail of the Land Status Atlas is presented in Figure 4.

History describes a “Lemuel Florence Patterson Curry” (b. July 22, 1887 – d. January 23, 1977), often referenced as L. F. P. Curry, a Pennsylvania-born leader in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now the Community of Christ). Between 1923 and 1946, Curry held various positions within the church, to include high priest, bishop, Presiding Bishop, and Councilor in the First Presidency of Frederick M. Smith, grandson of Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Latter Day Saint movement. L. F. P. Curry was also the mayor of Independence, Missouri, from 1962 to 1966 (Norwood 2005; Community of Christ.org 2012). Despite ongoing efforts, no independent data have yet been located conclusively demonstrating that Mayor Curry of Independence and the enterprising land-jobber L. F. P. Curry of southwest Missouri were one and the same person, nor whether such activity would have been performed on behalf of the church, as a personal enterprise, or a combination of both. In describing the First Presidency of Frederick M. Smith, however, the Community of Christ website closes with the following lines of interest:

The Depression caused the church to look seriously at its financial structure because it was deeply in debt. In order to pay off this debt, the 1932 General Conference approved a new financial policy that would allow the church to continue and create reserves. In 1932, the church had been close to financial insolvency; by 1942, that prospect had disappeared, and the church was in much better financial health.

(Community of Christ.org 2012)

One is left to wonder if the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints—which itself has had quite a history in Missouri—identified a relatively safe opportunity to earn a tidy profit on capital investments during the early years of Forest Service land acquisition in the state. In the author’s opinion, the question warrants further inquiry as a matter of historical interest.

Eastern land purchases under the Weeks Act and its amending legislation peaked prior to World War II (US Forest Service 1997:ii). Following removal of the Missouri Enabling Act stipulations regarding the size of any single purchase parcel, the Forest Service took prompt action toward establishment and acquisition of areas suitable for National Forest purposes. During 1934 and 1935, eight separate Purchase Units embracing approximately 3,363,000 acres were created (McConnell 1963:11); before the end of 1935, a net total of 982,000 acres had been purchased or optioned and approved for purchase (US Forest Service 1937a:15); and by November 1939, 1,167,585 acres had been purchased by the government at a total cost of \$2,358,718, or an average of \$2.02 per acre (US Forest Service 1940:20). In retrospect, it is remarkable to consider that in five years—between 1934 and 1939—the Service was able to examine, evaluate, survey, option, and acquire approximately seventy-seven percent of the Forest’s total current land base (1,504,087 acres, as of November, 2012), paid for in-full and with title vested in the United States.

### **Part III: Community Impacts**

There are several ways of evaluating the impact of the National Forest System on the state of Missouri and its citizens; the most obvious can be measured through quantifiable metrics, such as percentages of Forest receipts returned annually to county governments for operation and/or maintenance of schools and roads. Other measures may not be so readily apparent, save through interaction with local citizens. Nevertheless, it is a certainty that from its inception, Forest development has had a profound impact on both the land and the people of the state.

A truly significant proportion of early National Forest land management objectives were achieved through public emergency works programs implemented under the New Deal, established by President Roosevelt during 1933 (US Forest Service 1937c:4). Those having the most impact on Missouri forests and dependent communities included the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Civilian Works Administration, and Emergency Relief Administration programs.

One of the most effective and popular New Deal programs to combat unemployment during the Great Depression was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and its benefits to local economies were substantial (Conrad 1997:97). During the latter part of October, 1933, Civilian Conservation Corps camps were established on each of the four original Missouri Purchase Units. Throughout the state as a whole, more than 100,000 Missourians would serve in the CCC between 1933 and 1942, planting more than 43 million trees, constructing 240 bridges, cutting 1,600 miles of roads, and carrying out hundreds of erosion, recreational, and wildlife rehabilitation projects (Crowell 1953:1; Williams 1983:4). Enrollees serving on National Forest lands would eventually be put to work across the Forest. Housed in groups of 150 to 200 enrollees at various times in the twenty-three different camps constructed throughout the Missouri Purchase Units, CCC enrollees performed reforestation activities, built and improved roads, constructed and maintained telephone lines, quarried and dressed stone for buildings, constructed shelters and fire observation towers, developed game refuges, developed water impoundments, controlled erosion, and above all, fought fire (Crowell 1953:2; Malouf 1989:1).

As recounted by Gardner Forest Supervisor Galen W. Pike during a January 4, 1937 interview with Springfield radio station KWTO (US Forest Service 1937c:9-11), CCC enrollees working on the Gardner Units during 1936 spent 5,000 man-days fighting 1,500 fires; replanted 9,000 acres; and constructed 355 miles of road, 387 miles of telephone line, and 23 fire lookout towers. Additionally, timber stands on 24,000 acres of land were improved by removal of overly dense, dead, dying, or diseased trees; enrollees constructed numerous modern dwellings, offices, warehouses, and other buildings; and implemented recreation and wildlife surveys and developments, roadside cleanup, and other beautification projects. Each of these accomplishments required supplies and materials, a great deal of which were purchased locally. As described by Supervisor Pike, 300,000 gallons of gasoline and 36,000 gallons of lubricating oil were used by the CCC camps during 1936, as well as a large amount of telephone wire, culverts, dynamite, repair parts for trucks and road machinery, work tools, steel for lookout towers, lumber, and hardware. Pike estimated that the Civilian Conservation Corps camps on the Gardner Units alone expended approximately \$200,000 during 1936, much of it being distributed into local communities.

The CCC camps were followed shortly afterward by the Civilian Works Administration Program. By the middle of December 1933, approximately 4,500 men were employed on CWA projects under the supervision of the four District Rangers, to include road construction/reconstruction projects and stringing of telephone wire. The end of spring in 1934 witnessed the termination of the CWA program, but additional CCC camps were placed in operation thereafter (McConnell 1963:30; Crowell 1953:1,3).

The Emergency Relief Administration Program began during July, 1935, when funds were made available for the employment of local people on authorized National Forest projects. Locally hired labor was employed at Works Progress Administration wage rates in a wide array of tasks, much of their following success likely stemming from being members of the communities in which they worked. Under supervision of the Forest Service and trained craftsmen, the ERA workforce undertook a comprehensive resident population census; secured proposals for sale of lands; checked adverse possessions; organized road betterment and hand maintenance crews, and implemented many other small projects. Clerks and stenographers were employed in the Supervisor's and Ranger's Offices under the program. In December, 1935, work was started on the Willow Springs Ranger Station, a part of the labor and materials being financed with ERA funds. In the spring of 1936, work on five additional Ranger Stations had begun. Materials for fire lookout towers, cabins, garages, woodsheds, latrines, cisterns, etc., were purchase largely with ERA funds, and erected chiefly with ERA labor employed locally (Crowell 1953:4).

Together with enrollees of the Civilian Conservation Corps, local workers hired under the Emergency Relief Administration contributed substantially to construction of the Ranger Station administrative complexes on several districts, to include constructed at Ava, Cassville, Willow Springs, and Houston, Missouri (Pitts 1936:6; Crowell 1953:4). Location maps and photographs depicting the Ava Ranger Station as well as the Houston Ranger Station, both immediately following its completion and as it currently exists, are included in Figures 5-12.

Nineteen thirty-seven marked the decline at a rapid rate of emergency works programs, although the Civilian Conservation Corps remained until 1942 as the primary agency by which work on the Missouri Purchase Units would be accomplished. During the four years from 1933 to 1937, a great deal of the major improvements needed to administer the Missouri Forests had been accomplished by CCC, CWA, and ERA enrollees (Crowell 1953:4). In its 1940 report to the Congressional Committee on Forestry, the Forest stated unequivocally that the presence of emergency works program labor had "made it possible to advance the construction of necessary improvements for Forest protection much beyond our early plans" (US Forest Service 1940:29).

Most of the lands conveyed into the National Forest System during the Great Depression were severely abused and wasted. Many of these once forested areas, such as those in the Ozark Highlands, had never been quality agricultural land, and after the forests were leveled little was left to support a rural economy. Such areas were suitable candidates to become Forest Service Purchase Units; at the very least, property owners who had thought their lands worthless had a buyer willing to pay a fair price. As a consequence, however, government-owned lands would be removed from tax rolls, leading to a potential loss of revenue for cash-starved local governments (Conrad 1997:63). Gardner Purchase Unit Supervisor Galen W. Pike addressed

the issue of lost revenue during a September 7, 1936 interview with Springfield radio station KWTO:

KWTO: How will the Government's purchase of lands affect the road and school funds of a county?

PIKE: I've been afraid you'd fool around and ask that question. But everyone does, sooner or later. It must be conceded such purchases do reduce the amount of taxable property in a county, but bear in mind that the better agricultural lands produce the most revenue, and that we are not buying these. Remember, also, that timbered lands don't produce much in the way of taxes after they have been stripped of timber. Furthermore, most of the lands we have bought were subject to sale for back taxes, but before we'd buy these, such taxes had to be paid, and this helped bring more revenue into some of these Ozark counties than they had received in years. You must also—

KWTO: Hold on there, just a minute! Isn't that merely a temporary condition?

PIKE: Most assuredly. But a dollar in the county treasury is worth several that can't be collected, and in the meantime the Service is rebuilding and maintaining a number of roads heretofore maintained by the counties. You must also remember that most of our Ozark schools now exist largely on state aid.

KWTO: Does the county receive any continuing income?

PIKE: The Government returns to the county road and school funds 25% of the gross receipts of the National Forests, and an additional 10% to the Forest for roads and trails within the Forest. And by the way, this 10% is in addition to the regular appropriations set up for the Service.

KWTO: From what source or sources does the Service derive any revenue?

PIKE: From timber sales, grazing, and leases for cultivation, residence, or other use of Government lands.

(US Forest Service 1937b:7-9)

Review of a memorandum<sup>3</sup> containing total Forest receipts and return to counties figures, produced for eventual incorporation into an informational pamphlet for public distribution, reveals that for the fiscal period 1938 – 1947, the National Forests in Missouri distributed \$84,801.82 to the counties within which the Forest held lands, distributed proportionally to the amount of lands held in each county (see Figure 13).

Review of a compilation of "Forest Facts" for 1965, produced for in-service use only, contains the following statement regarding county allocation based on National Forest acreage, spanning the period 1936 to June 30, 1965:

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<sup>3</sup> Unpublished internal memorandum dated January 16, 1948, on file at the Mark Twain National Forest Supervisor's Office, Rolla, Missouri.

Payments under the 25-percent fund date from 1936 when newly established Purchase Units returned \$258.73 to the counties. Payments have increased steadily and to date, for the Clark and Mark Twain National Forests, a total of \$956,305.39 has been paid to Missouri counties.

(US Forest Service 1965:3)

#### **Part IV: Evolution of Forest Administration**

The administrative workload coincident with rapid expansion of the Purchase Units and administration of emergency work programs established in 1933 became larger than could be efficiently handled from one central office. Consequently, on May 1, 1935, the eight Missouri Purchase Units were divided in to two separate “National Forests,” although their status as such was unofficial at that time. The four western units were collectively administered from Springfield as the Gardner Purchase Units (unofficially the “Gardner National Forest”), under Forest Supervisor Galen W. Pike. The four eastern units, headquartered in St. Louis, were administered collectively as the Clark Purchase Units (unofficially the “Clark National Forest”), under Supervisor Paul D. Kelleter (Crowell 1953:1-2). Forest organization at that time is depicted in Figure 14.

During 1937, the Chief’s Office in Washington, D.C. suggested that the Region consider petitioning the President of the United States to formally proclaim Missouri’s Purchase Units to be two National Forests. The Region, advising that there were several advantages in having the Purchase Units declared National Forests, reminded the Gardner and Clark Unit Forest Supervisors (by that time James N. Diehl and Paul D. Kelleter, respectively) to continue recommending appropriate names, a process that had apparently started in 1935.

On October 1, 1937, Clark Forest Supervisor Kelleter penned a letter to the Regional Forester<sup>4</sup> in which he stated, “On the basis of the situation in which we find ourselves, probably ‘Clark’ is the best way out insofar as the present Clark is concerned, ” a suggestion favorably viewed by the Regional Office as early as 1935. He then went on to proffer the names of several prominent individuals after whom the Gardner Units might be called:

John James Audubon      Cpt. Amos Stoddard  
Robert R. Livingston

An October 6, 1937 letter from Supervisor Diehl to the Regional Forester in Milwaukee<sup>5</sup> summarized eight names previously submitted for the Gardner Units, apparently suggested and received without a great deal of enthusiasm some time before, between February 25 and March 1, 1935. These included:

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<sup>4</sup> Unpublished letter from Paul D. Kelleter to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. October 1, 1937. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished letter from James N. Diehl to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. October 6, 1937. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

Shepherd of the Hills	Daniel Boone	Linnaeus
Kickapoo	Mark Twain	Chicamaugua
Osage	Pulaski	

In addition to the above, Supervisor Diehl also submitted the following potential names:

Glades	Mozark (Diehl's preferred choice)
Ridge Top	Hill Billy

Gardner Forest Supervisor Diehl wrote to the Regional Office in Milwaukee on October 29, 1937<sup>6</sup>, tendering the following names for the Forester's ongoing consideration:

Cpt. Meriwether Lewis	Dr. Lewis F. Linn
Thomas Hart Benton	

Also on October 29, 1937, Clark Supervisor Kelleter submitted a revised list of recommendations for Gardner Unit names to the Regional Office<sup>7</sup>, resubmitting those he'd offered on October 1, with additions:

Mark Twain	Eugene Field
Robert R. Livingston	John James Audubon
Cpt. Amos Stoddard	

On November 30, 1937, Supervisor Diehl posted a series of form-letters<sup>8</sup> to select members of the public, academia, and/or state and local government in which he sought their opinions regarding the name he next suggested: that of General John J. Pershing. In his letter, Supervisor Diehl explained, "Policy in the past has been, of course, in line with restrictions of the National Geographical Name Board to name forests only for inanimate object, geographical features, historical features, or to commemorate outstanding citizens of the past who have died. In this instance, the selection of the name 'Pershing National Forest' would break this ruling, but serious consideration should be given the proposal."

Seven of the eight responses Diehl received ranged from neutral (n=1) to strongly supportive (n=6) of "Pershing National Forest." One response, from Associate Professor Conrad Hammer<sup>9</sup>, College of Agriculture, University of Missouri (Columbia), was not particularly positive.

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<sup>6</sup> Unpublished letter from James N. Diehl to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. October 29, 1937. Letter on file at the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished letter from Paul D. Kelleter to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. October 29, 1937. Letter on file at the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>8</sup> Unpublished form letter from James N. Diehl to Multiple Recipients. November 30, 1937. Letters on file at the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished letter from Conrad H. Hammer to James N. Diehl. December 9, 1937. Letters on file at the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

Hammer opined that there was already a park in Linn County named after the General, that the General was not yet deceased, and that there was “little in the name that would have attractiveness from the recreational or geographic viewpoints.” He then went on to suggest several additional names:

Ne-ong-wah	Thomas L. Rubey	Neosho	George C. Bingham
William Henry Hatch	Richard P. Bland	Lebanon	Henry R. Schoolcraft
Thomas Hart Benton	George Graham Vest	Huntington	Redbud

Associate Professor Hammer maintained that his ideal choice, Ne-ong-wah, had “euphony.”

The documentary record resumes where John B. Hatcher, Acting Chief, Division of National Forest Planning and Establishment in the Washington Office, wrote to the Regional Forester in Milwaukee on December 27, 1938<sup>10</sup> asking him to recall the previous “good bit of conversation” regarding formal proclamation of Missouri’s Purchase Units as National Forests. Hatcher made mention of a memorandum that had circulated putting forward the names Mark Twain and Pershing; although the Region had apparently preferred Clark to Mark Twain, there was then a candidate vying for political office in Missouri named Clark, and the Service wanted to avoid the perception that it supported a particular contender. Once again, Washington suggested the Regional Forester recommend a name for the proposed National Forests.

Regional Forester Lyle Watts responded to Mr. Hatcher’s request on January 20, 1939<sup>11</sup>, stating once again a preference that the Gardner Units be renamed the Pershing National Forest. “After careful consideration,” he continued, “we recommend that the name ‘Champ Clark’ be used for the proclamation of the Clark Purchase Unit, because Champ Clark [former Speaker of the US House of Representatives, d. 1921] is held in such high esteem by the people of Missouri...” Forester Watts then stated that the name Mark Twain had also been favorably considered, however he believed that Champ Clark would be more graciously accepted by people of the area.

The Washington Office responded to Forester Watts on March 4, 1939<sup>12</sup>, relating the Chief’s determination that the Clark Purchase Units should be proclaimed the Clark National Forest after all, the very name suggested during 1935. The designation of the Gardner Units, however, was still very much up in the air, having “failed of approval; the consensus being that the name of some geographic or hydrographic feature would be more appropriate, as for example, the Gasconade River.” Yet again, the Regional Forester was asked to recommend an appropriate name for the Gardner group of Purchase Units, “...based preferably on a recognized and widely known natural feature of geographic or hydrographic character.”

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<sup>10</sup> Unpublished letter from John B. Hatcher to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. December 27, 1938. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>11</sup> Unpublished letter from the Regional Forester to John B. Hatcher, Washington, DC. January 20, 1939. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>12</sup> Unpublished letter from the Washington Office to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. March 4, 1939. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

A seemingly short-tempered Forester Watts then fired off a series of two consecutive letters to the Forest Service Chief in Washington; in his first, dated March 6, 1939<sup>13</sup>, he states: “We are all in agreement that the name ‘Pershing National Forest’ is by all odds the best name that could be selected. However, that name seems not to be acceptable to your office so we therefore suggest that the name “Gardner” be established. If this is not satisfactory, a poor third choice would be the ‘Gasconade National Forest.” Watts continued, “As you know, the Gasconade River touches only one of the four Purchase Units, and therefore does not apply too well to the [other Units]. It does, however, seem to be about the only hydrographic feature at all suitable for this purpose.”

Regional Forester Watts’ second letter, dated March 7, 1939<sup>14</sup>, states rather flatly, “My attention has been called to the dictionary definition of the word ‘gasconade’ [extravagant boasting] and I am sure that the definition would cause one to hesitate in selecting that name for a National Forest.” He continued, “Further discussion of a suitable name for the Gardner Purchase Unit was had this morning in our staff meeting and it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the name ‘Gasconade’ should not be used but in lieu thereof, the name ‘Mozarks’ be substituted. Obviously the word is coined and would be used as a combination and abbreviation of the words Missouri-Ozarks.” A copy of this letter is included as Figure 15.

On September 15, 1939, Forrest T. Hoyt, Acting Chief, Division of Forest Land Planning, notified the Regional Forester in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had signed the proclamations establishing the Mark Twain and Clark National Forests on September 11, 1939<sup>15</sup>. It is not without irony that after four years of debate, Missouri’s Purchase Units had been granted National Forest status under designations that had been submitted from the outset. A copy of the Hoyt letter is offered as Figure 16.

Between 1935 and 1953, the Missouri Purchase Units, later to become the Mark Twain and Clark National Forests, were administered from two separate Forest Supervisor’s Offices, initially located in Springfield and St. Louis, respectively, however the St. Louis office was relocated to Rolla, Missouri during 1946. On July 1, 1953, the southwestern and northern districts of the Mark Twain and Clark were aggregated under one administration as part of a so-called economy drive, with the combined Supervisor’s Office located at Rolla, Missouri; the Clark and Mark Twain National Forests were thereafter referred to collectively as the Missouri National Forests (McConnell 1963:18; US Forest Service 1988). The Fristoe and Wappapello Units of the Clark were to be managed as part of the Shawnee National Forest, headquartered at Harrisburg, Illinois (US Forest Service 1961:5). At that time, the arrangement was deemed satisfactory for existing volumes of business and public use of the forests.

A decade later, administration of the National Forests in Missouri on the previous basis became increasingly difficult, and service to the public was judged inadequate. Due to large increases in measured workload brought about by such factors as increased visitor use, a recent doubling in

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<sup>13</sup> Unpublished letter from the Regional Forester to the Chief of the Forest Service, Washington, DC. March 6, 1939. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>14</sup> Unpublished letter from the Regional Forester to the Chief of the Forest Service, Washington, DC. March 7, 1939. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

<sup>15</sup> Facsimile of the letter from Forrest T. Hoyt to the Regional Forester, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 15, 1939. Letter on file at the Supervisor’s Office in Rolla, Missouri.

timber harvest volume, and complex public relations issues on the Ranger Districts overseen by the Shawnee, it was felt that there was once again full justification for two separate Supervisor's Offices<sup>16</sup> (Figure 17). On July 1, 1962, the two Missouri Forests were again separated into the Mark Twain and Clark, though division lines varied from the original, with the Fristoe, Gardner, Pond Fork, and Table Rock Units under the Mark Twain administration with headquarters once again in Springfield. The Gasconade, Clark, St. Francois, and Wappapello Units fell under the Clark National Forest administration, with the office in Rolla (Thomason and Douglass 2000:10).

In addition to changes in Forest administration, a number of organizational changes have taken place within the Ranger Districts of the Missouri Forests since their inception in the 1930s. These changes have resulted in administrative site closings and consolidations of District personnel. Of the sixteen original office complexes, nearly half have been closed and transferred out of Federal ownership (Thomason and Douglass 2000:10). On March 6, 1973, the Chief of the Forest Service once again issued an order to recombine the Mark Twain and Clark National Forests under one Supervisor, located in Rolla, the resultant management unit then being designated as the National Forests in Missouri (US Forest Service 1988). At that time, net Forest land ownership had grown to approximately 1,450,000 acres in 29 counties, or approximately 96 percent of the Forest's total current land base of 1,504,087 acres (as of November, 2012), paid for in-full and with title vested in the United States (US Forest Service 1974:1). Finally, on February 17, 1976, the Clark and Mark Twain were combined into a single management unit and designated the Mark Twain National Forest, and so it has remained (US Forest Service 1985:2).

By and large, land acquisition on the Mark Twain, which peaked prior to World War II, has proceeded at a significantly diminished pace since the 1950s, when Congress drastically reduced funds previously allocated for land acquisition under the Weeks/Clarke-McNary Acts (Conrad 1997:136). For the most part, land acquisition now occurs primarily as a result of special circumstances, such as land exchanges authorized in order to move toward consolidation of the Forest's fragmented ownership (US Forest Service 1997:ii). Management objectives have markedly shifted over the years from land acquisition to restoration of natural terrestrial communities, recreation, community fire protection, and sustainable use of Forest products.

Forest Supervisor Galen W. Pike of the combined Gardner Purchase Units fittingly expressed the Missouri National Forests' ultimate management objective on September 27, 1936, while being interviewed by Springfield radio station KWTO:

KWTO: When will the Gardner be self-supporting?

PIKE: Not for some time.

KWTO: Why not?

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<sup>16</sup> Unpublished Photostat of internal memorandum from R.E. McArdle to J.M. Robertson, USFS Washington Office. February 19, 1962. A scan of the Photostat is presented as Figure 17.

PIKE: Well, suppose you were left an orchard, and when you took possession of it you found that instead of using a ladder in his work of gathering the fruit, the former owner had cut down his trees to make gathering easier. How would that strike you?

KWTO: Something like killing the goose that lays golden eggs.

PIKE: Exactly! And what the Service is trying to do here in the Ozarks is to revive that very much abused bird.

(US Forest Service 1937b:10)

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1937c Radio Interview No. 18, with Galen W. Pike, Forest Supervisor, Gardner National Forest, by Radio Station KWTO, Springfield, Missouri, January 4, 1937. *In* Radio Interviews with Gardner National Forest by Radio Station KWTO, August 31, 1936 – January 4, 1937. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri, Pp. 212-223.

1940 Report of Forest Conditions in Missouri. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service. Prepared for the Joint Congressional Committee on Forestry. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

1961a The National Forest Reservation Commission. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service. September, 1961.

1961b The National Forests of Missouri, the Clark & Mark Twain. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

1965 Some Forest Facts for 1965: Clark National Forest. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service. Unpublished in-service informational sheet on file at the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

1976 Highlights in the History of Forest Conservation. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service, Washington, D.C. March, 1976.

1985 1985 Forest Fact Sheet. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service, Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri.

1988 Land Status Atlas for the Ava Unit. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service, Mark Twain National Forest, Missouri. Unpublished land records on file in the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri. Unnumbered.

1991 Missouri's National Forest. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service. April, 1991.

1997 Establishment and Modification of National Forest Boundaries, a Chronologic Record 1891 – 1996. Compiled by Lands Staff, United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service, Washington, D.C. November 1997.

Williams, Ed

1983 The Mark Twain National Forest Salutes the Civilian Conservation Corps. *In* Sho-Me Smoke Signal, Mark Twain N. F. United States Department of Agriculture, US Forest Service, Rolla, Missouri. August, 1983. Pp. 1-7.

**MOVE STARTED TO**

**CUT TWO FEDERAL**

**PARKS IN STATE**

**Hatfield Hopes Government Will Buy Land on St. Francis and Current Rivers.**

Charles F. Hatfield, general manager of the St. Louis Convention, Publicity and Tourist Bureau, who returned from Washington yesterday, today told a reporter that while there he began a movement through which it is hoped eventually through two national recreation parks in the Ozark mountain region of Missouri, totaling more than 1,000,000 acres, to be paid for by the federal government.

Hatfield explained that under the Weeks act, approved in 1911, the government is authorized to acquire land at the headwaters of navigable streams, to preserve the forests thereon for the purpose of regulating the flow of water.

"I took up the matter with Senator Spencer and Congressman Newton," Hatfield said, "and they were very enthusiastic about it and promised to give the plan all the aid possible."

**How to Get Appropriation.**  
The method of obtaining the appropriation by congress was then explained by Hatfield.

"Under the Weeks law the state land must pass an enabling act through its legislature, which would allow the federal government to acquire the land."

Thirteen states have passed such acts and 2,000,000 acres have been purchased by the government as a result. The original act carried an appropriation of \$11,000,000, but this all has been expended in the purchase of lands, so it will be necessary for congress to appropriate additional funds to purchase land in Missouri.

Hatfield said he would take up with Gov. Hygo shortly the question

of having an enabling act introduced in the next session of the legislature.

"Missouri must have been helped on the job not to have made some attempt to take advantage of its privileges under this law," Hatfield said. "Either that, or it might have been a question of individuals wanting to sell lands, or of state's rights advocates not wanting the government to own land in Missouri."

"I don't think it is generally known that in October, 1914, engineers of the Federal Forest Service after surveys in Missouri recommended the purchase of two tracts of land as follows:

"The St. Francis unit, containing the St. Francis Mountain, and land in Iron, Madison, Wayne and Reynolds counties, containing 468,700 acres altogether, of which 274,000 acres are on the watershed of the St. Francis River, and 94,100 acres on the watershed of the Black River.

"The Current River unit, including the greater part of lands at the headwaters of the Current River above Van Buren, in Carter, Shannon, Texas and Dent counties, totaling 55,200 acres, or for the two proposed purchases 1,051,600 acres. Advantages to City and State.

"The purchase of these two tracts of land by the federal government would be of more value to St. Louis and Missouri than twenty conventions brought to the city. It would bring persons from all over the United States, tourists and others, for recreational privileges, such as hunting, fishing and camping, would be allowed."

The forest commission has never taken any action upon the report of its engineers. Hatfield said, because the state had never passed the enabling act, which would allow the federal government to acquire the land.

States which have obtained parks under the Weeks act were listed by Hatfield as follows: Maine, New Hampshire, Louisiana, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Minnesota. In addition, Maryland and Kentucky have passed enabling acts, but so far no money has been appropriated by congress for purchase of the lands.



Figure 2. Cut-over and burned area on the Gardner Purchase Unit, Mark Twain NF, 1941.

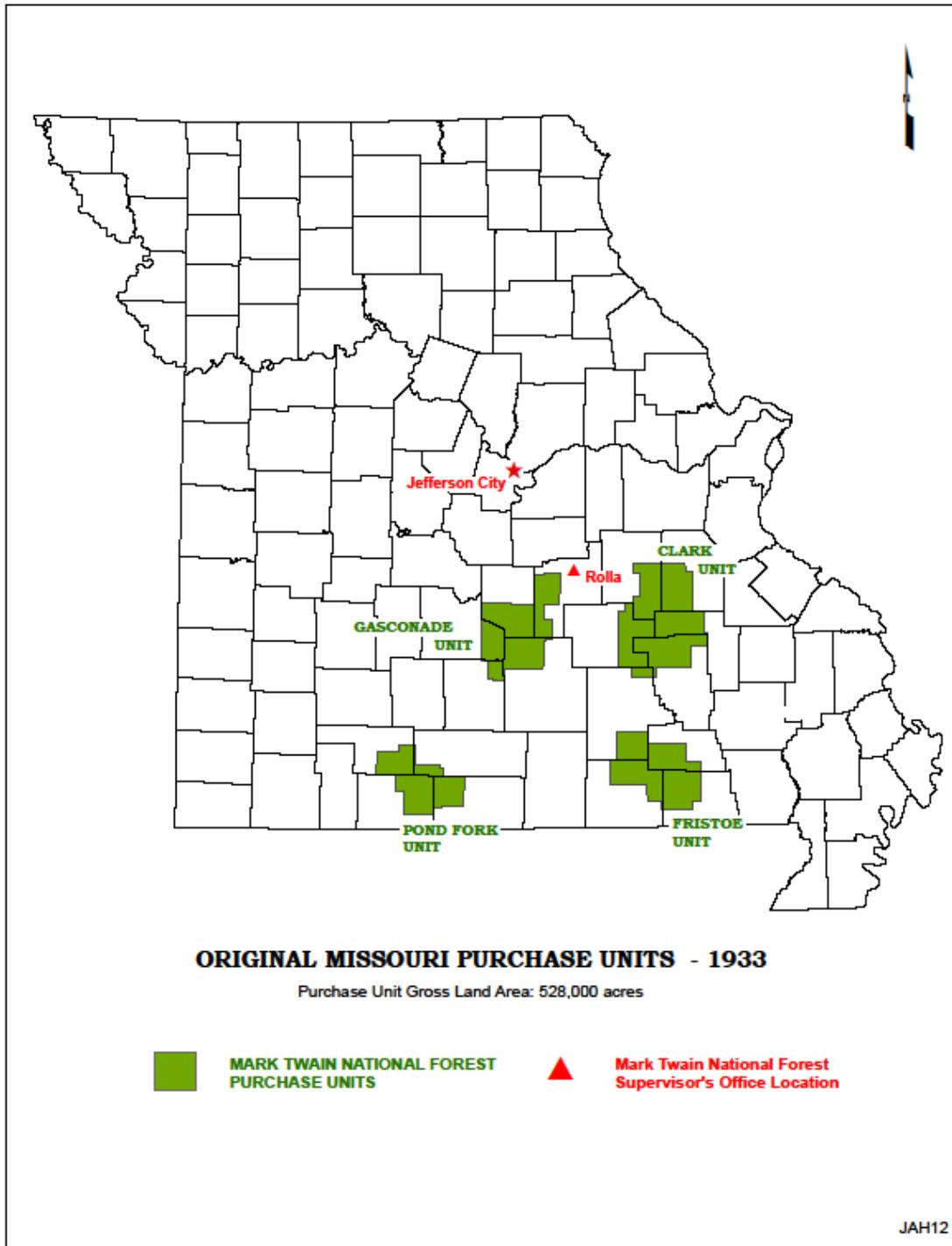


Figure 3. Original distribution and location of Missouri Purchase Units.

STATUS MAP TABULAR RECORD				Date Surveyed	
				Status Posted	
				Purchase Ex=Exchange	
THORITY	ENTRY METHOD	DATE	CASE NAME AND NUMBER	SECTION	SUBDIVI
Wks Act	P	5-28-35	Curry, L.F.P. #1069-A	1	Lot 2 NE; W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	P	4-10-37	Musselman, Harriet Wells #1129-E	1	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ; S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SE
Wks	P	11-29-48	Bray, Hilton & Oliver #2316	1	Lot 1 & 2 W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW
Wks	P	5-28-35	Curry, L.F.P. #1069-A	2	S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW; E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> L N <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SE
Wks	P	2-2-38	Pease, Clarence #1153	2	Lot 2 NE
Wks	P	11-29-48	Bray, Hilton & Oliver #2316	2	E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	P	2-14-38	Hall, H. H. #1116	2	N <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW; Lot 2 W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	P	9-28-35	Groom, Chas. H. #858-B	2	W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	P	5-28-35	Curry, L.F.P. #1069-A	3	W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 2 NE S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SE
Wks	P	12-29-48	Whitaker, Jess #2560	3	W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	P	2-14-38	Hall, H. H. #1116	3	E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 & E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 &
Wks	P	11-20-35	Mitchell, Zora #2162	3	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ; S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SE W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 &
Wks	P	2-23-39	Kohl, Edward #2492	3	SESE
Wks	P	2-21-39	Ebersole, M. #2483	4	W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 & E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	P	5-28-35	Curry, L.F.P. #1069-A	4	W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 1 NE
Wks	Ex	2-8-55	Roberts, Boyd #2627	4	E <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 2 NE W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Lot 2 NE
Wks	P	7-23-35	Wheichel, R. O. #997	4	N <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SE; N <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW
Wks	P	11-20-37	Hicks, J. B. #814-C	4	S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW; S <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW
Wks	P	8-11-37	Groom, M. K. #1242-B	4	Lot 1 & 2 W <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SW
Wks	P	5-1-39	Curtis, Joseph #1309-A	5	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wks	P	5-28-35	Curry, L.F.P. #1069-A	5	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wks	P	3-30-35	Bank of Canton #1060	5	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wks	P	3-30-35	Curtright, Gale H. #1170	5	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wks	P	8-11-37	Groom, M. K. #1242-B	5	SW <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>

Figure 4. Detail of Pond Fork Purchase Unit Land Status Atlas.

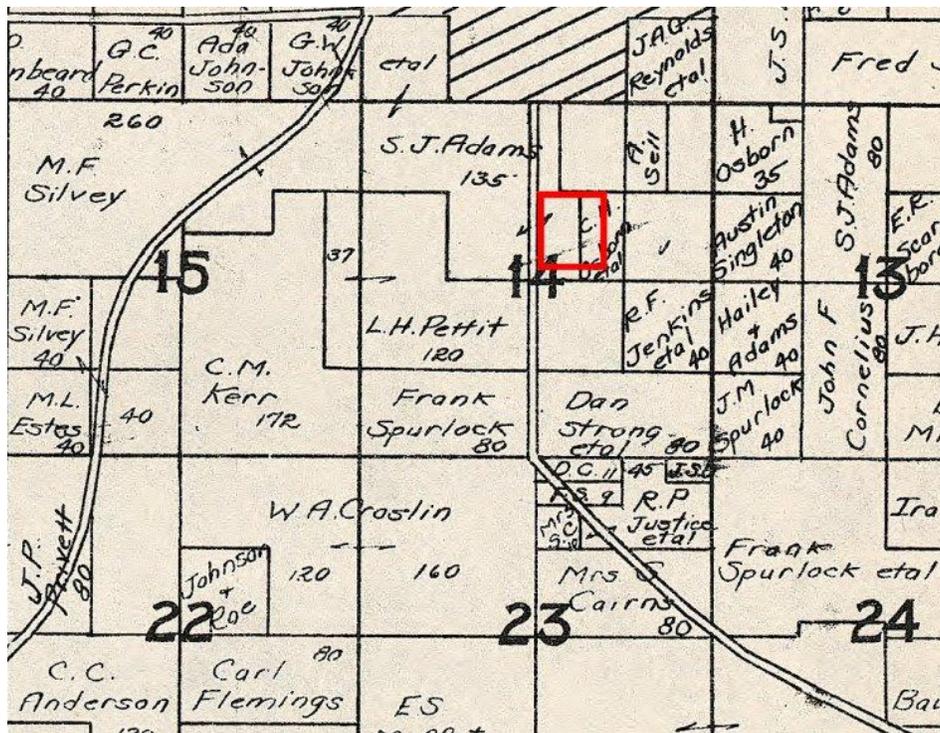


Figure 5. Excerpt from 1930 Plat Book of Douglas County, Missouri, showing location [in red] of lands purchased for Ava Ranger Station in 1934-1935.

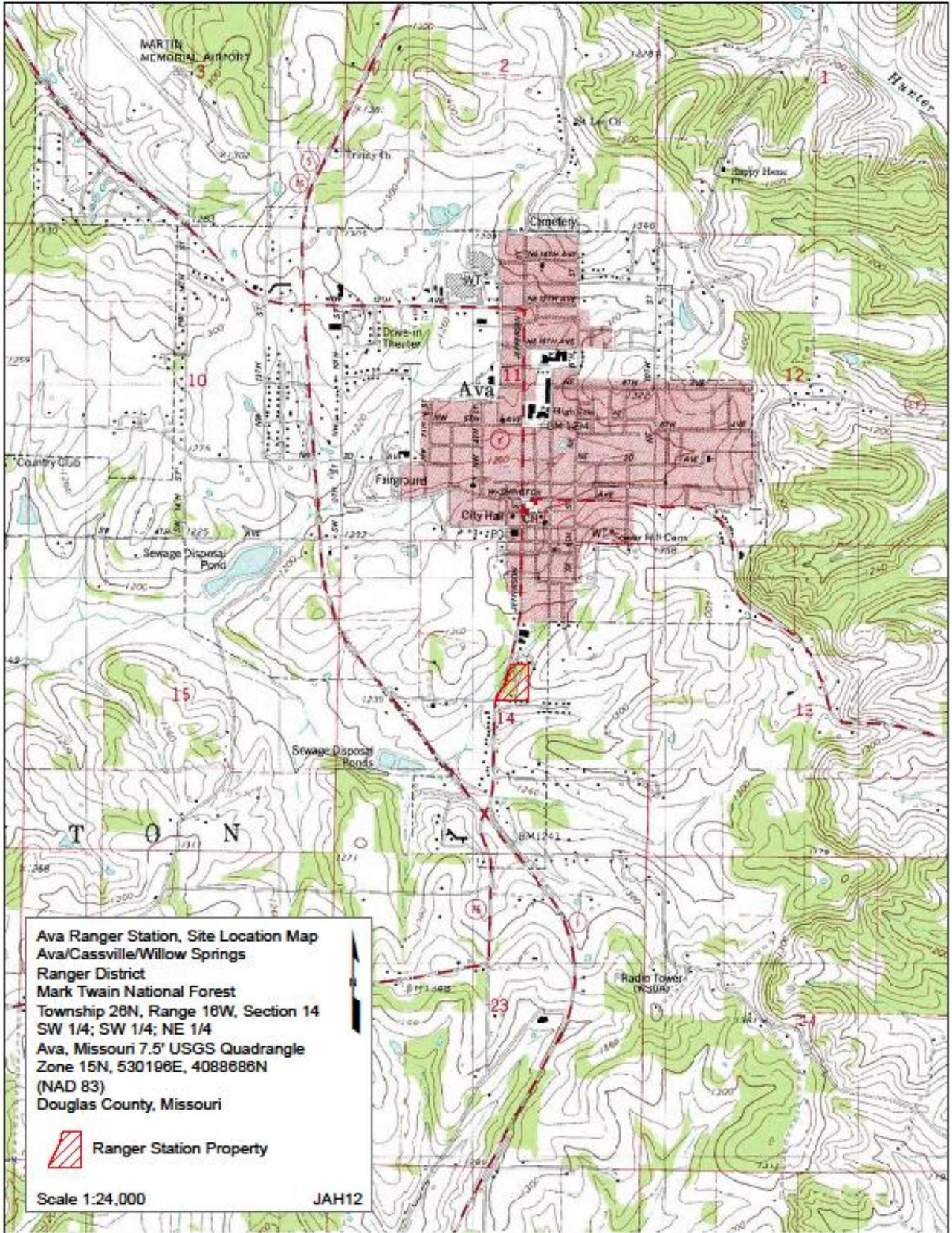


Figure 6. Ava Ranger Station Location Map.



Figure 7. Ava Ranger Station Office, constructed in 1936-37 by ERA laborers using stone quarried by CCC enrollees (April, 2010). Facing east.

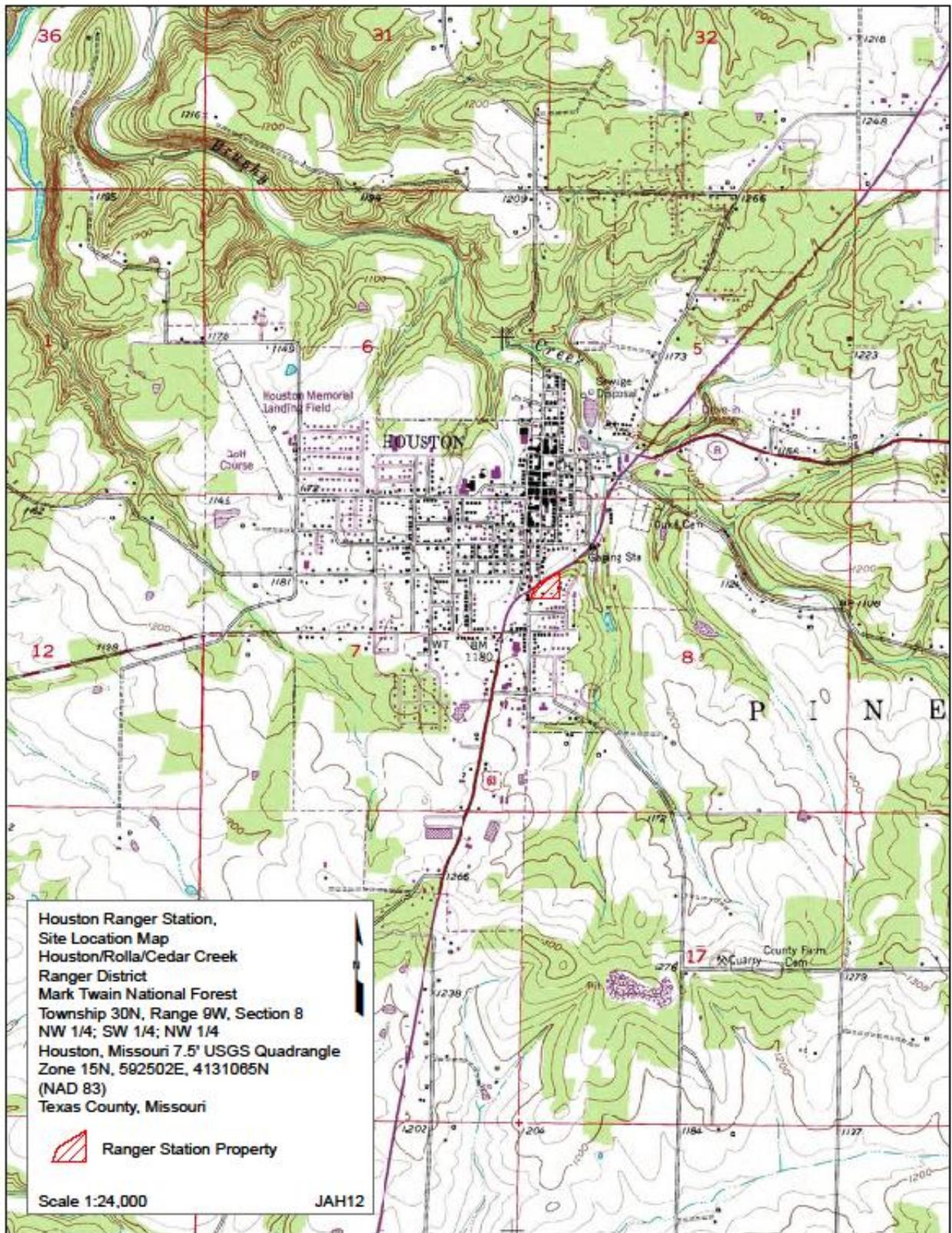


Figure 8. Houston Ranger Station site location.



Figure 9. Houston Ranger Station, constructed by Lynchburg CCC Camp 1937-38 (J. Kaminski, November 20, 2012), facing south. Note similarity of construction w/ Ava Ranger Station (Fig. 7).



Figure 10. Houston Ranger Station immediately following construction. R. E. Bassett 4/18/1938. Facing south.



Figure 11. Houston Ranger Station Warehouse, facing north (J. Kaminski, November 20, 2012).



Figure 12. Houston Ranger Station warehouse; R. E. Bassett, 4/18/1938. Facing north. Photograph on file, MTNF.



Figure 13. Houston Ranger Station, facing southeast (J. Kaminski, Nov. 20, 2012).



Figure 14. Houston Ranger Station, R. E. Bassett, 4/18/1938. Facing southeast. On file, MTNF.

Clark and Mark Twain

Vice C. Isola, Acting Regional Forester

I - PUBLICATIONS - Distribution



January 16, 1948

B  
K.F.C.  
Attached is a copy of the proposed revision of the leaflet on the Missouri forests. It has been rewritten with the intention of making it more readable and a section on water conservation has been added. Your amendments, additions, and comments are requested.

The figures on revenue within the past 10 years are based on Division of Fiscal Control records for the fiscal year 1938 to 1947, inclusive. These show total receipts and return to counties for this period as follows:

<u>Forest</u>	<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Return to Counties</u>
Clark	\$206,153.91	\$51,538.49
Mark Twain	\$133,075.20	\$33,263.33

The wide margin at the right side of each page has been left for the insertion of appropriate sketches to enliven the presentation.

If 1947 figures on grazing permits are available, these should be inserted in place of those for 1946.

It is suggested that the net acreage figures be brought up to date as of January 1, 1948.

HMMcCabe:vf

cc: Clark  
Mark Twain

Figure 15. Memorandum containing total Forest receipts and return to counties figures, produced for eventual incorporation into an informational pamphlet for public distribution. On file, MTNF.



# 141

F.S. R-9  
RECEIVED  
MAR 10 1939  
GARDNER NATIONAL FOREST  
SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI

*EW*

LP  
BOUNDARIES, R-9

March 7, 1939

Chief, Forest Service,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Mr. Kneipp's letter of March 4 and my reply of March 6.

My attention has been called to the dictionary definition of the word "gasconade" and I am sure that the definition would cause one to hesitate in selecting that name for a National Forest.

Further discussion of a suitable name for the Gardner Purchase Unit was had this morning in our staff meeting and it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the name "Gasconade" should not be used but in lieu thereof, the name "Mozarks" be substituted. Obviously the word is coined and would be used as a combination and abbreviation of the words Missouri-Ozarks. I believe that the name "Mozarks" has real merit. The group preferred the name "Ozarks" but that name has already been used for one of our National Forests.

Very truly yours,

LYLE P. WATTS  
Regional Forester

LFW:FCP

*cc - Kneipp*

Figure 17. Unpublished letter from the Regional Forester to the Chief of the Forest Service, Washington, DC. March 7, 1939. Letter on file at the Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri.

LP  
BOUNDARIES, R-9  
Mark Twain National Forest  
Established

September 15, 1939.

Regional Forester,  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Dear Sir:

For your information, the President signed the proclamation establishing the Mark Twain National Forest on September 11, 1939.

Copies of the Federal Register for September 15, 1939 in which this proclamation No. 2562 has been printed will be furnished your office as soon as they have been received from the Government Printing Office.

Very sincerely yours,

*Forrest T. Hoyt*

FORREST T. HOYT,  
Acting Chief, Division of Forest Land Planning.

Figure 18. Scan of Photostat of Mark Twain NF Presidential Proclamation Letter, September 15, 1939. On file, MTNF.

## Memorandum

- Forest Service  
Washington 25, D. C.MAF 1, 1962  
REGIONAL OFFICE

TO : Joseph M. Robertson  
Administrative Assistant Secretary

FROM : Richard E. McArdle, Chief, By

SUBJECT: Organizing

DATE: 1220  
February 9, 1962

There are two proclaimed National Forests in the State of Missouri - the Mark Twain and the Clark.

Prior to 1953, each of the forests was administered by a Supervisor, the headquarters being located at Springfield (Mo.) and Rolla (Mo.), respectively. In 1953, the headquarters office at Springfield was closed; two units of the Clark Forest were placed under the administration of the Shawnee Forest Supervisor at Harrisburg (Ill.); and the Supervisor at Rolla was given administration of the Mark Twain Forest and the remaining portion of the Clark Forest. At that time, this arrangement was satisfactory for existing volumes of business and public use of the forests.

Subsequently, administration of the National Forests in Missouri on this basis has become increasingly difficult and service to the public is inadequate. On the basis of the large increase in measured workload, there is full justification for two separate Supervisor offices. The workload is increasing rapidly, and everything points to continued, rapid expansion of the forestry program, e.g., the timber management inventory recently completed shows that timber volumes have doubled in the last 15 years. Recreation and wildlife use is increasing rapidly, and potential use is great. In addition, there exist major and complex public relations work on the Missouri ranger districts handled by the Illinois supervisor, which can be much more effectively dealt with by locating a second Supervisor in Missouri.

We, therefore, propose the re-establishment of a Supervisor headquarters at Springfield, while retaining the Supervisor headquarters at Rolla. At the same time, for the purpose of equalizing the workload, we plan to have the Supervisor at Rolla administer two ranger districts on the present Mark Twain Forest, and the Supervisor at Springfield administer three ranger districts on the present Clark Forest.

We request approval of the proposed Supervisor headquarters at Springfield, pursuant to the requirements of 1 AR 674a.(1)(h).

We plan to request a Presidential Proclamation redesignating the areas of the two National Forests in Missouri, to reflect the assigned division of administration described above.

*Clara Hender*

*March 9, 1962*

*Joseph M. Robertson*  
(1220)

Administrative Assistant Secretary

(1220)

EXHIBIT 1111

Figure 19. Unpublished Photostat of internal memorandum from R.E. McArdle to J.M. Robertson, USFS Washington Office. February 19, 1962.