ROSALIE EDGE AND THE AMERICAN CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

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Chapter 1: The American Conservation Movement

Environmentalism in the United States is a trend that has been rapidly growing since the late 19th century. Attention to the environment has been spawned by an increased public awareness of over-polluted skies, waters, and lands. Children who became ill from noxious gases emitted from local manufacturing facilities quickly captured the attention of parents across the country. Birds, fish, and other creatures were being killed by toxic pollutants that were causing imbalances in the ecological food chains. Vegetation and natural habitat for these animals were also being destroyed. At the beginning of this century, industry was taking advantage of the earth's natural resources and abusing them through its poor practices. This abuse led to a free-for-all where the earth had become an international dumping ground. In addition to poor industrial practices, there have been public and elite interest groups, self-serving politicians, selfseeking individuals, and political factors that have only encouraged the proliferation of the diminishment of our environment. As leaders and politicians recognize the problems associated with overusing our natural resources, the trend for increased environmental policy and conservation grows. The tendency for more stringent protection has been continually growing and gaining notoriety over the past century.

Although the more recent trends have gained the most attention, preservation and conservation techniques were practiced by even the earliest settlers.

Jacqueline Switzer, in her book, Environmental Politics: Global and Domestic

Dimensions, has defined five major eras in the history of environmentalism. In the first period, the "germination of an idea," prior to 1900, she recognizes early settlers, such as

William Penn, who ordered that one acre of land should be preserved as virgin forest for every five acres of forest cleared. Limits were placed on deer hunting and forest clearing. As the young nation grew, overuse of natural resources became more prevalent. The extension of the railway system to the west opened the frontier and allowed for further abuse of the western lands. Overgrazing of cattle on this land caused soil erosion and subsequent stream degradation on many ranges across the west, which now includes land in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Nevada. Single-crop farming also contributed to the destruction of the soil quality.² At the same time, wildlife began to suffer. Buffalo that once roamed freely in herds stretching for miles were being slaughtered during the late 1800's at phenomenally high rates. In one afternoon of hunting, a single hunter could kill over one hundred bison.³ Other game animals either approached extinction or became extinct. Two such animals that became extinct during this time were the passenger pigeon and the heath hen. The passenger pigeon was once so numerous that the skies would become dark from the groups of birds flying overhead. The last great nesting area for the passenger pigeon was in Michigan in 1878. Hunters descended upon the nesting area. catching as many as 3,500 birds with the single casting of a net.⁴ After seeing the destruction of the land and the extinction of some of the animals, the farmers and other citizens began to form rudimentary grassroots organizations to try to protect the natural resources that were slowly diminishing. As Philip Shabecoff states in his conservation chronicles, A Fierce Green Fire, "...Darwin's On the Origin of Species, published in 1859,

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¹ Switzer, page 4.

² Shabecoff, pages 33-34.

³ Trefethen, page 4.

⁴ IBID., page 64.

showed that man was a part of nature...."⁵ Americans began to realize that their country was not full of limitless resources as had once been proclaimed by early explorers. Slowly, attention of Americans began to shift towards our use of these resources. As we discovered that these resources were not limitless, concern was felt not only by nature lovers, but also sportsmen, farmers, and other citizens. However, as the revolution continued, industry continued to grow in its political power and the government was inclined to let industry and the political system regulate itself. This transition led to the second era that Switzer defines as "progressive reforms and conservatism." This era is marked by the slow eradication of our country that began with the earliest settlers and continued from the early 1900s through 1945.⁶ This was the beginning of the industrial revolution when smelter plants oozed thick smog into towns and the frontier slowly began to fade.

During this time, many new and active conservationists appeared on the scene to try to change the attitude and direction that industry and others were taking concerning the use of the land. A few of these reformation pioneers include John Muir, shown in Appendix A, Figure 1, who was the founder of the Sierra Club. Gifford Pinchot, shown in Appendix A, Figure 2, who was appointed in 1898 by President McKinley to head the Forestry Division of the Department of Agriculture, was another early conservation pioneer. McKinley's appointment ultimately put Pinchot in a position to create the United States Forest Service. Finally, Aldo Leopold, shown in Appendix A, Figure 3, was another one of the major reformers during this era. As a Yale Forestry

⁵ Shabecoff, page 75.

⁶ Switzer, page 7.

School graduate, he was the founder of the Wilderness Society. There were many other individuals that have been an influential part of the original conservation movement through their work. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, through their writings and publications, are two noteworthy pioneers in the movement who helped to influence public opinion.

The third era in the historical setting for the conservation movement was the period just following the industrial revolution. This era, summarized by Switzer as the time of "recreation and the age of ecology," began following World War II and continued through 1969. This era marked a period when Americans began to realize the scientific value of conservation and preservation.⁷ Not only was the concept of ecology being understood and appreciated on a wide scale basis, but also, the dangers of our scientific knowledge and technology were slowly being recognized. Pesticide use, nuclear technology, and industrial wastes were being spotlighted as environmental hazards by writers and environmental activists. Rachel Carson, Figure 4, Appendix A, wrote the highly publicized Silent Spring. Following its publication in 1962, Silent Spring increased the awareness of the general public about environmental matters. During this area, politicians began to set the agenda for more government involvement concerning environmental policy. Much of the current policy, including the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Endangered Species Act, was created during this era. The trend for a more environmentally-friendly nation continued throughout the 1960s and was highlighted as President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act on January 1, 1970.

⁷ IBID., page 9.

The first Earth Day occurred in April of the same year. This marked the beginning of Switzer's forth era: "earth days and deregulation."

Following the signing of NEPA, environmental policy strengthened and the energy crisis began to settle in on Americans. This trend for stringent environmental protection continued and by the early 1980s, many people began to feel over-regulated by the growing government involvement with environmental politics. President Ronald Reagan's deregulation of industry and government cutbacks eventually led to a backlash and a return of public concern for the environment. The backlash led to a shift full circle in the American attitude and their regard for preservation and conservation had nearly been restored. This restoration led into the fifth and final era defined by Switzer as "global awareness and the new democrats," which includes only the current decade. This era is highlighted by President George Bush's signing of the Clean Air Act of 1990 and the promise of President Bill Clinton to continue working on a peaceful union between industry and environmentalists. The attitude of politicians has shifted during this time from focusing solely on American environmental policy to realizing that concern for environmental protection should be on a global basis.

This evolution of environmental politics that began with the early settlers has been continuing to grow throughout the 1900s. Analysis of this evolution has also shown how Americans have begun to believe that man and nature were meant to live in harmony with one another. Further study of the environmental movement shows three schools of philosophy that took shape during the onset of the environmental movement.

8 IBID., page 14.

⁹ IBID., pages 18-19.

Section 1: Principles of the Early Conservation Movement

Three main philosophical principles developed early in the environmental movement regarding the use of our natural resources and wildlife. These principle underpinnings of the movement, though uniquely different, are interconnected. They include the transcendentalism theory, the utilitarian theory, and the preservationist theory. Transcendentalists theorize that man and nature are part of a harmonious blend that is almost religious in nature. This philosophy is based on the more primitive roots of man when relating with his natural surroundings was a part of his everyday life. Man continually interacted with and relied upon his environment. Those who believed in this theory included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and John James Audubon. Audubon was the bird artist for whom the National Audubon Society is named. 10 Although each of these men held their own individual theories, they commonly shared the belief that nature had a natural healing tendency for itself and that any destruction brought upon by man's work would eventually be restored. Philip Shabecoff, when commenting on the impact of transcendentalism on our modern philosophies, says that "...this blend of reverence for nature and acceptance of technology, provided it is limited and controlled, is reflected in the ideology of today's mainstream environmentalism." He also cautions that "...modern environmentalism knows all too painfully that human activity can inflict mortal damage on natural systems." Opponents of this philosophy argue that, while nature may have a natural tendency to heal itself, the rate of man's destruction far overshadows the earth's restoration rate. Some of these opponents agree with the underlying philosophy that the earth is for man's consumption, but they favor a more judicious treatment of the

¹⁰ Dye, page 202.

natural resources. This belief leads to the second philosophy in the environmental movement: utilitarianism.

By the early 1900s, increasingly more policy makers began to pay attention to the land and the environment. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the first Presidents who was active with the environmental movement. An avid sportsman and hunter, Roosevelt became president in 1901. He was a co-founder of the Boone and Crockett Club. This club was a coalition of sportsmen who sought to protect the animals and lands that served their hunting interests. With this background forming his personal philosophy, Roosevelt's stance on environmental issues was already clear when he entered into office. His presidency came at the onset of the environmental movement and Roosevelt's contribution to environmental legislation and policy is still prevalent today. Roosevelt set a trend which emphasized that the land is for public domain and consumption. This theory of Roosevelt's was the basis of the second philosophy regarding the use of our resources called utilitarian. Roosevelt shared this idea with several other leaders of the era. Gifford Pinchot was an early activist who also stressed prudent and conservative use of the land.

Pinchot was an ardent conservationist, practically coining the word "conservation." He stressed for a scientific based management of the land, without necessarily stressing the need to preserve it in its original state. His philosophies held that foresters should practice sustained yield timbering in order to assure the existence of the timber for the future. Not only did Pinchot desire that the forests be used in a wise manner, but he realized that there were other natural resources within the country that

¹¹ IBID., page 65.

should be not be exploited.¹² Pinchot and his theories would eventually be a large influence on national policy under the Roosevelt administration.

While some of the more prominent politicians shared the utilitarian philosophy, there were still other environmentalists that held another belief governing man and the use of natural resources; this group of environmentalists were called preservationists. Those who favored this school of thought were inclined to believe that the land should be preserved in its original state without the influence of man to destroy it. Their motives were "...aimed at severely limiting, if not eliminating, the human impact on the areas they sought to protect."13 Their reverence for the land was almost spiritual by nature. Early in the environmental movement, John Muir, became one of the premier preservationists. During a time when ecology was a new and emerging trend, but not yet a fully understood and studied concept, Muir condemned those who damaged the landscape by lumbering or overgrazing the lands. Among his many preservation activities, Muir founded the Sierra Club. The group was formed with the mission to protect the natural beauty of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The focus of the club has since expanded to broader reaching goals and still remains one of the largest environmental interest groups, with over 500,000 members and an annual budget of \$28 million dollars. 14 Throughout his life. Muir made his mark on various conservation and preservation projects. John Muir influenced Roosevelt enough on a hiking trip in the Yosemite that, three years after the trip, Yosemite was made into a national park by Roosevelt. 15

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¹² IBID., page 66.

¹³ Smith, page 14.

¹⁴ Dve., page 196.

¹⁵ Shabecoff., page 72.

Because of his loyalty to preservation issues, Muir was apt to conflict with many leaders who were not as strict about land use as he was.

Environmentalism has been a movement that began with the work of Roosevelt, Thoreau, Pinchot, Muir, and many other preservation and conservation leaders. In addition to the well studied and more famous environmentalists, relatively low key activists or "militant amateurs," as described by T. H. Watkins in his book, Righteous Pilgrim. The Life and Times of Harold Ickes, 1874-1952, 16 have helped to carry this trend out over the years. Some of these leaders include people such as Harold Ickes, Rosalie Edge, and Rachel Carson. Even the extreme radical preservationists like Edward Abbey and Dan Foreman, of the radical Earth First! group, have led to an increased attention to environmental philosophies by political leaders and the general public. In contrast to these activists, there are advocates holding a more liberal opinion declaring that there are no immediate threats to the environment. Those in this group believe that the increased attention towards environmental policy has only created hysteria among the general public. In fact, some school textbooks still do not present environmental matters in a scientific or clear manner. This is perhaps due to the fact that even scientific data can be questionable. confusing, or inaccurate. There are many factors that remain clouded in the data gathered and uncertain facts make the results of these studies controversial. Much hysteria is created by interests groups that try to sway the opinion of the general public by presenting disturbing data and facts that will tend to alarm them and encourage them to actively campaign for increased environmental policies. How the public perceives the environment becomes the driving force in their political activities. When the public sees their

¹⁶ Watkins, pages 460-461.

surroundings as contaminated and threatening to their lives, concern and, sometimes, hysteria is created. From this anxiety, public policy concerning the environment is often created.17

While much research has been done concerning many of the prominent men in conservation, little research has been done concerning some of the radical amateurs, particularly the women, in the environmental movement. Rosalie Edge, shown in Figure 5 of Appendix A, was one of the major preservation activists during the 1930's. The results of her work can still be seen today across America. Her life and work has received little attention from scholars who have studied the environmental movement. Little had been published about Edge's life and her impact in the conservation movement. The purpose of this thesis is to study Rosalie Edge's contribution to the environmental movement by studying her work and philosophies in preservation and environmentalism. Her preservation work occurred primarily throughout the 1930's and continued through the early 1950's, with most of her more recognized work occurring in the earlier years of her activity. In addition to the detailed description of Edge's work, this thesis will also relate how Edge's work has influenced public policy throughout the environmental movement.

Section 2: The Creation of Environmental Policy

Several factors lead to the creation of public policy concerning the environment. The process for the policy creation can best be described as political. Charles Lindblom and Edward Woodhouse state that, "...all governmental policy making can be considered political, since it involves the use of authority. By using the term political more narrowly, however, it becomes possible to contrast reasoned persuasion

¹⁷ Dye, page 196.

with power: reaching policy choices by informed analysis and thoughtful discussion, versus setting policy by bargaining, trading of favors, voting, or otherwise exerting power." 18

Political scientists have developed many models for policy making that outline the processes from which most policy is derived. The purpose of these models is to simplify and understand the processes by which the policy is developed. Some of these models include the institutional model, the process model, the public choice theory, the group theory, the elite model, among others. The institutional model is one that asserts that the many government institutions create a systems of checks and balances in their relationships with one another when creating policy. This straightforward theory applies in nearly every type of policy making. The process model is a simplified scientific approach to policy making. The group theory explains the importance of special interest group interactions with the government and the management of group conflict within our pluralistic society. The elite model explains the relevance of elitists groups that are primarily responsible for shaping public opinion and setting public policy. These groups can be either economic or noneconomic based. Finally, the public choice model proposes that policy is created from self-serving individuals who are looking for the biggest personal gains from any policy that is to be developed. Environmental policy results from a culmination of several policy models.

The rudimentary process for developing public policy is a basic cycle of political activity from our policy makers. The model that applies to this approach is the process model as previously described. This model includes identifying problems where

¹⁸ Lindblom and Woodhouse, page 7.

policies are needed, agenda and program setting for policies, gathering proposals for policies, gathering voter and political support for the proposals, implementing the policy by gathering appropriate funding and enforcement, and finally, policy evaluation.

Another theory that applies to the process by which environmental policy is created is the public choice theory. This ideology proposes that individuals act in the political arena in a manner similar to their behavior in the economic marketplace. In the marketplace, humans have been primarily concerned with their own personal interests and seek to maximize their own personal gain. Traditional studies of political science hypothesized that people sought after policy that they perceived would suit the interests of the public. The public choice model asserts that individuals strive for their own personal satisfaction. However, the public can benefit from this self-serving practice when collective decision making is used. 19 This theory additionally supports the concept that the government is the sole provider of policy that the market place can not provide. The market place is especially stagnant in regards to environmental regulations due to the extreme costs that would be imposed upon the consumer.

Individuals and politicians have learned that they must move through the government cooperatively and provide environmental regulations with which both the consumer and industry can be satisfied.²⁰ This theory can also be described as being an organized social movement where individuals act collectively to achieve change within governmental policy. The movements are typically grassroots occurrences where masses of people gather without much funding, but with high energy and drive. These groups are

¹⁹ Dye, page 39.

traditionally noneconomic based interest groups. While government leaders do not like these groups, calling them unorganized and poorly controlled, mass social movements do make their impact on public policy. ²¹ In fact, often mass social movements divert the attention of policy leaders away from the elite groups, who traditionally have the most influence on the policy makers, to focusing the leaders attention on the demands of the larger majority. ²² While social movements tend to act as a catalysts and cause a disruption in the normal flow of political action, the movements tend to be short lived. The movements dissolve after time, especially when the popularity of their cause declines. Successful social movements tend to become more organized and they ultimately form interest groups. The radical behavior and impact of the movement has a tendency to wane. ²³ However, interest groups that exist, whether they originated from a social movement or from an organization, form a powerful coalition for increased attention to conservation and environmental policy.

One of the biggest influences in environmental legislation is that of special interest groups. Where interest groups influence policy leaders, the group theory is most applicable. James Madison wrote about the importance of these interest groups, or factions, as he called them in The Federalist. Madison wrote that these groups, "...whether accounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, ...are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest...." Madison wrote that the formation of these groups was an intrinsic tendency for man. Social interest groups form

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²¹ Greenberg and Page, page 348.

²² IBID., page 350.

²³ IBID., page 360.

²⁴ Smith, page 36. ²⁵ IBID., page 37.

from people coming together who have shared concern in a cause or campaign that they perceive will impact their community or environment. These people join together to form interest groups in the same way that individuals come together to form organized social movements. These groups are the best way for individuals to voice their opinion collectively, where they will be better heard. The group of which an individual is a part acts as the link between the individual and government. The more influential that a group becomes, the more public policy will change to fit the interests of that particular group.²⁶ The influence of a group is dependent on several factors. These factors include the amount of money that the group has available to it, the number of members and cohesiveness of the group, the strength and power of the leaders, and the connections that the group has with policy makers.²⁷ Interest groups tend to attract its members by portraying their causes as urgent, appealing to the humanistic side of man. This appeal is particularly easy to do with environmental legislation. Most people have a psychological tendency to want to preserve the natural beauty associated with the mountains, rivers, and clear blue skies. Thus, this emotional plea to the public can quickly lead to high membership numbers in interest groups and organizations. The more members that a groups has leads to a greater tendency for increased power within government. Any changes in the power that an interest group has will have a direct bearing on public policy. Additionally, the ability of its members to successfully lobby congress on behalf of the interest group plays a key role in the impact on policy that the groups can have. The group will benefit most from lobbying when stable and friendly relationships are

²⁶ Dye., page 26.

²⁷ IBID., page 27.

maintained with the policy makers. The lobbyists from the groups can not only offer scientific and research information to the leaders, but they can also gather more support for the leader, which will in turn serve the needs of the political leader at election times.²⁸

The interest groups within the environmental movement are typically composed of individuals from upper-middle to upper-class backgrounds. These individuals typically desire a clean and unthreatening atmosphere around them regardless of the costs to society. They hold different opinions from the small business owner who may not be able to withstand the costs of complying to environmental regulations or the forestry worker who may lose his job at the cost of saving some endangered species. Most of these individuals fighting for increased environmental legislation form a governmental "elite." The elite theory of policy making describes the formulation of public policy as meeting the demands of the politically and socially elite. This theory asserts that the general public is unconcerned and uneducated about policy matters. The policy, in turn, is decided upon by the elite groups and carried out by government officials. The elite groups are traditionally of a higher socioeconomic background, as with those concerned for environmental policy.

Even from the onset of the conservation movement, those from the elite stratum have been the leaders in the movement. In the late 1920's one such elite societal lady appeared on the conservation scene in a rather radical manner. Rosalie Edge began the onset of her "militant amateur" career in conservation by turning heads and ultimately forming a small, yet powerful interest group.

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 $^{^{28}}$ Greenberg and Page, page 240.

Chapter 2: The Awakening of A Preservationist

Rosalie Edge struggled for freedom. She fought for the freedom, not necessarily for herself, but rather, for others. In her early years, she was active in the suffrage movement. She fought for the freedom that most women today take for granted. However, in addition to her activities in the suffrage movement, her greatest fight was for nature: the land and the animals. Throughout the majority of her life, Rosalie's personality was unprecedented for a woman of her times. She was described by her fellow conservationists as "implacable" and "tireless," both of which she regarded as complimentary. Despite any of the names that may have been applied to Edge, she constantly remained a forthright lady, earning the respect of her colleges by demonstrating her dignity and proper manners. These traits were instilled in her throughout her childhood and her high society upbringing.

Rosalie Barrows was born in 1877 to John W. Barrow and Harriet

Woodward. Her mother was a descendant of Dutch settlers. Rosalie's father was a first
cousin to Charles Dickens. John Barrows was sent to the United States by his friend,
Prince Albert, in 1853 on a special mission to line up some American Exhibitions for the
Crystal Palace.³⁰ John Barrows and Harriet Woodward met at a New York social event
and later married. Barrows went into the linen business where he became quite successful.
Rosalie was born the youngest of eight children into a comfortable lifestyle which she
considered more a curse than a blessing. "Some people...scoff at a serious work by

²⁹ Edge Autobiography, page 122.

³⁰ Taylor, page 3.

anybody with money, but it does not matter to me one whit," Edge said in an interview in an article about her written by Robert Lewis Taylor for the New Yorker.

Rosalie was a head strong individual who could keep her poise and a strong attitude while still keeping everyone around her content. She acquired much of her charm and feminism during her schooling at Miss Dormus's Finishing school. While there, Edge established a reputation for being free-spoken and she was never content to let anything pass by her without full scrutiny. Her instructors acknowledged her inquisitive, often pestering nature, as well as her outspokenness and frankness. Following her education at the finishing school, Edge later took college courses from Wagner College in New York. She was of a high brow society but, throughout her life, she would use her wealth, education, and her energies into the betterment of issues that she valued. Her cultured lifestyle was reflected through her work.

While on a trip to visit her cousins in England, Rosalie met Charles Noel Edge, a consulting engineer. They married in Japan in 1909, while he was there on a consulting trip. After several years in the Orient, they moved backed to England where Rosalie quickly grew discontented. She convinced Charles to move to the states. Aboard the ship back to the United States, Rosalie met Lady Rhonnda, a British suffrage worker and ardent feminist. This was a turnkey in Rosalie's life. Rosalie became influenced by the work of one of the leading suffragists of the time, Mrs. Mackworth, who was Lady Rhonnda's daughter. "It was the first awakening of my mind," Edge later said of the experience. 32

³¹ IBID., page 34.

³² IBID., page 4.

Upon her return the states, Rosalie plunged into the suffrage movement.

As she grew active in this movement, her relationship with Charles began to falter. He was not a proponent of the feminist movement and often tried to persuade her not to be preoccupied with it. Despite Charles' requests, Edge became involved with the New York Sate Woman's Suffrage Party and she joined the League of Women Voters after the Nineteenth Amendment was passed. However, shortly after the amendment was passed, her fervor for the suffrage movement began to fade. She had two small children, Margaret, born in 1911, and Peter, born in 1913, that were keeping her busy.

Additionally, she was devoting more time to her new interest: bird watching.

In 1915, the Edges bought a summer home in Rye, New York. She began to notice and find beauty in the various birds around their home. Slowly, her interest in the feminist movement was engulfed by her devotion to birds. In 1924, with little of her time and personal interest devoted towards the marriage, Rosalie and Charles separated. Rosalie was not content with the life of a simple housewife. Not only was this an era of awakening for women across the country, it was the time for Rosalie to make her voice heard as well. The awakening of her mind by Lady Rhonnda was only a precursor for even bigger awakenings for Edge.

While living in New York, Edge would go 'birding' in central park. She would take her son Peter with her a often as possible. When he was in school, she would phone him to inform him of specific birds that he should stop to see after school. After

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³³ Edge's personal records have very little information about her relationship with Charles. Although the marriage began as a traditional union, Edge, in her untraditional nature, may not have been prepared for the role as wife and homemaker of which she eluded Charles desired of her. It is quite possible that her interests in the suffrage movement led to the demise of the marriage.

several of these "telephoned bird messages," Peter's teachers became annoyed and refused to deliver the messages. Edge, in her resourceful nature, telegraphed Peter in school, rather than phoning, when a Yellow-throated Warbler and a Prothonotary Warbler, both very rare birds to the area, appeared in Central Park. The teachers, still annoyed by the interruptions, did not deliver the message. When his mother later told him about the birds in the park, Peter immediately made finding them a priority.³⁴

During her early birding years, Edge met Dr. Willard Van Name. Van Name, shown in Appendix B, Figure 1, was the associate curator and biologist at the American Museum of Natural History. Dr. Van Name and Edge remained good friends and coworkers in the conservation movement throughout most of Edge's life. He was an ardent conservative, not supporting the suffrage movement or Edge's interest in it. However, they had a common interest of bird watching and Van Name would be responsible for teaching Edge about birding and introducing her to conservation and preservation philosophies. Rosalie owes what she learned about birds to Dr. Van Name. Edge gives Van Name the credit of "...filing down her vanity." Dr. Van Name, described more in detail in Chapter 3, was initially the driving force behind Edge and her divine interest in preservation.

While in Paris with her children in 1929, Rosalie received a pamphlet from Dr. Van Name entitled, "A Crisis in Conservation." The cover for which can be seen in Appendix B, Figure 2. This pamphlet discussed several shocking matters concerning conservation. It implored bird lovers and followers to act against the sportsmen and their

³⁴ Edge Autobiography, page 12.

³⁵ IBID., page 29.

associations that were continuing "...bird destruction and extermination..." Although not specifically mentioned, it referred primarily to the activities of the Audubon Society. This pamphlet and its message would prompt Edge towards her first actions in conservation reformation: to reveal the true nature and activities of the Audubon Society. This segment of Edge's life is detailed in the first section of Chapter 3 of this paper.

Gaining new strength and confidence from the ongoing Audubon struggle, Edge became involved with other matters of conservation. She founded the Emergency Conservation Committee. This committee was set up in the midst of the Audubon Society struggle to establish a trustworthy organization solely to benefit conservation and preservation, mainly through pamphleteering. During her Audubon Society encounters, Edge also challenged another large organization, the United States Biological Survey, now known as the United States Department of Forest Service. Against the Biological Survey, Edge found herself at odds with the Federal Government. This struggle is profiled in Chapter 3, Section 2. Although Edge's battle with the Audubon Society and Biological Survey were often struggles over organizational matters rather than preservation matters, the effects of these battles were far reaching into the conservation movement. The ECC gained recognition as an organization that was devoted to and worthy of respect in conservation reform. Albeit a powerful group, the committee was largely due to the actions of Edge alone. After the ECC was established, the first real challenge of Edge and her committee was the reformation of the Audubon Society and the exposure of the Biological Survey practices. Following these campaigns, Edge kept herself busy with other struggles.

³⁶ "A Crisis in Conservation," page 1.

Keeping with her bird interests, Edge devoted much of the time towards the end of her life to establishing a sanctuary for hawks in the foothills of eastern Pennsylvania near Kempton. The sanctuary became the first of its kind in the world to offer such protection for birds and it still exists today. It is called Hawk Mountain Sanctuary. A photograph of Edge in front of the entrance of Hawk Mountain is displayed in Appendix B, Figure 3. While Edge was establishing Hawk Mountain, she became active in continuing conservation education. Because of the work of Edge, the Sanctuary has become renowned for not only its scenic beauty, but also the educational experience that it offers. Through her work at Hawk Mountain, Edge stressed the importance of teaching proper conservation practices to the general public and she also gained interest in teaching the younger generations about the importance of conservation. This interest encouraged Edge to publish several conservation education packets for school children. Edge's achievements with Hawk Mountain and her work in conservation education are outlined in Chapter 4.

Edge's first hands-on conservation experience were the Waterfowl
Hearings of 1932. Here, she learned the true definition of sportsmen and what she would
later refer to as the "so-calleds." These were the people who claimed to be
conservationists and sportsmen but who only wanted to preserve game birds and animals
for their own private interests. Rosalie Edge was also quite active in the establishment and
protection of several major national parks that are with us today. The struggle for the
Yosemite Sugar Pines was a battle over an issue that, although it happened over fifty years
ago, is still a controversial issue today. The main issue in that battle concerned the

logging activities occurring in the area. She was also kept busy with projects within the Yellowstone National Park and with the establishment of the Olympic National Park. The one fight that gave the ECC the most recognition and respect was the fight for the establishment of the King Canyon National Park. At Jackson Hole, Wyoming, Edge crusaded against ranchers and cattlemen who wanted to use the land for grazing their herds. In keeping with her interests in saving virgin trees and preserving natural forests throughout the west, she fought for the South Calaveras Grove in California. Each of the these battles are profiled in separate case studies in Chapter 5.

The ECC was active with many other causes. Some of the major causes included the Migratory Treaty with Mexico, in which Edge became involved with the Biological Survey, and the fight for the establishment of the Dinosaur National Monument. Edge's conservation interests also led her to seek protection for the wild forest lands of New York, the trumpeter swan, duck hawks, and the Van Corlandt Park. Edge kept meticulous records for every cause or fight with which she was involved. For every letter she received, whether it was from a one time contributor to the ECC of two dollars or from the Secretary of Interior, she would promptly make a reply. And with these letters, she kept tremendous files. She knew perhaps the relevance of these files to future conservationists and scholars. Gifford Pinchot had sent a letter to a fellow conservationist named Howard Cleaves in which he made reference to Edge and her work in the field. Edge wrote to Cleaves requesting the letter for her files. In a follow-up note thanking Cleaves for the letter she commented, "I have no occasion to use it, but am glad to file it in my archives, which some historian may look over when Mr. Pinchot and I, and

even you, are dead and gone." She hoped that the files would "...be interesting to historians in the years to come" 37

The struggle for conservation consumed Rosalie's life and most of her time. Perhaps this is why there is very little information about her personal life with her husband or other acquaintances. Conservation was her personal life. Rosalie and the ECC made a crucial impact on the conservation movement and environmental policy. She was a fundamental preservationist when conservation or preservation were scarcely concerns. Additionally, she was radical and frank in her work, at an era when women were not typically of an outspoken nature. A spokesperson for the South Bend Humane Society, a woman's organization in Indiana that was established in hopes of preventing cruelty to women, children and animals, told Edge how she was appalled at her behavior at times during the Audubon Society battle. She told Edge in a letter regarding her Audubon attacks, that if she were a man, she would have been considered "...not a bull, but a common Jack Ass, but on account of (her) gender it will not fit (the) case...."

Rosalie saw in her life the transformation of women's rights and the evolution of conservation.³⁹ By having "...cut her activist teeth in the suffrage movement," Edge took what she had learned from her suffrage fight and applied it to her work in the conservation movement. When speaking in reference to "A Crisis in

³⁷ Edge to Howard Cleaves, July 6, 1939. Denver Public Library.

³⁸ South Bend Humane Society to Edge, August 25, 1932. Hawk Mountain.

³⁹ The relationship between these two transformations is the topic of Carolyn Merchant's book, <u>The Death of Nature</u>, <u>Women Ecology and the Scientific Revolution</u>. This book demonstrates a correlation between women's rights and the changes in the conservation movement. Merchant states how the "...conjugation of conservation and ecology movements with women's rights and liberation has moved in the direction of revering both the subjugation of nature and women." (Merchant, page 294). Her book defines an explicit association between these two major events.

⁴⁰ Snow, page 117.

Conservation," which openly blasted the Audubon Society but never directly mentioned its name, she comments,

"When we suffrage women attacked a political machine, languid with over feeding, slumbering in inaction, we called out its name, and the name of its officers, so that all could hear. We got ourselves inside the recalcitrant organization, if possible, and stood up in meeting. We gave the matter to the press, first doing something about it that should make news."

Edge was an 'eco-feminist' before there were terms that could truly define either 'eco' or 'feminist.' She shrewdly studied men's behaviors and actions and learned how to match their skills and intellect. Edge would use her charm and femininity to help her easily gather information and often, prove her point of view. The ramifications of this headstrong and self motivated lady's work are evident today through our national parks systems, in current public policy concerning wildlife habitat, and in the ongoing crusades to save the many endangered species that exist today.

⁴¹ Edge Autobiography, page 7.

Chapter 3: A Crusade for An Honest Organization

Rosalie Edge was not afraid to challenge or question any organization that did not perform to her expectations and standards. On this premise, she fought against both private and public organizations. Armed with her small interest group as her support, Edge's battle with the Audubon Society was her first challenge against a national organization. From this experience, she went on to challenge the United States Biological Survey. The national power of these organizations did not daunt Edge or her small, but powerful, group of loyal colleagues.

Edge did not tolerate inadequacies among any group or person that she thought should be a trustworthy and responsible leader in conservation. The Audubon Society had been well established by the time Edge made her appearance with the organization. The society had been under scrutiny for some time by several different groups and individuals before Edge made her appearance before the organization. George Bird Grinnell, shown in Appendix C, Figure 1, founded the original Audubon Society in New York in 1886. Grinnell was the editor, and ultimately the proprietor, of Forest and Stream magazine. His goal for the New York Audubon group was to have an organized movement that would help in putting a stop to the continuing increase in the killing of birds. Similar Audubon Groups began to appear throughout major cities across the country, hence the original name of the national organization. The National Association of Audubon Societies. This nationwide collection of "Audubon Societies" were thus governed by each local or state chapter. Oklahoma even had its own society, although it seemed to have had trouble in establishing its own identity. In 1902, the secretary of the

Massachusetts Audubon Society was told to write to the Oklahoma Audubon Society to inquire why they were using the seal of the Massachusetts Audubon Society as their own!42

Much to what Van Name's pamphlet, "A Crisis in Conservation," made reference regarding the regulations of bird hunting, importation, and sale dated back to the early 1900's when these societies were forming. The Lacey Act of 1900 prohibited the interstate shipment of any birds killed in violation of state laws. This law was pushed into legislation by those who were against such ruthless killing of birds. This was usually done for, among other reasons, getting decorative feathers for women's hats. The fashion trends for the women of the higher society called for the use of the quills as decorations in their hats. Even Edge, obviously before her "awakening," had a hat with the plumes when she was a young child. During the years to follow, much of the regulation and protection of migratory birds fell into the hands of interest groups, such as Winchester Repeating Arms Company and local Audubon chapters. Politicians were likely to be influenced by the larger, more powerful interest groups such as Winchester. In 1911, Winchester offered the Audubon Society, with Grinnell now on the Board of Directors and Gilbert Pearson the president of the society, an irresistible offer. The offer included \$25,000 a year from Winchester and other major gun manufacturers in exchange for a greater effort on behalf of the societies for game bird preservation.⁴³ Pearson, a fairly new leader of the Societies at the time, with Grinnell's support, accepted the proposal. Two weeks later, however, Pearson yielded to pressures from those who feared the group was going to be

⁴² Graham, page 18.

⁴³ Watkins, page 460.

bullied by powerful interest groups such as Winchester. Pearson, on behalf of a very reluctant board, declined the offer. The powerful gun companies broke their ties with the Audubon Societies. The Winchester Company went on to form an alliance of their own with other gun companies called the American Game Protective Association. They began to strengthen relations with a newly formed group that Grinnell and Theodore Roosevelt avidly supported called the Boone and Crockett Club.

The Audubon Societies began to lose their authority in bird preservation and other conservation issues. Although its membership size grew, its influence in preservation and wildlife conservation was largely turned over to the American Game Protective Association, who in turn, dominated the Biological Survey. The Audubon Society remained low key and with little impact in the environmental movement. This indifferent attitude by the society continued until the intervention of Edge and other "militant amateurs" in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s.⁴⁴ The Audubon Society had several controversial issues that Edge was determined to expose and correct.

Edge and the newly created Emergency Conservation Committee (ECC) took the initiative to disclose the problems within the Audubon Society and the Biological Survey. This group became the voice of Edge across the country. The small group made most of its impact through pamphleteering to the public and to policy makers. Along the way, she gained the respect and fear of politicians and conservation leaders who, after seeing her powerful impact, had wished that they had never heard of Rosalie Edge. The struggle with the society became an exposé of greedy politicians and those who had the ultimate power in major conservation interests. A critical issue that Edge wanted to reveal

⁴⁴ IBID., pages 459-461.

was how the society allowed sportsmen to label killing as a "sport." The society still had several ties to organizations that killed game birds for sport, without concern for preservation. These sportsmen had little, if any, knowledge or concern about the survival and abundance of a species. Edge was determined to get the society refocused on the preservation of game animals and to reveal some of the organizational behaviors that went against the principle philosophies of the group.

Section 1: The Audubon Society Exposed

Dr. Van Name's pamphlet helped to fuel a change in conservation practices and it further added a spark to the environmental movement. In addition to its pleas towards sportsmen, the pamphlet discussed the inadequacies of the Audubon Society with its preservation activities and questionable expenditures in the budget. Although she was not active. Edge had been a member of the society for fifteen years when Van Name's pamphlet was written. She decided to find out for herself whether the allegations against the society, at that time still called the National Association of Audubon Societies, were true. Upon her return to the United States, she attended the 25th annual meeting of the society. Without fear, she strolled into the meeting, a stranger to the other members in attendance, and sat herself on the first row. Just as she used to question and tire her grade school teachers at Miss Dormus's Finishing School, she began her interrogation of the Audubon Society and its board of directors. After sitting through the meeting and listening as the directors scorned the recent criticism that had been bestowed upon them by Dr. Van Name, Rosalie made her presence known. Her biggest challenge had begun: to expose and correct the Audubon Society's scandals.

When Edge made her appearance on the front row of the annual meeting of the National Association of Audubon Societies in 1929, she certainly made heads turn. For here stood a lady, of whom no one had heard before, questioning the board of directors of a major national organization. Gilbert Pearson became enraged. Rosalie wanted answers to the questions and allegations that Van Name's pamphlet posed. These allegations included their supposed mishandling of funds and a general laissez-faire attitude regarding preservation matters by the organization. The pamphlet said the society was "...useless in the most important emergencies." "A Crisis in Conservation" exposed the society's support of the Public Shooting Ground Bill. It also revealed that the society had allowed legislation regarding the legal sale of any 'unplucked carcasses' of birds in New York as long as they were not native to the state. Many birds, under this law, could be legally imported into the state and sold at local marketplaces and restaurants. The law had "slipped through with our bird protection organizations and officials sound asleep." 46 Much of the reason that the law had "slipped through" was because of the Audubon Society's slow transition into becoming an interest group with its focus on economic, rather than conservation, issues. Large corporations and private interest groups had begun to sway the society with their monetary contributions.

After listening to the society "praise itself" at the annual meeting, Rosalie stood in the midst of these officials and demanded answers to the pamphlet's accusations.⁴⁷ Rosalie, in her memoirs, explains how the society claimed to have "dignifiedly stepped aside" from the reproach found in the "pamphlet (that was) not worth

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⁴⁵ "A Crisis in Conservation," page 12.

⁴⁶ IBID., pages 12-13.

⁴⁷ Edge Autobiography, page 15.

further mentioning." She asked, "What answer can a loyal member of the society make to this pamphlet...? What are the Answers?" 48 Rosalie was lectured by a fellow member of the society, who denounced the pamphlet and those that supported it. Then, in an abrupt manner, Dr. Pearson announced that the meeting was over by declaring that Edge had ruined it and had used all of the allotted time for other scheduled activities. Dr. Pearson did invite Edge to stay for lunch, but she chose to go bird watching in the park instead. Through this first interlude with the Audubon Society, Edge learned that the directors feared exposure. "The directors were afraid of publicity.... I knew full well of the power of publicity, but had not thought of using it, but rather to use the power of pressure within the society."⁴⁹ In the days following the meeting, Edge continued to query Pearson about the society's stance on the issues that the pamphlet addressed. Pearson, in rebuttal to Edge's questions, denounced "A Crisis in Conservation" once again by attacking its "...palpable unfairness..." and its "...very evident lack of perspective on wildlife preservation...." He suggested to Edge that she should try to turn her attention to the "...good things which (the) society has done..."50

Rosalie made quite an impression on fellow conservationists. Dr. William Hornaday was the former director of the New York Zoological Park. Dr. Hornaday is pictured in Appendix C, Figure 2. He was involved at the time of Edge's conservation debut with his own program, the Permanent Wildlife Protection Fund. This fund was a private foundation set up to "...combat the 'enemies of wildlife'..." Contributors to the

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⁴⁸ IBID., page 15.

⁴⁹ IBID., page 17.

⁵⁰ Pearson to Edge, November 11, 1929. Denver Public Library.

⁵¹ Trefethen, page 179.

program included Henry Ford, Andrew Carnagie, and other wealthy, prominent philanthropists. Hornaday's main efforts were devoted to saving waterfowl. He was "...a cantankerous, equally driven man who used both his positions to further a single-minded crusade for the preservation of wild creatures."52 His work was highly scrutinized by ammunition companies and sportsmen alike. He commented that the sportsmen were "...led by the men and organizations interested in killing - with profits, salaries, and emoluments at stake. The only money available for our much vaunted 'protection' is blood money derived from the annual sale of licenses to kill game!!"53 He was accused of ignoring most of the new changes in conservation and environmental policy and those who brought about these changes unless these people had in some way praised Hornaday for the progress that he had personally contributed to conservation.⁵⁴ Following her interrogation of the Audubon Board, Edge received a letter from Dr. Hornaday that complimented her "courage of a lion." 55 She immediately went to meet with him. Dr. Hornaday was a wise and fair man who loyally worked with Edge throughout her crusades against the Audubon Society. Edge was proud to have Hornaday on her side and among her friends. Above all, to Edge, Hornaday was an invaluable mentor. Hornaday, at their first meeting, just days after Edge received his letter, educated her about major

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⁵² Watkins, page 461.

⁵³ IBID.

⁵⁴ Trefethen, page 180. These comments in reference to Hornaday are taken from James Trefethen's book, <u>An American Crusade for Wildlife</u>. This Book gives an account of the conservation movement. The book was published, however, by Winchester Press and the Boone and Crockett Club, a firearms accompany and a sportsmen group, respectively. Thus, the book is not an unbiased accounting of the movement or of the major contributors to the reform.

⁵⁵ Edge Autobiography, page 19.

conservation issues. He revealed to her the connections with special interest and sportsmen groups that the Audubon Society had.⁵⁶

The society had plenty of funding to promote conservation among these groups but chose not to act. With its interest becoming increasingly more economically based, the Audubon Society diverted more of its attention and funds to nonconservation activities. The society was linked to a secret fur business on the Rainey Wildlife Sanctuary in Louisiana. This sanctuary was owned by the Audubon Society. The profits that were made with this business were disguised in the treasurer's report under the term 'rentals,' which was used for rental of land that the society owned. Edge also wanted to expose the truth about Dr. Gilbert Pearson's salary. There was hearsay that he was receiving a five percent commission of all gifts, contributions, and donations to the society. Edge felt that he was receiving a substantially large salary for a supposed organization meant for the good of humanity.

With these items on her agenda, Edge needed an organized means by which to disclose the scandals occurring at the society. This need provided the avenue for the creation of the Emergency Conservation Committee.

The Birth of the Emergency Conservation Committee. Dr. Van Name showed the need for reformation of the Audubon Society with the creation of his pamphlet, "A Crisis in Conservation." However, as Associate Curator of the American

⁵⁶ At the time, there were several main conservation issues at hand. One controversy waste reduction of bag-limits for sportsmen. Sportsmen were only allow to capture twenty-five ducks and eight geese per day due their condition of becoming threatened. Closed seasons were also imposed. (Trefethen, page 156). Additionally, conservationists were against automatic weapons. Pennsylvania and New Jersey had already put limits to the use of automatic weapons (Trefethen, page 180). Finally, the conservationists were active in the fight against public shooting grounds within the limits of federal wildlife sanctuaries.

Museum of Natural History, he was forced to sign a contract containing a clause that stated that he could not publish anything that was not first reviewed by the editorial board of the museum. Dr. Van Name had been double-crossed. Dr. Chapman, Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Audubon Society, was also a curator of the Museum. Another curator was Dr. Robert Murphy, who was the Audubon Society's treasurer. The director of the museum, a supporter of Pearson, declared that the allegations of the Van Name's pamphlet were mainly, "...in the minds of the authors..." The connections and support between the Museum and the Audubon Society created an uneasiness among the Board of Directors of the society and they feared exposure of their scandals. Dr. Van Name called upon Rosalie to publish another pamphlet for him. Dr. Van Name remarked that they could "...prevent my singing them, but they cannot prevent my writing them."58

At this moment, Rosalie's life would changed forever. The Emergency Conservation Committee, ECC, had been formed from Edge advocating Dr. Van Name to publish more pamphlets. Edge was the backbone of the organization, and, throughout its existence, the ECC became the alter ego of Edge. The group became a one person interest group, with Edge setting the agenda setting for the group. This interest group was primarily a public, noneconomic based interest group, that gathered the public's attention through its devoted pamphleteering. A list of the pamphlets and leaflets published by the ECC is shown in Appendix C, Table 1. The ECC was established as a nonprofit organization devoted to the protection of wildlife and wildlife habitat. Edge tried to sway public opinion by the committee's mass mailings. This type of noneconomic

⁵⁷ Watkins, page 462.

⁵⁸ Edge Autobiography, page 19.

based group was in contrast to many of the interest groups that Edge faced during her conservation and preservation battles. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Audubon Society, continued to grow as an economic based interest group. This trend was what led Van Name to publish his pamphlet and for Edge to begin her crusade against the society. Most of the groups opposed to increased conservation policy were private, economic interest groups. The difference between these two types of groups is that the public groups tend to have limited resources available for fund raising while the private interest groups gather strength from promoting individual benefits, primarily economic, to the many contributors.⁵⁹ As discussed later this chapter, the Audubon Society had many private contributors that encouraged the leaders of the organization to become more relaxed in their conservation efforts. The motivation for society by the individual and corporate contributors was monetary which kept the society primarily a private, economic based interest group. While Drs. Van Name and Hornaday did extend their personal financial support the ECC, they were not considered members. Edge formed the committee with her good friends, Irving Brant and Davis Quinn. These two men were among the few actual members of the committee.

Irving Brant was the editor of the St. Louis Star-Times. Brant, shown in Appendix C, Figure 3, became disturbed by the statements surrounding Van Name's pamphlet by the Director of the American Museum. Edge and Brant met when he went to see Edge concerning an article he was writing for Forest and Stream. Although Brant was not an ardent conservationist, his writing, editorial, and pamphleteering skills were to be invaluable to the committee. Brant, according to Edge, was the "...rudder and compass"

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⁵⁹ Smith, page 39.

to the ECC. Brant, however, was not an active member of the ECC throughout its duration. His interests became more directed, beginning in the late 1930s and continuing throughout the 1960s, towards the writing of his biography of James Madison. Brant's publications include <u>James Madison</u>, <u>Bill of Rights: Its Origin and Meaning</u>, and <u>Impeachment: Trials and Errors</u>.

Davis Quinn, a writer from New York and employee at the American Museum became the secretary of the committee. He had helped in the writing of "A Crisis in Conservation" with Dr. Van Name. Quinn was not a member of the committee for a long period. He was only involved with the activities concerning the campaign against the Audubon Society.

By asking Edge if she would publish some of his pamphlets, Van Name was given the opportunity to not only write more pamphlets, but to also publish them under the ECC name. Not having his name on any of the publications prevented him from receiving any possible backlash from any of the other curators at the museum or from the directors of the board. Dr. Van Name had many pamphlets written and prepared for publication before the ECC was even established. In addition to Van Name's work, Dr. Hornaday also contributed to some of the committee's publications.

The next step for the ECC was to establish a mailing list for the publications. Rosalie had already begun to receive requests for the publications, but knew that there would be many more people who would desire the material. All of the material written by the committee was scrutinized for accuracy. Initially, the information was reviewed by scientists when Edge had questions or doubts about any information. Edge

admitted having little knowledge about biology when the group formed, but her knowledge quickly grew. Dr. Hornaday had some available mailing lists but they wanted and needed a bigger list to reach more people. Edge determined that the best way to convey controversial conservation information to the general public, and more importantly to those greatest affected, would be to target the people who had the greatest interest in conservation issues. She decided to obtain membership list from the Audubon Society and mail her publications to the members of the society. However, when Rosalie requested the membership list, the society refused to give them to her. After much legal consultation, and with only the meager funds of the ECC supporting her, Edge filed suit against the Audubon Society. This action created a publicity that the directors of the society despised. The true character of Edge became apparent throughout the hearings. She was called a "common scold" by the Audubon Society's attorney. 60 But, despite the name calling. Edge kept her wits and her tact. She was amused that a society of such strength would be threatened by a lone women of whom they considered a "scold." The situation, no doubt, helped to fuel her fire and boost her confidence even higher.

In 1931, the courts decided in the favor of Edge. In the final outcome, Edge was allowed to receive copies of the mailing list of the society's publication, <u>Bird Lore</u>. This was not a complete list of the Audubon Society's membership, but it sufficed for Edge. The ECC published its first original publication in 1929: "Framing' the Birds of Prey."

Rainey Sanctuary Struggle. In addition to winning her suit against the society, Edge gained personal satisfaction when the ECC made progress in their fight with

⁶⁰ Edge Autobiography, page 43.

the society concerning the Rainey Wildlife Sanctuary. The definition of wildlife became more broadly defined as it began to include more unfamiliar and unpopular species that most sportsmen disregarded. These animals included snakes, skunks, muskrats, and other animals of the same status. The fight for protection of such species would still have Edge active today. 61

Rosalie's interest in the Rainey Sanctuary stemmed from her interest in birding. Paul Rainey owned a vast span of marshland in southern Louisiana. The land sat adjacent to several wildlife sanctuaries in the area. A local businessman and sportsman, Edward Avery McIlhenny⁶² had made plans to create a 4,000 member duck shooting club on Rainey's land, in the middle of the wildlife sanctuaries. Once again in the midst of controversy, Dr. Pearson of the Audubon Society, had enlisted himself upon the club's advisory board. Henry De Forest, the executor of part of the adjoining wildlife sanctuary was appalled by this and he helped to create a stir amongst society members and other bird protection organizations. Dr. Pearson quickly was forced to turn his opinion and denounce the shooting club. As a result, the ground originally sighted for the club

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As a little known species, Snail darters have gained national recognition recently with the fight for the Tellico Dam by the TVA. The case, settled in 1975, argued the company should discontinue its work on the dam, in order to protect a species of fish, the snail darter, that was on the 1973 Endangered Species Act. The dam had already been under construction for a decade. The case was decide in favor of constructing the dam. The fish, consequently, were transported to a new habitat and were not threatened with extinction. Another controversial topic that to which Edge may object is the rattlesnake hunts that are still held today in Oklahoma. Prizes are awarded to those hunters who bring in the longest, the shortest, and a variety of other specified snakes. Souvenirs are made form the snakes that are brought by the hunters. Boosters of the events say that they are educational, but some conservationists disagree. The Oklahoma Department of Wildlife Conservation has funded programs to study these hunts (DiSilvestro, pg. 171). Such activities would have prompted Edge to print a pamphlet and distribute it nationwide.

62 Edward Avery McIlhenny was heir to the family business, the McIlhenny Company, which is the maker of the well known Tabasco Brand Pepper Sauce.

⁶³ Edge Autobiography, page 60.

became a sanctuary itself. The donation of the property to the Audubon Society was done by Paul Rainey's sister, in memory of Paul, at the urging of McIlhenny.

Edge and McIlhenny became good friends through the fight for the sanctuary. She praised him for not holding any grudges against her after the publication, "Compromised Conservation," in 1930. In this publication, the ECC explains the connection with the Audubon Society and the proposed shooing club at Avery Island. While Edge did not publicly denounce McIllhenny, she did criticize the Audubon Society for taking a "…leading part on the wrong side."

Edge visited McIlhenny on several occasions and she learned a great deal about birds of the south. Additionally, she learned about the conservation and preservation of these birds. The American and Snowy Egret were abundant along the Gulf Coast and in the vicinity of Avery Island. However, the demands for the birds' feathers were high, usually used once again for women's fashions. The hunting of these birds became uncontrolled and ruthless. The feathers would be plucked with the birds still alive. The birds would then be tossed aside to bleed until they died. The hunting seasons were not controlled and often, when hunting was done during nesting season, mothers were taken from their young, who would then die from malnutrition. The Audubon Society published several pamphlets about the killings, but these publications were often useless and of little information to the sportsmen and the general public.

During his life, Edward McIlhenny saw the population of the birds drop considerably and it alarmed him. McIlhenny established "flying cages" at Avery Island from eight herons that he had removed from their nests in 1895. These "cages" were over

⁶⁴ "Compromised Conservation," page 6.

three acres in area and would allow the egrets and herons to migrate to the area safely each year. He was largely responsible for the replenishment of these birds along the gulf coast.

In addition to the shooting club controversy at Avery Island, the Audubon Society was involved with a secret fur business. The society was receiving money from the selling of pelts that were killed at the island. The society tried to disguise the corruption by hiding the acquisitions under the term "rentals" on the pages of the balance books of the Audubon treasurer's report. While the Audubon society did rent part of the land at the sanctuary for grazing, the returns from this merited only a couple of hundred dollars each year. The irony of the fact that Rainey Sanctuary, established for the protection of wild birds and animals, allowed sportsmen to cruelly trap and sale the pelts of small animals, astounded Edge. She stumbled across the scandal while visiting Louisiana in 1931.⁶⁵ Under the state law, all trappers were required to file a report of all of the animals captured. The Audubon was thus required to file a report due to the thousands of animals that it had taken the previous year. Rosalie disclosed the matter to Dr. Hornaday who agreed to personally finance an investigation of the matter. The investigation led to the discovery that the Audubon had indeed hid the receipts under the term rentals in the accountant's reports.

As a result of her interests in the activities at Rainey Sanctuary, Edge launched a campaign against the society and its trapping at Avery Island. Edge radically demanded that the all steel trapping that occurred for profit should cease. Edge discovered that between 1929 and 1931, around 103,000 animals had been killed at the

⁶⁵ Edge Autobiography, page 68.

sanctuary. The animals, killed mostly by using steel traps, had grossed the society over \$50,000.66 The directors even had the gall to defend its practices, arguing that muskrats were threatening to the geese that migrated to the sanctuary. Expert biologists denounced the directors' explanations with explanations of their own, but it was of little help. Edge explained that the balance between the muskrats and the geese was ecological, as it had been for many years before and that man should not try to change it.⁶⁷ The ECC took a continued stand against the society and repeatedly questioned the directors about the 'rentals' in the Treasurer's Report. In an effort to end the steel trapping, the ECC tried to rally proxies for the Annual Audubon Society Meeting in 1932. Unfortunately, despite the efforts on behalf of the ECC, there were not enough proxies and the motion to end trapping was voted down. This was perhaps the only clear loss felt by the ECC and Edge. Shortly thereafter, the ECC published "Steel-Trapping by the Audubon Association," a pamphlet written by Edge. Although changes were not immediate, the Audubon Society did eventually reform. Dr. Pearson's salary became fixed and he was not allowed any more commissions. Additionally, motions were passed within the society that condemned baiting of waterfowl and the use of live decoys. The society condemned the poisoning by the US Biological Survey. However, despite these efforts at reform, the steel-trapping continued.

In 1934, Dr. Pearson retired after seeing the membership of the society he led decline by sixty percent. The New York Herald Tribune stated that the retirement was

⁶⁶ IBID., page 70.

⁶⁷ In her autobiography, Edge uses the word 'ecology,' with a definition following. She was on the leading edge of biology at this time by identifying the geese and muskrat relationship and understanding the "association of species and the ecology...." (Annals, page 71).

"...greeted with enthusiasm" by Edge. Rosalie was excited to see that five years of her hard work had paid off with his retirement. Additionally, she highly supported John Baker as the new executive director of the society. He had been chairman of the board before Pearson's retirement. Mr. Baker promised Edge that the steel-trapping being done by the society would end. Not until after Edge's publication, in 1934, of the ECC's second pamphlet on the issue, "The Audubon Steel-Trapping Sanctuary," did the trapping actually subside. The pamphlet graphically showed birds that were caught in the traps and it outlined the number of animals taken at Rainey Wildlife Sanctuary.

Although Edge calls her attempts at exposing and reforming the Audubon Society a failure, the rebuttal against the society led to many changes within the society and throughout conservation. Edge was very critical of herself in her analyses of her battles. The endeavor was a success by many measures. Additionally, future projects and work by Edge and the ECC were boosted by this initial attempt at reform in the conservation world and the publicity they received.

Section 2: Biological Survey Reformation

Edge's fight with the Audubon Society led her to challenge another major player in conservation: the Division of Biological Survey. The Biological Survey was in the Department of Agriculture, formed from the reorganization of the Division of Economic Ornithology and Mammalogy. The survey had been created in 1896 by act of Congress, but it remained poorly staffed and funded until Roosevelt recommended that funds be secured in order to expand it.⁶⁹ Today, the survey is known as the Fish and

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⁶⁸ New York Herald Tribune. October 31, 1934.

⁶⁹ Trefethen, page 122.

Wildlife Service, which is within the Department of Interior. Throughout the early 1900s, while the survey was still lacking in manpower to properly manage the several dozen wildlife refuges it had, the independent Audubon Societies would actually perform the survey's management duties. Once that Edge realized that the survey and the Audubon Society were so closely linked, she quickly investigated the ties between the two. She became highly critical and scrutinized the survey. After her uncovering of the Audubon animal killings and poisonings, Edge was not surprised to find similar conditions within the survey, however, she was appalled at the extent to which the killings occurred. Between 1916 and 1929, thousands of animals were poisoned by the survey. Over 8,000 wolves, 400,000 coyotes, 45,000 bobcats and lynxes, 2,000 mountain lions, and 1,000 bears had been killed during this time by trappers and poisoners employed by the survey. 70 The Biological Survey had been given the power in 1913, under a bill signed by Taft, to set and control hunting seasons, bag limits, and other hunting regulations concerning migratory birds. However, the survey was largely influenced by the American Game Protective Association, which was, as mentioned previously, a collection of various gun companies and interest groups who were avid game hunters. Edge thought that the killings allowed and even performed by the survey were done solely for political gain. She criticized the survey about its carelessness on the preservation of migratory birds and unnecessary poisoning of birds and animals. Additionally, Edge believed that the killings were done knowingly and willfully by men who knew better than to do so. The "...cruel and wanton killing of hundreds of thousands of animals, for the most part inoffensive, at a

⁷⁰ "The United States Biological Survey," ECC publication, May 1930. Hawk Mountain.

cost to the taxpavers of millions of dollars."⁷¹ The notion that politicians would act based on their own self interests and for reelection motives is not a new idea. The concept is still prevalent in the political arena. Politicians rally for their scarce resources, which, in their arena, are individual votes.

Historically, this was the era of Roosevelt's New Deal. Edge was not an advocate of the program that, while spending the taxpayers' money, led to the destruction of wildlife and wildlife habitat. While Edge did not wish anyone to be out of work, she desired for the work to be more beneficial to national parks and recreation, such as jobs including park rangers, wardens, and the like. In 1934, four years after Edge had begun her struggle with the US Biological Survey, Edge's good friend, Jay Norwood "Ding" Darling, was appointed chief of the survey. Darling, shown in Appendix C, Figure 3, had worked for the Des Moines Register as the editorial cartoonist and was the former head of the Iowa Game Commission. A cartoon that Darling drew was reproduced after he was appointed chief of the survey. This is shown in Appendix C, Figure 4. Eventually, Darling became a member of the board of the Emergency Conservation Committee. Although Edge and Darling remained conservationist companions long after he left the survey in September of 1935, she continued to attack the survey in her pamphlet. She touted Darling as "...stout of heart" and a "...gallant conservationist," but she still denounced the Biological Survey and its in ability to make headway in curtailing the poisoning of wildlife. It was in traditional Edge fashion to give credit and praise where she thought it was deserved in fighting for her causes. It was also in the same fashion for

⁷¹ Edge Autobiography, page 136.

⁷² "The United States Bureau of Destruction and Extermination," page 2.

her to gently criticize those people or organizations that did not hold to her standards. In a letter to one of her conservation coworkers, Edge said that she felt it best to go by the "...homely old adage: one can catch more flies with molasses than with vinegar," when fighting for a cause. She always held this motto true throughout her life.

Migratory Treaty with Mexico. Edge's involvement with the Migratory Bird Treaty with Mexico brought her back into the area that led her originally to conservation: birds! Moreover, the fight for the protection of hawks became the focal point of this treaty and of Edge's fight. An agreement was to be negotiated with Mexico that, if passed according to Edge's desires, would protect migratory birds, including hawks and eagles, in every state in the Union under the federal government.

In 1916, a migratory treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed that protected migratory birds throughout the United States and Canada. However, Congress never enacted the treaty, and therefore, it was practically ineffective. In 1918, the treaty was finally put into effect by the signature of Woodrow Wilson. Everywhere north of Mexico was now under the regulation of this treaty. This treaty proved to save at least a dozen or more species of waterfowl and other migratory birds from declining in numbers and possibly becoming extinct. However, despite the effectiveness of this treaty, many conservationists realized that not only should the northern areas of the flyways of the migrating birds be protected, but the southern areas, where the bird wintered, should receive some protection, as well. Not until nearly a

⁷⁴ Trefethen, page 156.

⁷³ Edge to J. Allen Wiley, December 10, 1931. Denver Public Library.

decade after the first migratory treaty was enacted, did a movement for establishing this type of treaty take place. Edge was involved in the middle of the movement.

Although Hawk mountain was not established at the time, Edge became active in establishing greater protection for migratory birds. The first ECC publication, "'Framing' the Birds of Prey," had been written by Dr. Van Name, with the assistance of Davis Quinn. The publication warned the public of the possible extinction of the birds of prey. The authors stressed that the birds should be protected in every state in the Union. Additionally, the pamphlet explained the vermin killing contests that some clubs sponsor. It explained how these contests would allow points for every sparrow, crow, hawk, or owl caught. At these killings, there was usually a printed list of birds with accompanying point allotment that the hunter received for each captured bird. The absence of bag limits on hawks and owls, which were the birds that have "...suffered relentless persecution," was also addressed in the pamphlet. 75

The ECC had hoped that the Audubon Society, with its readily available funds, would crusade for better protection of these birds nationwide, in both northern and southern flyways. Per society traditions, it did nothing. However, just as it seemed no action was being taken by anyone who could forcibly act, in 1934, the Biological Survey drew up the Migratory Bird Treaty Act with Mexico. The act would ensure federal protection of these birds in every state. Almost secretly, the survey planned to protect the predatory birds. They feared that the sportsmen would discover this legislation about their prey and try to impede the act. The conservatives within the survey acted secretly about the legislation, so that it would not be revealed to the sports interests.

⁷⁵ "Framing' the Birds of Prey," ECC Publication, 1929. Page 1.

To the bewilderment of the conservatives who drew the list of proposed protected birds, hawks were not on the list when the treaty was to be signed into action. Evidently, a game commissioner from the Western United States was able to get his way with the treaty and get hawks off of the protected list. In justifying their actions, the officials who had altered the treaty compared the treaty with Mexico to that of the treaty with Canada. However, it was apparent to Edge that none of these politicians had read the Canadian Treaty! The treaty that was signed by Wilson over fifteen years earlier was much more restrictive than that of the United States treaty with Mexico. Nonetheless, the treaty with Mexico was signed into action in 1936, despite the alterations.

Edge naturally was not satisfied. She pushed for the treaty to be amended. The ECC published its 56th pamphlet entitled, "The Migratory Bird Treaty With Mexico." The treaty highlighted the differences in the Mexican treaty and the Canadian treaty. The publication also highlighted the list of migratory birds and birds of prey that Edge thought should have been on the list of birds protected by the treaty. While the treaty was never amended to protect the birds of prey that Edge sought to protect, additional species of birds have since been included in the treaty.

Chapter 4: Personal Crusades

Although Edge had many crusades that were of special interest to her, none of her work in the conservation movement was as important to her as her work in establishing a permanent sanctuary that would able to be appreciated by future generations. Additionally, Edge desired for these generations to be educated about the dangers of further reducing the numbers of rare species and posing threats to their environment and whole existence. As a pamphleteer, Edge sought to educate the general public and inform them about current conservation problems. At the bottom of nearly every ECC publication, Edge had inscribed, "The time to protect a species is while it is still common. The way to prevent the extinction of a species is never let it become rare." With that philosophy fueling her, Edge set out to establish a reserve for a potentially threatened creature, the seemingly menacing hawk.

Section 1: Hawks and the Mountain Sanctuary

Edge's most personal passionate fight throughout her life was her fight for the hawks in Pennsylvania. This fight led to her acquisition of a piece of land to be held as a sanctuary for these creatures. Rosalie defended the highly criticized raptor. People declared the hawk a menace and worth little value to man or nature. Edge claimed that the hawks were a menace only because "...the ammunition manufacturers derive profit, and gunners sadistic satisfaction, in shooting them."

By the fall of 1933, the fight for the hawks had become a hot topic of interest. The cruel shooting of the migrating hawks outside of Philadelphia along the

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⁷⁶ IBID., page 71.

Kittatinny Ridge in the Blue Ridge Mountains was discovered by a couple of conservationists from Philadelphia. The shooting of hawks had become commonplace for farmers in that part of the country each fall. The area was part of the flyway for hawks and eagles along the east coast. One of the conservationists who discovered the slaughter sent Edge a picture of a hawk that had been shot but not killed. It had been left to die on the rocky slopes of the mountain from starvation. Many of the thousands of hawks that were killed each year for "sport" were not killed instantaneously, but rather, they were left to die slow and lingering deaths. The ECC readily joined the plight for the hawks and published a pamphlet on the killings entitled, "'Framing' the Birds of Prey." The best way to control the shooting of the hawks, Edge and other conservationists determined, was to purchase the mountain and protect it. The mountain includes part of a flyway that begins just north of New York City and extends southward across the Blue Ridge Mountains and along the Atlantic coast. The entire mountain, about 1,655 acres, could be bought for \$4,000 cash in 1934.⁷⁷ A map of the area is shown in Appendix D, Figure 1. Most conservationists thought that the logical purchaser of the mountain should be the Audubon Society. At the time, Dr. Pearson, still the president of the society, agreed that the Audubon Society would buy the mountain, since it had the funds readily available. However, in usual Audubon fashion, the society dragged its heels and in the spring of the following year, the purchase still had not been completed. The summertime passed with still no action by the society. As the hawk migrating season quickly approached, "...one woman's sleep had been tormented with visions of the birds gasping in agony or blown to

⁷⁷ Edge Autobiography, page 71.

bits in the skies."⁷⁸ Thus, Edge decided to take the matters into her own hands. She leased the land in 1934 with an option to buy. This option was made possible by Dr. Van Name copiously supplying the money to Edge. That year, before Dr. Pearson's retirement, the society, on a motion from Pearson himself, donated \$500 to Hawk Mountain to defray some of the operating expenses. Pearson retired later that year and many members of the society felt that the society had acted inadequately. Pearson ultimately became a member of the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association, which was established by Edge in 1938. Edge gave the credit for the gift of \$500 not to Pearson, but to the directors of the Audubon Society, under the new leadership of Dr. Baker. Dr. Baker later became a member of the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association and he lauded Edge for her success at the sanctuary. Hawk Mountain became the first sanctuary in the world for predatory birds.⁷⁹

In the fall of the same year, the sanctuary became a battle ground between the sportsmen and the conservationists. After securing the land in her name, Edge quickly put "no trespass" signs across the lands and along the roads that had previously been invaded by hunters and farmers. Edge had hired Dr. Maurice Broun, Appendix D, Figure 2, to be curator and protect the land. He was granted the power by Edge's attorney to guard the land and prohibit the shooting of hawks. Command posts were set up by Broun and his wife. They turned away scores of enraged hunters. Even until the mid-forties, there were some, as Broun called them, "bemuddled and benighted Nimrods," who still

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⁷⁸ Broun, page 12.

⁷⁹ IBID., page 14.

⁸⁰ Edge Autobiography, page 79.

⁸¹ Broun, page 212.

thought that the mountain sanctuary existed for the propagation of the birds. Despite the conflict with the local hunters, the mountain has become a legacy for bird conservation throughout Pennsylvania and the United States.

By 1950, the majority of the hawks that flew in the through the Hawk Mountain flyways were protected by state law. These laws were due mostly to the work of Edge and those who worked for Hawk Mountain. Edge, Broun, and others at Hawk Mountain continually fought for legislation to protect the state birds. Today, over 25,000 people travel to hawk mountain throughout September, October, and November, when the hawks are making their migration southward. Conservationists come from across the country and throughout the world to enjoy the peaceful serenity of Hawk Mountain and to admire the legacy that Edge has left behind for them. A photograph of Rachel Carson at the North Lookout at the mountain, is shown in Appendix D, Figure 3. View from the lookouts at Hawk Mountain are shown in Appendix D, Figures 4 and 5. The sanctuary is one piece of conservation work that Edge knew would last long after she would, thus, she put her heart into it. Edge not only wanted to leave a physical reminder of her work, but she also wanted for future generations to become more aware of the importance in conservation. Thus, Edge was an diligent supporter of conservation education.

Section 2: Promoting Conservation Education

Education about conservation and preservation will always be important.

Before little activity had been done to promote this type of education, Edge continually encouraged and taught her son Peter about conservation and bird-watching. She would take him birding on the weekends and would even telegraph him at school to instruct him

to go by central park to see the loon on the reservoir or other interesting birds in the park. 82 She promoted preservation education among everyone, saying "Education must, of course, go hand in hand with active work for protection, but it cannot exclude responsibility for protection."83 The ECC gave her the perfect outlet for the promotion of preservation. It was through the ECC publications and her enthusiastic pamphleteering that she realized how uninformed the general public was about conservation matters. Edge used another shrewd interest group tactic: She determined that she could sway public opinion through education. Edge was an early pioneer in this type of education on a wide scale basis.

During her career with the ECC, Edge met a man living in Seattle named Ellsworth Lumley, Lumley, Appendix D, Figure 6, was a biology teacher and a wellrespected conservation leader throughout his local area. He and Edge shared much of the same opinions about the conservation. Lumley wrote that the National Audubon Society did "...not have conservation very much at heart." Lumley wrote to Edge, having heard of her through the ECC publications. After teaching the same outdated material for many years, he wanted some new instructional materials for his classes. As a result of Lumley's work, the ECC published several teaching units. A list of the ECC conservation teaching units is in Appendix D, Table 1. These units mainly contained information on predatory birds and waterfowl. Edge added a unit to include information about forests, for which Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes wrote the introduction. President Roosevelt wrote the introduction for the unit about eagles. The support of these highly recognized leaders

⁸² Peter Edge Biography, page 1.

⁸³ Edge Autobiography, page 75.

⁸⁴ Lumley to Edge. October 16, 1945. Hawk Mountain.

made the units even more respected. The educational material that was published by the Audubon Society was overshadowed by the very thorough ECC units. These educational units were used by schools and by the government in educating Civilian Conservation Corps men. Edge is shown in Appendix D, Figure 7 with a youth group with whom she had been visiting about conservation practices. Aldo Leopold, then in charge of the Game Research at the University of Wisconsin, wrote that the units were "...a step in advance of most conservation literature for schools." He also noted that the units were "...more enlightening than the pre-digested doctrines, dealing with generalities only, which have heretofore been offered to schools."

Lumley and Edge remained good friends long after the teaching units were established. While still teaching in Washington, Lumley eventually became the secretary of the ECC and was active with the fight for Olympic National Park. He died just before his forty-seventh birthday of a cerebral hemorrhage. Together, Edge and Lumley helped the ECC to gain national respect not only as a reliable source for informative teaching units, but also for its revolutionary approach to conservation education.

⁸⁵ "The Advance for Conservation," ECC publication number 70. Page 2.

Chapter 5: Project Profiles

Throughout her career, Edge either gave all or nothing. She would put forth all her energies into whatever cause was at hand. If, as in the fight for the Alaska Bear, she thought could not devote enough time to fight for the cause, she would not be involved. Much of Edge's time was devoted to campaigning for our natural resources. To Edge, the national parks and virgin forests were a vital part of nature. She marveled at how commercial interests would destroy the natural forests in a moment's notice if given the chance to make a profit from it. Rosalie could not conceive how such destruction could occur in such beautiful lands. She called the engineering projects that occurred in national parks and forests "fashionable" for the times. Her fight against these "fashions" started at the beginning of her conservation career in the early 1930s and continued throughout the 1950s.

Section 1: Waterfowl Hearings

The first major project with which Edge was involved was the Waterfowl Hearing of 1932. The hearing was set forth to discuss the committee that was in charge of the shooting regulations regarding waterfowl. The committee was actually an advisory board for the Secretary of Agriculture. Dr. Pearson was on the board representing the Audubon Society. With this highly publicized event, Edge became more familiar with sportsmen and those who considered hunting a sport. Edge wrote that the "...very word 'sportsmen' creates confusion. There are indeed true sportsmen who are conservationists, but in the generally accepted sense of the word, it is too often true that the people so

⁸⁶ Edge Autobiography, page 210.

calling themselves are the worst enemies of our wildlife."87 She was certain that the interest groups representing the sportsmen and the ammunitions companies were in control of the advisory board and that this influence was reflected in the lack of regulations concerning waterfowl. Edge had prepared for the hearings by enlisting the help of J. Darling to sketch a cartoon for her, shown in Appendix E, Figure 1. The cartoon depicted a wounded and bandaged duck on crutches viewing a dictionary. The duck, viewing the definition of the word "sportsmen" had a caption below it stating, "...this dictionary is wrong...." Edge had looked in many dictionaries before she found a definition that suited her. The definition that appeared her and the one shown in the cartoon was one that she found in Webster's Dictionary. This definition said that a sportsman was one that was "...fair and generous." On the first day of the hearings, the cartoon appeared in newspapers in major towns across the nation. Edge wanted her voice to be heard first and foremost.

At the hearings, she met many members of the high brow society and was introduced "...to the wealthy sportsmen, well groomed, hale and healthy, polished and domineering."88 These men were allied with the Audubon Society as they fought to control and protect the waterfowl that they so loved to kill. The population of waterfowl had been continually decreasing and, thus, an investigation of the advisory board and its regulatory practices was needed. In the initial fight for protection of waterfowl, the sportsmen and the gun companies had the greatest power. At this time, the shooting season for waterfowl was lengthy and bag limits were high. Additionally, automatic pump

88 Edge Autobiography, page 54a.

⁸⁷ Edge to Mr. Raymond Spears, July 19, 1932. Hawk Mountain.

guns and live decoys were used by the sportsmen. While the Audubon Society directors did not defend these practices, they in no way tried to curtail them. The society was tightly linked with the interest groups representing gun manufacturers and associated groups. In addition to the pump guns and decoys, the sportsmen used live baiting, which they considered as generously feeding the birds. The sportsmen considered the baiting an act of compassion towards the animals. Within Edge's life, these practices were ultimately put to rest, but they were very controversial during the prime of her conservation career.

The Waterfowl Hearings took place in Washington DC in April of 1932.

The ardent preservationists and conservationists were allowed a full day to give their speeches and explain their position. As the only woman to speak at the hearings, Edge spoke of what she personally believed to be fair and just, having little personal knowledge of hunting and conservation as practiced by the sportsmen. Ultimately, the preservationists won the battle. Control over the waterfowl hunting was increased by limiting the hunting seasons and setting bag limits. As these regulations were enforced, the waterfowl population continued to be renewed.

Section 2: Yosemite Sugar Pines

Following the fight for the waterfowl, Rosalie plunged head strong into a fight for a cause that focused on the trees and natural forests. As one of Edge's first activities that did not specifically target birds or animals but rather their natural habitat.

The fight for the Yosemite Sugar Pines rallied much more public support and interest than some of her previous battles. In 1931, at the onset of ECC activities, Edge became involved with the fight for saving the California Sugar Pines Groves. Edge wanted the

⁸⁹ IBID

groves protected from the loggers and for the area to be made into a national forest with the Yosemite National Forest, which was created in 1890. The area had already been significantly altered by man's intervention when a dam was constructed on the Tuolumme River in the Hetch Hetchy Valley, which was just north of the Yosemite area. Many utilitarians, including Gifford Pinchot, were in support of the dam that would supply San Francisco with an additional water supply. John Muir, however, in accordance with his preservation ideals, was active in the fight to protect Yosemite and not have any manmade structures built upon the land. One of the principle motives in his creation of the Sierra Club was to have a coalition that would promote the protection of the Yosemite Valley. Despite the activities of such active preservationists, the utilitarian proponents ultimately won their fight regarding the construction of the dam. The law to allow the flooding of the valley was signed in 1913.

Using her polished political skills, Edge went to Washington DC and convinced Senator Nye to introduce a bill to Congress that would protect the Sugar Pines of the Yosemite Valley. He did so and, to Edge's dismay, little was done concerning the groves once the bill was introduced. Van Name wrote an ECC pamphlet, "Save the Yosemite Sugar Pines," which had exquisite photographs of the trees and the forests. This pamphlet was followed by another ECC publication, number 60, in 1936 entitled, "Facing Conservation Facts." This pamphlet had a picture on the front cover displaying the "The Doomed Sugar Pines of the Yosemite," as shown in Appendix E, Figure 2. This pamphlet stated how the loggers were to begin cutting the forests at alarming rates by

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⁹⁰ Watkins, page 457.

March of the following year if action was not taken by legislators.⁹¹ Both of the pamphlets attacked the loggers and those destroying the forests for their own profit and gain. Despite the wide distribution of the pamphlets and the growing public knowledge about Yosemite, Edge was not satisfied with the lack of progress by politicians in establishing the area as a national park. Edge decided that she should go visit the area herself and talk with the superintendent of the park, Colonel C. G. Thompson.

At their meeting, Thompson quickly supported Edge and agreed to be a part of her fight for the park. He had originally not been active in the fight because he and Dr. Willard Van Name had not gotten along well with each other. Edge and Thompson became collaborators dedicated to the fight for the Sugar Pines. As a result, Van Name was bitter towards Edge for many years following the campaign. Van Name and Edge were both quite independent people. They were set in their conservation ways and determined to act on their personal beliefs. 92 Van Name felt that she had betraved him and Edge found it difficult to even speak with Van Name or be in the same room with him. 93 Edge wrote in her memoirs "...that men and women differ in public life." She continued on this thought by noting that, "To a woman, loyalty to a cause is of first importance, and the obligations of friendship must, if necessary, be sacrificed. To a man, the friendship must come first, and causes must be adjusted. The two points of view are irreconcilable."94 Edge's involvement with Yosemite practically severed her relationship with Van Name. Between the fight for the park and her friendship with Van Name, Edge

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⁹¹ "Facing Conservation Facts," ECC 1936 Annual report, page 4.

⁹² Personal Interview, Peter Edge. April 30, 1995.

⁹³ Edge to Col. Thompson, 25 March 1936. Hawk Mountain Sanctuary.

⁹⁴ Edge Autobiography, page 54.

simply chose her loyalty to the cause. Despite the loss of Van Name, Edge did gain an ally in Thompson. Thompson liked Edge and her personality and he became very influential throughout the crusade for the park. In addition to Colonel Thompson, Edge had another strong supporter, her good friend, Irving Brant. Brant was integral in the fight for Yosemite.

Irving Brant became an invaluable asset for Edge when he went personally to talk to President Roosevelt about the California Sugar Pines. Brant, speaking as a representative from the ECC, explained the devastation to the country that would occur with the loss of such a magnificent park filled with the spectacular trees. Roosevelt responded by calling upon then Secretary of Interior, Harold Ickes. Ickes and Roosevelt are shown in Figure 3, Appendix E. Roosevelt approved for the Sugar Pines to be included in the Yosemite National Park. Additionally, Roosevelt allotted Project Works Amendment (PWA) funds for the purchase of the land. Although Edge was not an devoted New Dealer, Edge readily accepted this as a success when PWA were used for this appropriation. 95

With Roosevelt supporting the Sugar Pines cause and the campaign for the expansion of Yosemite Park, the Sugar Pines grove would have been saved if a bill were sent successfully through congress. Edge solicited supporters for such a bill. She campaigned throughout California for influential citizens and interest groups to back her cause. William Schultz, a publicist from California, was eager to help stir public

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⁹⁵ Edge did not agree with spending PWA funds on building roads and dams that did not seem entirely needed. Edge had rather that people who needed employment during these years be hired at jobs that would benefit conservation more instead of threaten it, as some of the roads and dams did. She preferred these people to have been put into parks ranger or superintendent positions.

awareness of the issue. Schultz, "a tireless and selfless worker, a prudent and courageous leader," later helped Edge with the Kings Canyon crusade. Edge also called upon the Daughters of the American Revolution and her connection with them, Mrs. Winifred Codman. Codman, who was the chairman of conservation for the California D.A.R. chapter, became an important confidant with Edge during her fight for the Sugar Pine groves and in later fights, as well. In ECC publication number 60, Edge praised Codman for her "...ability and resourcefulness..."

Edge's organizational and rallying skills once again paid off in 1937 when Congress passed a bill that protected the Sugar Pines and included them with the Yosemite National Forest. Edge made strong connections in California and along the West coast that would be future allies and support with further efforts at reform. She did however, lose an important part of her life and loyal ECC worker: her friend and confidant, Dr. Willard Van Name.

Section 3: Yellowstone National Park

Edge's experience and increasing fondness for saving natural forest land was again instrumental her fight for the Yellowstone National Forest. Yellowstone Park was created in 1872 when 2.2 million acres of scenic lands in the Yellowstone River Valley were set aside for the establishment of a national park, the first such park in the United States. Part of the Yellowstone area was threatened by those who wanted to construct a reservoir between Wyoming and Montana. President Hoover had already signed a bill that would allow for the construction of the reservoir. The bill, H.R. 7914,

^{96 &}quot;Facing the Conservation Facts," page 4.

⁹⁷ IBID.

was introduced on January 18, 1932. It called for the diversion of the Big Horn River. Less than one month later, the bill was amended to include the land in Yellowstone Park, rather than the land along the Big Horn. By June of the same year, the bill became Public Law 178. Once Edge was made aware of this threat, she quickly visited Secretary of Interior Ickes to inform him of the dangers of the proposed bill. She had worked indirectly with Ickes during the Yosemite campaign through her connections with Irving Brant. She was afraid that Hoover was trying to get a bill, which may be controversial in nature, quickly passed through senate at the onset of the new administration. Edge's visit with Ickes was her first experience in a formal political arena and with such an influential politician. She readily admitted that she was nervous and fidgety. Once at his office, Edge astounded Ickes with all of her information. She literally poured all of it out in front of him onto his desk. She tells how she "...rushed into (her) subject, spreading out (her) maps, with eager explanations..." He was a very busy man and explained to her that he had a room full of people with whom he must attend claiming that he "...must talk to them all." She was, as natural, adamant about her cause, explaining that she had made an appointment well in advance. Ickes understood her urgency and he sent her to meet with his solicitor, Nathan Margold. 98 With Margold, Edge learned some of her most valuable campaigning skills. He was very patient with Edge, who was still somewhat of a novice, being unskilled in this political arena. Her political knowledge and skills were primarily learned through her involvement in the suffrage movement, where the approach was somewhat more radical and unorthodox. Edge was now in the midst of skilled politicians and leaders. Although Margold had little knowledge himself of the situation, he allowed,

⁹⁸ Edge Autobiography, page 98.

or rather, coerced Edge into fully and clearly explaining her cause. She was able to attract Margold into her campaign for conservation and the national parks.

In addition to working with Margold in the Yellowstone campaign, Edge began working with the Director of the National Parks Service, Horace Albright. Albright was the former Director of Yellowstone Park. 99 In 1933, Edge visited with Albright and he acknowledged the threats made to the park. He vowed to fight against anyone wishing to tamper with the park. Four months after his initial visit with Edge, however, Albright changed his mind and he concluded that PL 178 did not relate to Yellowstone. He claimed that only the Big Horn area was affected, not Yellowstone, drawing a map to prove his point. After showing Edge the map, Albright tore it into pieces. Determined now more than ever to rally loval support of a powerful political leader, Edge gathered the pieces of the map and took them to show Secretary of Interior Ickes. Ickes confronted Albright about the situation at Yellowstone. Albright immediately claimed to be shocked to learn of the efforts to alter the park. He later told Edge that he would take "...every feasible step to block the proposal." The flippant manner in which Albright handled the Yellowstone situation ultimately factored into his resignation as the National Park Service director in 1933.101

The fight for the preservation of the Yellowstone National Park was eventually a success. The ECC had gathered the awareness and support of the public and political figures, such as Margold. Margold was responsible for drawing up a bill that would not let anyone destroy the forest area in its natural state. In later years, there were

⁹⁹ Watkins, Page 321.

¹⁰⁰ Albright to Edge, May 13, 1933. Hawk Mountain.

¹⁰¹ Watkins, page 321.

proposals for irrigation tunnels to be constructed through the area. The proposals were defeated, largely in part to the work of Edge. For many years, Edge continued to pay close attention to the activities at the park and not let any operations occur that would alter the natural state of the park. Edge wrote that when a situation arose that called for her support, she would "...turn up within the walls of the Department of Interior where everyone in the Park Service was most courteous to me." Her undying spirit to preserve the nations' lands helped to keep Yellowstone National Park in tact.

Section 4: Olympic National Forest.

With this campaign, Edge was able to finally pull together all of skills that she had acquired in her previous battles. She had become a polished politician, leader, and lobbyist. Her efforts for this cause were devoted to get the Olympic Peninsula incorporated into a national park. The peninsula is located in the northwest corner of Washington state and is surrounded almost completely by water, a map of the area is located in Appendix E, Figure 4. The area was hidden from almost all public travel and observation in the early 1930s. The peninsula was already a national monument at the time that Rosalie became active with the fight. It had been established as a national monument in 1909 by Theodore Roosevelt, in order to protect the elk that lived there. The land was thus under the jurisdiction of the United States Forest Service, and property of the United States. In 1915, under the orders of President Wilson, the area of the monument was reduced by fifty percent, due to intense pressure by the lumber interests and the US Forest Service. The reduction meant that the largest trees in the forest were no longer under the protection of the federal government.

¹⁰² Edge Autobiography, pages 100-101.

In 1934, Dr. Van Name wrote a pamphlet, distributed by the ECC, but published at his own expense, entitled, "The Proposed Olympic National Park." Once again, the pamphlet showed the public the awe inspiring trees and expanse of the forest that were potentially threatened if the lands were not protected. Although nothing politically stemmed from the pamphlet, the public was made aware of the problem and issues concerning the national parks and virgin forests. By 1936, a Washington congressman, Mon C. Wallgren, introduced a bill to establish the peninsula as Olympic National Park. There was so much attention given to the area that even the President of the United States went to view it. At this time, international politics were of utmost importance with the threat of a world war looming ahead. Thus, the presidential trip at this time only reiterated how important the forest area was to the public and to the presidential agenda. The Forest Service, however, made his visit to the area a disaster. Private interest groups had close ties with the Forest Service that were able to persuade the service that a presidential visit would not benefit the area, and more importantly, their personal interests. Influenced by the interest groups, the service secured every hotel room in the area so that the regional director of the Park Service and the superintendent of the monument would not have a place to stay for the night. These men were vital to President's visit since they were his advisors on the park matters. Additionally, the official guides of the local park set up misleading boundaries and borders between the national forest and the national monument. The ECC was quickly prompted to write another pamphlet on the fiasco entitled, "Double-Crossing Mount Olympus National Park." The pamphlet discussed the actions of the Forest Service in rebuttal to the presidential visit.

Edge had again unraveled and exposed controversy within the United States Government with one of its own agencies. The Forest Service was under the scrutiny of the ECC and other conservation groups because of its ties with the lumber interests. The Forest Service was established to regulate the forest for business purposes and to protect the forest from destruction, whether this destruction was due to commercial interests or natural causes. Edge was more critical of the Forest Service and its officials in the west than those with the service in Washington DC. Edge, with the foresight that some today still do not have, understood the effects of destroying old growth timber. She realized that the forest would take many years to renew itself and that destroying the old growth timber would alter the habitat of many animals for numerous years.

Without any formal forestry training, Edge's knowledge of the forests in Washington was astounding. Additionally, the beauty that Edge found in the forests was on an inspirational level that reemphasized her preservation philosophies. She explains the forests in Washington:

"Here the fogs rising from the meeting of the warm coastal current with the icy Oyasio of the north Pacific continually blow toward the Sierras, crowned by glaciers of Mount Olympus, and condense into rain, winter and summer. The trees we associate with the north, maples, firs, spruce, hemlock, grow to enormous size mid an undergrowth that is rich and varied, and with a groundcover of mosses and fairy flowers." ¹⁰³

Edge was very aware of the great value of the old growth timber not only to the natural environment, but also to the lumber companies. Additionally, she received much harassment from some of the smaller lumber companies and those with personal and family ties to the industry. Rumors would circulate about Edge throughout the industry.

¹⁰³ IBID., page 106.

One such rumor held that Edge was sent from Canada to secure the Olympic Forests so that Canadians could get a fix on the market and raise their own prices. 104

The hearings for the proposed national forest lasted for eleven days. The ECC, in preparation for the hearing, published a pamphlet entitled, "The Olympic Forests for a National Park." This pamphlet was written by Irving Brant. It included wonderful scenic pictures to fully illustrate to the public the extent of the timber that existed with the trees and the need for protection of the land. Mr. Brant became a cornerstone in the Olympic Park establishment. He was Edge's direct link once again with Secretary of Interior Ickes and now with President Roosevelt. Arno Cammerer, director of the National Park Service, also credited Brant for much of the progress with the park, saying that "...the outstanding work...was that of Irving Brant." 105

Throughout Edge's life, attempts were again made by the lumber companies to cut the forests at Olympic National Forest. She would continue her pamphleteering to influence the public. Cartoons, such as that depicted in Appendix E, Figure 5, or other satirical pieces, would often appear in ECC publications. During World War II, the defense companies claimed that the spruce was needed for airplane wings. However, at that time, aluminum was already being used for airplane struts instead of spruce, thus their claims, as Edge pointed out, were not justified. The appeal by the lumber interests claiming that the spruce was needed was denied. Edge saw the forests again threatened in 1947. By this time in the conservation movement, President Roosevelt was dead, Secretary Ickes had retired, and Director Cammerer was dead. New leaders

¹⁰⁴ IBID., page 117.

^{105 &}quot;Our Nation's Forest," ECC Publication, page 2.

were in office when the Department of Interior sent out a news release stating a proposal to cut 56,396 acres of the virgin forests of Olympic National Park. Dr. Van Name and Edge were both swift to move into action. Van Name wrote an article for the Herald-Tribune in New York and Edge wrote a pamphlet that the ECC published entitled, "The Raid on the Nation's Olympic Forests." This pamphlet had the largest circulation of any ECC pamphlet and perhaps the largest impact. The complaints and disapproval shown by the public to the Department of Interior gave the conservationists and Edge another victory. The Olympic Park and the virgin forests remained intact and untouched.

Section 5: Kings Canyon National Park

The fight for Kings Canyon was one of the broadest crusades that Edge and the ECC joined. Kings Canyon is located in California, north of Sequoia Park. The fight for the establishment of a national park for this land started in the late 1800s when John Muir, Sierra Club founder, said that the land and its grandeur should be protected. Even before the well known preservationist Muir spoke out for the big trees, as they are called in California, which include the Sequoias and the California Redwoods, Dr. Gustavus Eisen, a scientist with whom Edge had the fortune to meet, stressed the need to protect these forests. Eisen, shown in Appendix E, Figure 6, visited Edge at her own office to express his gratitude for Edge and the efforts of the ECC for its fight for Kings Canyon. Eisen was especially pleased with Brant's pamphlet, ECC No. 74. This pamphlet explained the fight to establish the lands as a national park. At the time of Eisen's campaign for the trees, the people of California were unresponsive to the suggestions of a little known scientist and conservationist. Knowing that the land should be protected, he tried to raise the money to buy the land. He received very little response. The land was privately held and its owners, unless they were bought out by the government, were obligated to sell it and use the timberlands for profit. The owners would actually rather have had the government own and protect the lands than continue to own the lands and be easily persuaded by the deep pockets of the lumber industry. The owners knew these companies would destroy the land and the trees. In 1890, Eisen, as the chairman of a special committee appointed by the President of the California Academy of Sciences, drafted a petition for the land. The petition requested the establishment of the "Nevada Park." A bill had been written for the establishment of the Sequoia Park just a month before Eisen's petition. The goal of the conservatives was to get Sequoia Park extended to encompass the Sierras that were a part of Kings Canyon and the big trees. Eisen never saw the lands protected under his petition due to competition between the National Parks Association and the Forestry Association. The National Park Association opposed the transfer of lands that had been established as a national forest into the hands of the Park Service. For the next fifty years, Eisen was forced to wait and see if the land would ever generate enough interest among the public to get the protection that he thought it deserved. 106

Edge became amazed at the formidable trees and scenery that existed in this park. These trees were hundreds, if not thousands, of years old. The Hart Tree, a Sequoia at Redwood Mountain, is over 2,000 years old. The tree, if cut circular at 160 feet above the ground to form a platform, would be able to hold over 150 men. Edge had become dismayed that forests that could withstand thousands of years of harsh elements could not stand a day in the path of an eager lumberman. Edge and the ECC supported

¹⁰⁶ Edge Autobiography, pages 129-130.

Hiram Johnson's bill that proposed for the area be made into a national park. Local interests considered building a highway through the area. Johnson's reasoning for a bill was that the area was threatened by not only the highway, but by possible commercial development which would accompany the proposed highway through the forest.

Characteristic of Edge and her conservation quests, the ECC, with Edge as the major spokesman, fought to gain national attention to the area.

Arno Cammerer suggested to the ECC that the thrust of the support for the park should come from within the state of California. Thus, with this advice, the ECC was forced to change its strategy. Edge was required to sit back and wait for California conservatives to make the first political action. Edge finally became active when the John Muir Association called upon the United States Government to buy the forest land and establish it as a national park. Once the John Muir Association made its move,

Congressman Bertrand Gearhart, from California, proposed a bill that was tailored specifically for the area. The boundaries were shifted from the original bill proposed by Senator Johnson. Additionally, Gearhart's bill proposed that a reservoir be established for flood control. The National Parks Association wanted to block the passage of the Gearhart Bill, which now included the threat of the reservoir. With literature from both sides of the issues, the general public began to grow confused and besieged with the information presented to them.

Edge strategically learned how to gain political support for this bill. She knew that she should get those to support the parts of the bill that would appeal to them the greatest. For example, she gathered support for those who were in favor of protecting

the big trees of California. She then gathered supporters and admirers of the aforementioned Hart Tree. Edge immediately gathered endorsements from those who were loval John Muir and Sierra Club supporters when Brant and Ickes jointly decided that the appropriate name for the park should be the John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park. With this new idea, the nationwide support of the Sierra Club was soon to follow. The support of the Sierra Club was crucial to the ECC and to the success of Kings Canyon. Due to its unpolitical nature, the Sierra Club was usually lethargic in its response to political issues. Irving Brant and Secretary Ickes had to do some fierce political rallying to motivate the Sierra Club to use its weight effectively. Brant even went on a six day backpacking trip with the club to try to convince the members to be more active in the fight for Kings Canyon-John Muir National Park. It was Secretary Ickes who finally convinced the club and its leaders to put their political foot forward and give an effort in the fight for the big trees. Ickes wrote the introduction to ECC pamphlet number 73, "Our Nation's Forests." In it, Ickes praised both the National Park Service and the Forest Service for their management of the virgin forests and the control of the commercial use of these lands. 107 Both, the National Park Service and the Forest Service had a history of controversy and conflict. Secretary Ickes was mending old wounds in his complimentary tones and paving the way for an easier campaign for the park. With both sides joining the fight, the public and political leaders were sure to be made aware of the significance of establishing the park.

The ECC was responsible for publishing other literature promoting Kings

Canyon. "The Proposed John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park" implored its readers to

^{107 &}quot;Our Nation's Forest," ECC Publication, page 2.

become active in the campaign for the forest. The pamphlet urged writing letters to congressmen, senators, and the media, and it also stressed for its readers to contact and encourage conservation organizations to become active in the fight. It urged them to further distribute the ECC pamphlet about the park. The Sierra Club, the John Muir Association, and the Daughters of the American Revolution all helped in distributing the pamphlet and raising public interest in the project.

Edge was the encouragement and motivation for the National Park Service. Additionally, she coordinated efforts between the Department of Interior and the Department of Agriculture. The efforts on behalf of Edge helped these organizations to create a mutual regard for one another. This respect ultimately helped to lead to the establishment of Kings Canyon National Park. The John Muir name was eventually dropped from the proposed title to help speed the establishment of the park and alleviate any further controversy. Just as all of Edge's careful and diplomatic work was coming together to ensure a victory with the establishment of the national park, a wrench was thrown into Edge's powerful campaign.

A congressman from Oregon proposed an amendment that would allow dams and reservoirs for power to be built in the park. Edge once again fought a bitter and rather hasty war against the amendment. She quickly published an ECC handbill, publication number 77, "The Impending Ruin of Kings Canyon." The flyer warned of the possible exploitation of the park should the amendment be allowed to be voted on in conjunction with the Gearhart Bill. Again, the publication urged its readers to take action immediately. Additionally, Edge alerted every newspaper in the country in cities with a

population over 20,000 people by issuing news releases on the proposed amendment and its possible ramifications. Edge's mass media attempts to notify the general public were well received. Edge and the ECC were duly praised for their swift reaction regarding the possible changes in the Gearhart Bill. The acting director of the National Park Service, A. E. Demaray and the Department of Interior issued a hearty thanks and congratulation to Edge and the ECC for its hard work and attention in the campaign. Through its efforts, the ECC had rallied even more supporters of the park than had been before the proposed amendment. The pressure upon Congressmen from the now well-informed public lead to their conservative voting on the amendment to the Gearhart Bill. The amendment was defeated due largely in part to the major efforts from the ECC and Edge.

The final step in ensuring complete success of the Gearhart Bill was to get the bill passed through both the House and the Senate. The initial success was perhaps the easiest one. The bill passed in the House on July 18, 1939. The real challenge was to come from the Senate. The Senate voted on the bill much later than the House, thus there was time for special interest groups to try and convince the senators to vote down the bill. Edge had one last thrust left in her campaign left. She mailed over 11,000 postcards that explained of the bill's success in the House and the need for continued support of the bill as it faced the Senate's vote. Again, senators succumbed to the pressure from their constituents to vote in favor of the bill. The Gearhart Bill, without provisions for manmade reservoirs or dams, was voted on and passed in the Senate on February 19, 1940. Roosevelt signed the bill into enactment on March 4th of the same year. ¹⁰⁸

Watkins, page 577.

The fight for Kings Canyon had become one of the shining trophies in Edge's conservation career. Edge was able to show her true talents as a radical leader, yet she did so in her stylish way. Edge and the ECC were responsible for establishing a major part of our national park system that is still with us today. Her work done here is just another part of the Edge legacy that is presently with us.

Section 6: Jackson Hole

The fight for Jackson Hole demonstrated to Edge the power of lobbyists and special interest groups, particularly those who had political influence and money. The land in debate was 220,000 acres of the Snake River Valley that had already been established as a national monument under the rule of the US Forest Service. The controversial land included around 33,000 acres located in the Teton National Forest in Wyoming, originally owned by John Rockefeller, Jr., Appendix E, Figure 6. In the late 1920s, Rockefeller had discreetly bought the land, in small increments, with the intent of giving it to the federal government for protection. In 1929, Congress established the Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming. There were local residents who advocated that the Rockefeller land be included in this national park. There were also those residents who opposed this and wanted to keep the lands as they were. When Rockefeller bought the land, he had an agreement with the government that the land would ultimately be established as a national park, under the care of the National Park Service. With the land still under Rockefeller's ownership, some of the local residents petitioned for it to be turned into a park. However, the residents were worried that if the land were to be turned into a park, the taxes that the county received would significantly be reduced since there

would no longer be a private owner, in this case Rockefeller, dutifully paying taxes on the land. 109 The federal government promised that it would reimburse the county for the loss in taxes that would result once the land was turned over to the National Park Service. Additionally, the local ranchers in the area vehemently opposed for it to become a national park since they feared that they would no longer be allowed to let their cattle graze on the land. Every proposal for the park ensured that grazing would continue on the land for those ranchers who had used the land as a driveway in the summertime for their cattle. The cattlemen, however, in protest to the lands becoming a protected park, banded together for a cattle drive across the lands. They loaded themselves with guns and rifles and drove 653 Herefords across the valley to a local ranch. Despite their efforts to rally a revolt against the government, the ranchers went across the valley unopposed. 110 Edge marveled at how such a small group of people could "...by loud shouting..." be so influential to congress and "...thwart the wishes and rights of the majority both at home, and in the nation at large. These people have been indulged like small children."111 She had little respect for these men saying that they could never be satisfied; she thought they always wanted and demanded more from the government.

As if there were not already enough protests about the proposal for the land, when Roosevelt proclaimed, by Executive Order, that Jackson Hole was to be a national monument in 1943, there were more outcries. The controversy stemmed from whether the President had the power to declare the land a monument. The President did

¹⁰⁹ The total amount of taxes that Rockefeller paid on the land while this controversy was continuing was about \$100,000 total. (Watkins, page 768).

¹¹⁰ Watkins, page 770.

¹¹¹ Edge Autobiography, Page 136.

in fact have the executive power to establish the park as a national monument himself, under the Antiquities Act of 1906. The opposition was trying to gain support by giving "false propaganda," as Edge called it. A legal battle had begun. Following the House's approval, the Senate unanimously passed the Barrett Bill, which proposed the elimination of the monument altogether. The President vetoed the bill and the monument remained, but mainly in spirit. Those who were still in opposition to the park created an amendment that eliminated funding for it. The tension and aggression towards the Park Service by those with the Forest Service was high. When the President declared that the monument be turned over into the hands of the Park Service instead of the Forest Service, the workers of the Jackson Hole Forest Service vandalized the buildings. They left the Park Service with no plumbing fixtures or telephone equipment in the buildings.

The dispute over the park was not settled until 1950, seven years after Roosevelt's initial proclamation for the land. The Senators from Wyoming introduced a bill that added Jackson Hole to the Teton National Park. The bill passed and the park finally gained protection as a national park. At last, after a long struggle, another victory was landed for the conservationists. The "...campaign of misinterpretation against the Jackson Hole Monument..." had ended. The ECC, as a noneconomic based interest group, was active throughout the struggle for Jackson Hole and printed several publications. These pamphlets alerted the public in great detail thoroughly explaining the situation, the mishaps in Congress, and all of the tactics used by the opposition to try to sway both the public and politicians.

^{112 &}quot;Conservation - Up and Doing." ECC publication no. 92, page 3.

¹¹³ IBID.

Section 7: South Calaveras Grove in California

The last major battle for Edge and the ECC was the fight for the South Calayeras grove, near San Franciso, California. Yet another forest of the big trees, the grove consisted of the giant Sequoias and also Sugar and Ponderosa pines. A map of the area is shown in Appendix E, Figure 8. Edge marveled at the grandeur of these trees and at the fact that they could still exist in such a metropolitan area. One of these giant trees is pictured in Appendix E, Figure 9. The ECC took on the fight for the grove by suggesting a rather rare proposal for the preservation minded organization. The ECC proposed that the federal government exchange standing timber that it owned in exchange for the South Calaveras Grove, which was owned by a private lumber company. The company, called the Pickering Company, had been in danger of going bankrupt in the 1930s. A substantial loan was made to the company to help it on its way. The officers who granted the loan became major board members of the company shortly after the loan was made. The group apparently became apathetic during the war years and did very little with the company except gain interest on its loan money as a result of the high inflation during the war.

Congress had enacted legislation in 1909 and in 1928 that provided for a timber trade, like the one proposed for the area, to legally take place. Without desiring to bother the Secretary of Interior during the time of war, Edge went to the director of the National Park Service, Newton Drury. Drury agreed that the land should be protected as a state park. The ECC wanted not only the giant Sequoias to be under state protection, but also the Sugar and Ponderosa pines. Their demands made the fight more complex.

¹¹⁴ IBID., page 131.

The additional trees that the ECC wanted to protect were much more valuable to lumber interests, thus the debate was more complex and the adversity greater.

ECC quickly got to work with printing several publications. The first pamphlet, number 86, was entitled "Protect the South Calaveras Grove." The pamphlet, written by Brant, was published in 1942 and paid for by Van Name. With little action being taken in favor of establishing the park, the ECC continued its publications. The fight for the grove continued for nearly a decade. The owners were sent a request that no lumbering be done in the spring of 1951 since a decision was close regarding the status of the South Calaveras grove. Unfortunately, the company defied the government. At this time, the ECC made congress aware of the scandal that had occurred nearly two decades earlier regarding the Pickering loan. This raised eyebrows in Congress. The Pickering Companies caved in to the pressure from the bad publicity and, as a direct result of ECC involvement, the South Calaveras Grove was saved.

Towards the end of the fight for the Calaveras, Edge became active with the fight for the Bald Eagle in Alaska. Although there is little published material about Edge's involvement with this crusade, she did acknowledge in a note to Irving Brant that she had become too busy for the South Calaveras campaign. She said that she "...must make a choice, (and) I owe more to the Bald Eagle in Alaska than to the Calaveras Grove" Edge, perhaps identifying with the free spirit of our national bird, claimed that, during the campaign, the "...bald eagle appears to have only myself...." Edge never followed others leads in her preservation and conservation journeys. She always fought for what she felt was worthwhile fight. By reviewing Edge's historical crusades, it is clear that

¹¹⁵ Edge to Brant. May 16, 1949. Hawk Mountain.

the control of the co	
there were many issues that Edge thought were pertinent and worthwhile throughout her	
lifetime.	

Chapter 6: Epilogue: The Legacy Continues

What Rosalie Edge did for environmental policy and the conservation movement will never be forgotten: her work is with us now. Although she may have been only an amateur in her practices, her professional, yet radical, tactics led to an increased awareness in the conservation problems of her era. Edge was the backbone of the ECC, and when she passed away in 1962, the ECC died as well. Peter Edge, her son, knew full well that the end of the ECC crusades were over. Peter knew that his mother's extension of her "alter ego" would only exist in the memories of those so closely involved: Dr. Van Name, Dr. Hornaday, Irving Brant, and many others. Edge and her group of crusaders helped to sway public opinion and gain the attention of politicians and leaders that would influence government policy the most. Through her involvement with the ECC, primarily a one woman interest group, she helped the conservation movement grow. Additionally, she has been immortalized through her establishment of Hawk Mountain, Figure 1,

Edge had become caught up in the conservation movement at a time when the general public was becoming aware that problems existed with current government, industrial, and private practice that could potentially lead to devastating effects on the environment. In 1877, Edge entered into a world where few ever receive little advanced education and communication was poor. In the late 1800s, many people gathered interest in the environment and ecology (although the term was scarcely in existence) through the work of transcendentalists like Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson. People began to understand how man and nature harmoniously related to one another. As the

country's awareness grew, different theorists and environmentalists appeared on the scene. In the early 20th century, John Muir and other loyal preservationists crusaded for a greater awareness for the natural environment. The respect that these individuals, Edge included, held for the environment was pious. Edge continued with her preservation work learning as she crusaded while the rest of the country continued to learn about conservation and preservation issues as well. With the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916, the federal government was also turning its head towards environmental politics.

Roosevelt and Pinchot stressed for a utilitarian approach to our national resources which meant that they were in favor of a conservative use of our natural resources. The management of these resources under this philosophy was based upon a scientific approach. This trend continued of utilitarian management and philosophy continued within the government throughout Edge's life.

Upon the publication of A Silent Spring in 1962, Rachel Carson took over what Rosalie Edge had begun. Carson continued to encourage the movement that Edge had help to start. However, it was Carson who received the credit for awakening a nation to the dangers of spoiling the environment. She specifically condemned the use of the now illegal pesticide DDT and explained how contamination from the poison was threatening to humans and nature. Her words shocked a nation into faced a harsh reality and led to the modern day environmental movement that has continued to grow since the book's release. In contrast to Edge, Carson gained national attention upon the national publication of her book. Although it was distributed on a national basis, most of Edge's work went largely unrecognized. Edge was a silent crusader that did not make a lot of

waves with the general public, whereas Carson hit on a national nerve. The country also felt the shock of major catastrophes such as the Cuyahoga River fire in 1969, when the river caught on fire from the spark of a sailor's cigarette. Although Carson is credited with the public involvement of the present day movement, Edge should be equally credited. Carson actually reawakened America to conservation and the present day environmental movement. What started as a trend for environmental awareness has now become a way of life for the American public.

Throughout the 1960s and continuing through the 1970s, when President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act in 1970, the public and government concern for the environment continued. Political activity progressed much more quickly and with more vigor than ever before. A shift occurred throughout the mid 1970s and early 1980s and the trend slowed. Throughout the early part of the Reagan era, the American public, and moreover industry, felt over-regulated by the federal government. There was an almost immediate backlash after Reagan made cutbacks in environmentally related programs and agencies. Environmentalists reappeared throughout the country. Some of the most radical reformers ever in the environmental movement, such as Dan Foreman and his Earth First! followers, became active.

Since this reemergence of environmental activists, the federal government has assumed a bigger role in establishing environmental regulations and public policy. The American public has become increasingly more dependent upon government, science, and technology to correct many of the problems that currently exist. Zachary Smith, an environmental policy scholar notes that with, "...environmental policy, faith in science,

technology, and technological breakthroughs that will make everything okay can be found everywhere."¹¹⁶ The public relies on policy that will force technology to meet the requirements of new regulations set to protect the environment and general health. This reliance can be seen with more modern environmental threats such as global warming and the greenhouse effect, and through national disasters such as the Exxon-Valdez accident. Policy will most likely continue to be that which forces corporations and industry to develop new technologies that will reduce the environmental hazards and risks to the public and consumers.

From a corporate standpoint, economics are the driving force in most policy issues, whether they involve environmental protection or not. The government operates on this same premise. Taxes, in the form of permits, are already bestowed upon corporations for their releases of hazardous and nonhazardous waste products. However, their are newly emerging trends that suggest that corporations should operate not merely on an economics-only standpoint, but also on the belief that benefiting society and the environment through low risk and, moreover, healthful industrial practices to better serve the community and the corporation. Risk assessment has become a focus of many corporation in determining how "risky" their business practices are to the environment. The government has established acceptable levels of risk that companies can maintain. Companies try to minimize risks to the community and to the natural habitat of environmental hazards before any emergency takes place.

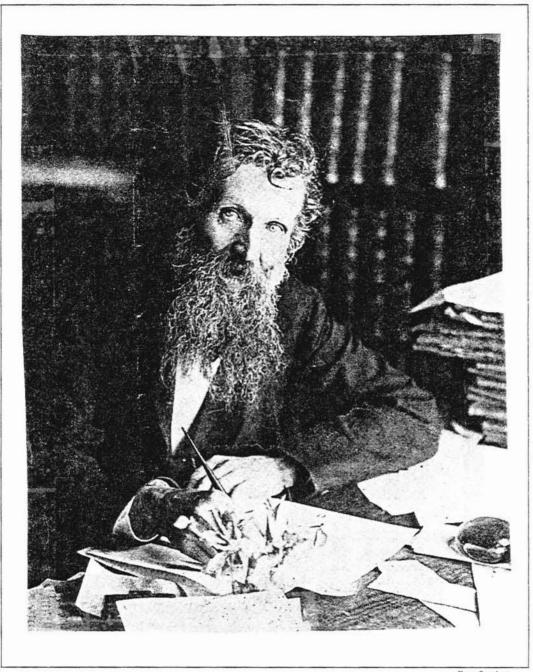
This holistic approach to conservation and preservation would be an approach that I believe Edge would advocate. Being a remarkably intelligent woman,

¹¹⁶ Smith, Page 10.

Edge was aware of both environmental and societal needs. She used her personal influence and charm to sway mass opinion and influence political figures. Her political tactics, including the use of her elite interest group, are very much used today by both those wishing increased conservation policy and by those who are opposed to this government intervention. Additionally, the use of extreme tactics by environmental groups such the Sea Shepherds and Earth First! would be an approach of which a modern Edge would approve, although she may not participate with them directly. Regardless of any tactics that Edge may employ today, Americans have the benefits of enjoying Edge's work of yesteryear today. Her legacies within the national parks and with Hawk Mountain Sanctuary will last for our future generations.

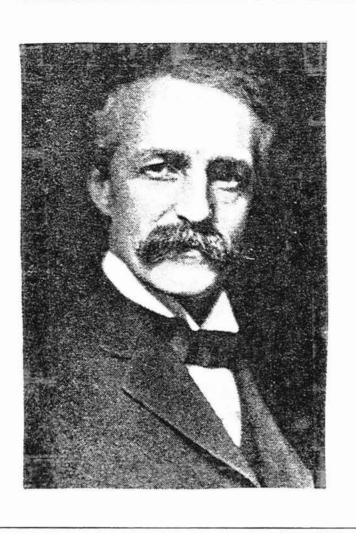
Appendices

Appendix A: Early Conservationists



Fox, Stephen

Figure 1: John Muir, Founder of the Sierra Club



Fox, Stephen

Figure 2: Gifford Pinchot

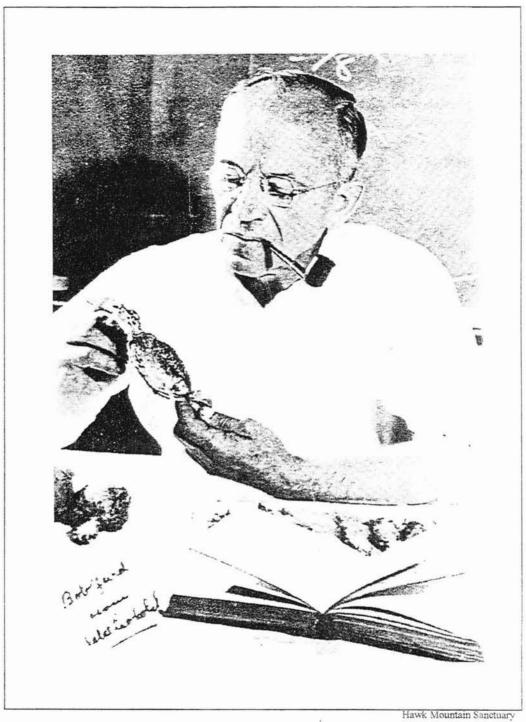


Figure 3: Aldo Leopold



Broun, Maurice

Figure 4: Rachel Carson, author of Silent Spring

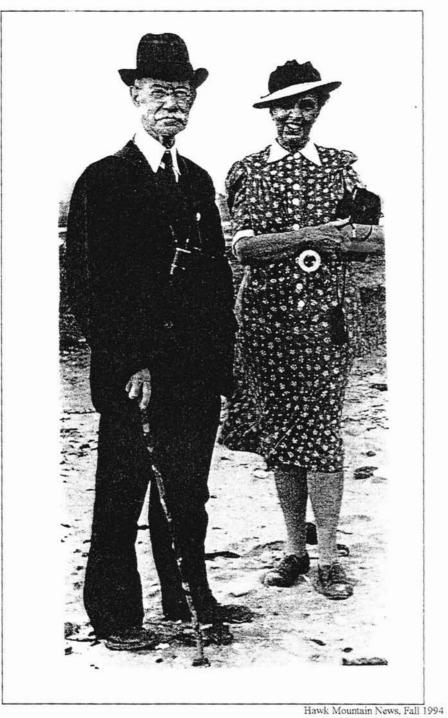


Figure 5: Rosalie Edge with an unidentified companion in 1940

Appendix B: Edge's Early Years



Fox, Stephen

Figure 1: Dr. Willard Van Name

AUDUBON SOCIETY MEMBERS!

Compare this pamphlet with the report of the Hamlin-Barbour Investigating Committee of August 19th, 1931.

A CRISIS IN CONSERVATION

Serious Danger of Extinction Of Many North American Birds

If bird students and nature lovers are led by self-congratulatory reports of bird protection organizations or by the deplorable and astonishing indifference to bird destruction and extermination that scientific and ornithological associations exhibit, to suppose that all is going well with our native birds, they are due to get a rude awakening before many years have passed. Effective protection for our song and insectivorous birds against willful destruction may be nearly an accomplished fact, and the former wholesale sacrifice of bird life for millinery purposes has ended, permanently we hope, as far as this country is concerned. In all other cases our success is far from complete; in many cases there has been no success at all and no sincere effort is being made to achieve any. The results that we are paying for we do not get, and the outlook for the long survival of many of our most beautiful and most conspicuous and most interesting native birds has become a poor one. The earnestness, activity and efficiency which characterized our bird protection efforts and our organizations for that purpose during the early years of the present century has not been maintained.

LET US FACE THE FACTS NOW RATHER THAN ANNIHILATION OF MANY OF OUR NATIVE BIRDS LATER

Factors destructive to bird life increase almost from day to day, but appeals and protests many times repeated have not had the slightest effect on the complacent inertia and perfunctory routine of those to whom the public has been intrusting bird protection work and bird protection money, and what is vastly more serious, the responsibility for the future existence of a large part of our American bird fauna. This pamphlet has therefore been printed for distribution not to the public in general, but especially to those who are giving evidence of their interest in our native birds by membership in organizations for bird study, nature study and wild life protection and, most of all, to those who are making contributions for bird protection work. The remedy is in their hands.

THE SITUATION WITH WHICH WE HAVE TO DEAL

With the surprising increase of popular interest in nature study that the last few years have shown and with sums of money available that the pioneers in bird protection work of a generation ago did not ever hope for, results have grown less instead of greater. The expenditure of public funds

Denver Public Library, Department of Western History

Figure 2: "A Crisis In Conservation," reprinted as a fourth edition by the ECC in 1931

AUDUBON SOCIETY MEMBERS!

Compare this pamphlet with the report of the Hamiin-Barbour Investigating Committee of August 19th, 1931.

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Figure 2: "A Crisis In Conservation," reprinted as a fourth edition by the ECC in 1931



Broun, Maurice

Figure 3: Rosalie Edge at the Entrance to Hawk Mountain

Appendix C: The Audubon Society and the ECC

Table 1: Emergency Conservation Committee Publications

Published in 1929:

- 1. A Crisis in Conservation, First and Second Editions: June (Published as an ECC publication following Dr. Willard Van Name's initial publication.)
- 2. "Framing" the Birds of Prey, First and Second Editions: December

Published in 1930:

- 3. "Framing" the Birds of Prey, Third Edition: October
- 4. The Bald Eagle, Our National Emblem: April
- 5. The United States Biological Survey: May
- 6. Compromised Conservation: October
- 7. The Antelope's S.O.S.: October

Published in 1931:

- 8. Unsportsmenlike Sportsmen: February
- 9. Poison for Our Wild Life: May
- 10. Baiting and Live Decoys: June
- 11. The Last of the White Pelican: June
- 12: Shotgun Conservation: October
- 13. Doomed Yosemite Forests: December
- 14. Compromised Conservation, Second Edition: (No Month Specified)
- 15. Crisis in Conservation, Third Edition: (No Month Specified)
- 16. "Framing" the Birds of Prey, Fourth Edition: (No Month Specified)

Published in 1932:

17. A Little Lesson in Vermin: April

- 18. It's Alive! Kill It!: April
- 19. It's Alive! Kill It!, Second Edition: May
- 20. Slaughter of the Yellowstone Park Pelicans: September
- 21. Save the Yosemite Sugar Pines: October

Published in 1933:

- 22. Blood Money for the Audubon Association: January
- 23. Blacker the Crow: February
- 24. Conservation Today, Annual Report: February
- 25. Hands Of f Yellowstone Lake: February
- 26. Steel-Trapping by the Audubon Association: November
- 27. Disaster to the Yellowstone Park Elk Herds: December

Published in 1934:

- 28. A Last Plea for Waterfowl: January
- 29: Emergency Conservation Committee Report: February
- 30. The Tragic Truth About the Elk: April
- 31. Montana's Sanctuary for Duck Killers: (No Month Specified)
- 32. The Proposed Olympic National Park: (No Month Specified)
- 33. The Proposed Olympic National Park, Second Edition: June
- 34. Live and Let Live: August
- 35. The Waterfowl Get a Raw Deal: August
- 36. U.S. Bureau of Destruction and Extermination: September
- 37. Sanctuary Do We Mean It?: September
- 38. The Audubon Steel-Trapping Sanctuary: September

Published in 1935:

- 39. Fighting the Good Fight: January
- 40. Save the Bald Eagle: January
- 41. Where Do You Stand on the Matter of Shooting?: (No Month Specified)
- 42. Is It "Good-bye" to America's Waterfowl?: March
- 43. The White Pelicans of Great Salt Lake: May
- 44. Twelve Immediately Important Problems of the National Parks and National Forests: May
- 45. The Collapse of Waterfowl Protection: June

Published in 1936:

- 46. The Waterfowl are Yours: January
- 47. Forward Into Battle, Annual Report: January
- 48. The Walgren Bill H.R. 7086
- 49. The Future of Waterfowl Protection: (No Month Specified)
- 50. Roads and More Roads: March
- 51. "Framing" the Birds of Prey, Fifth Edition: April
- 52. The Migratory Bird Treaty With Mexico: May
- 53. The Drought Stricken Waterfowl: August
- 54. Finishing the Mammals: October

Published in 1937:

- 55. Facing the Conservation Facts, Annual Report: January
- 56. Three Seasons at Hawk Mountain Sanctuary: February
- 57. Grandeur of the Mighty Tree: February

- 58. Double-Crossing Mount Olympus National Park: March
- 59. The Waterfowl and Common Sense: April
- 60. Man's Friend, The Crow: September

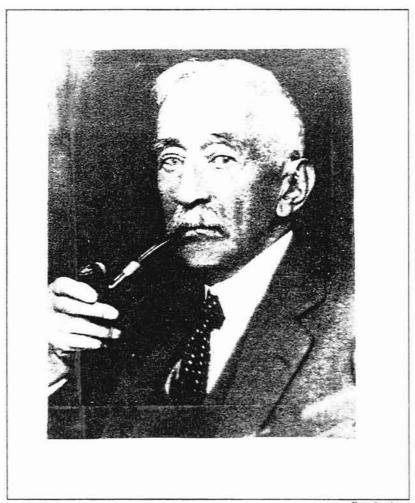
Published in 1938:

- 61. The Olympic Forests for a National Park: initially published in January, followed by a second printing in February
- 62. Protect the Roosevelt Elk: March
- 63. Advance of Conservation, Annual Report: March
- 64. "Sportsmen's" Heaven is Hell For Ducks: June

Published in 1939:

- 65. The Proposed John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park: January
- 66. Conservation Come and Get It!, Annual Report: March
- 67. Saving Kings Canyon: April
- 68. The Impending Ruin of Kings Canyon: June

ECC publication continued in 1940 and thereafter. However, most of the ECC publications after this time were annual reports of the ECC and of activities at Hawk Mountain.



Fox, Stephen

Figure 1: George Bird Grinnell

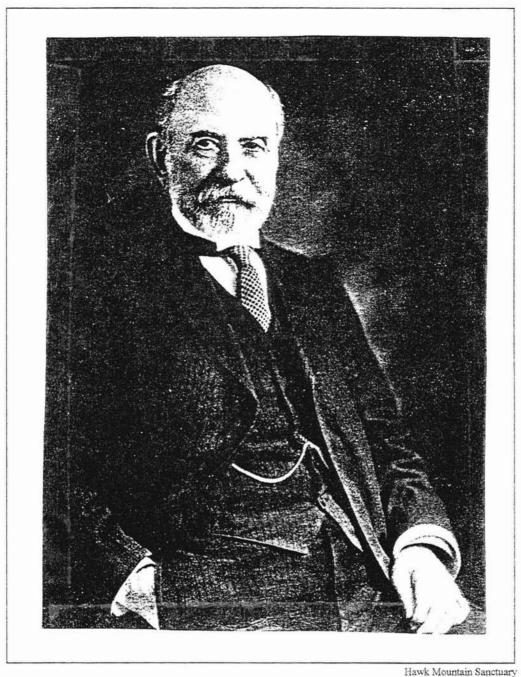


Figure 2: Dr. William Temple Hornaday, 1930 as photographed in "The Advance of Conservation," published in 1937 by the ECC



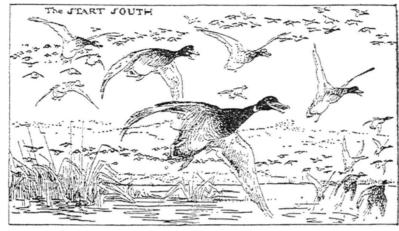
Fox, Stephen

Figure 3: Irving Brant with his wife and daughter on vacation in the 1950s

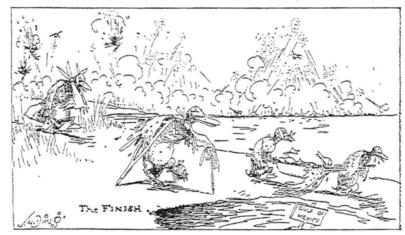
Where Do You Stand on the Matter of Shooting?

by L. RAYMOND TALBOT President of the Brookline Bird Club

IT'S A WONDER THERE ARE ANY DUCKS LEFT COPYRIGHT, 1934, New York Tribune Inc.







Reproduced by permission of New York Tribune, Inc.

Cartoon by the

Hon. Jay N. Darling, Chief of the U. S. Biological Survey showing where Mr. Darling stands on the matter of shooting.

Denver Public Library, Department of Western History

Figure 4: ECC Publication Cover

Appendix D: Personal Projects

Table 1: ECC Conservation Teaching Units

- 1. Teaching Unit I, Shortage of Waterfowl: March, 1934
- 2. Teaching Unit II, Hawks: March, 1934
- 3. Teaching Unit III, Eagles: February, 1935
- 4. Teaching Unit IV, Fish Eating Birds: May, 1935
- 5. Teaching Unit I, The Shortage of Waterfowl, Second Edition, September, 1936
- 6. Teaching Unit V, Owls: September, 1937
- 7. Teaching Unit II, Hawks, Second Edition: September 1937
- 8. Teaching Unit IV, Fish Eating Birds, Second Edition: July 1938
- 9. Teaching Unit VI, Our Nation's Forests: 1938
- 10. Teaching Unit VII, The Two Eagles of North America: 1939

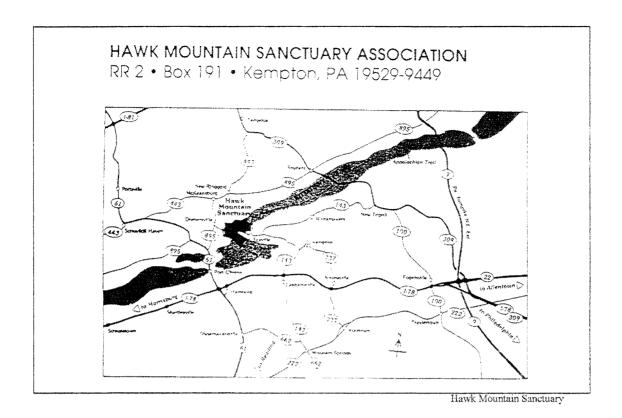


Figure 1: Map and location of Hawk Mountain Sanctuary found in a promotional pamphlet printed by the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary Association

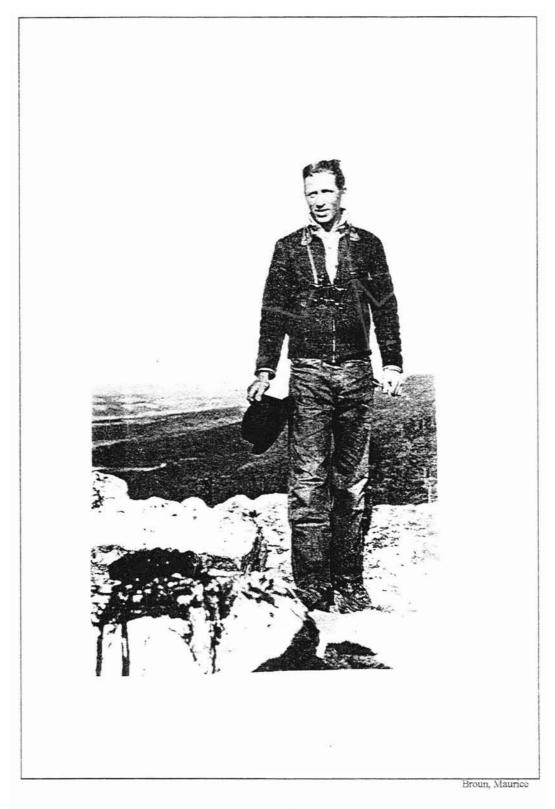


Figure 2: Maurice Broun standing on the North Lookout at Hawk Mountain

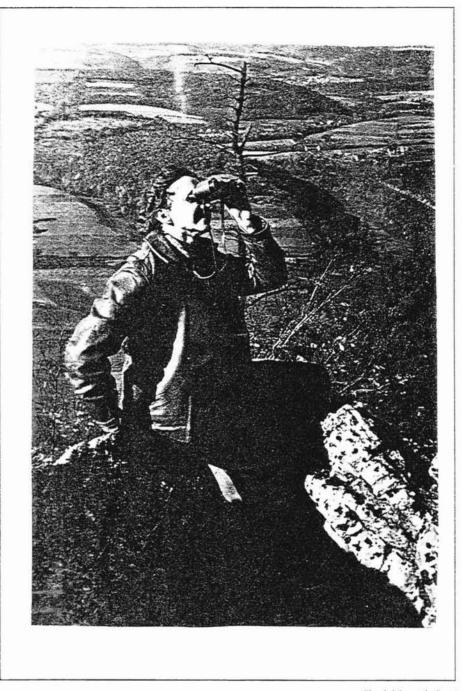
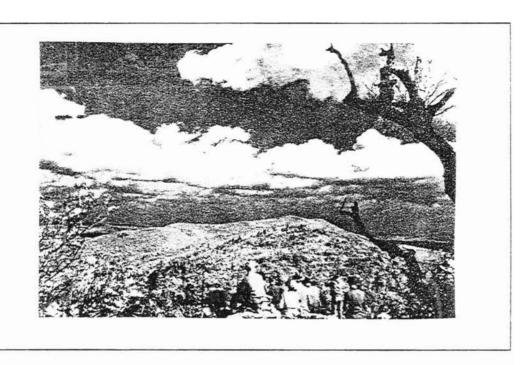
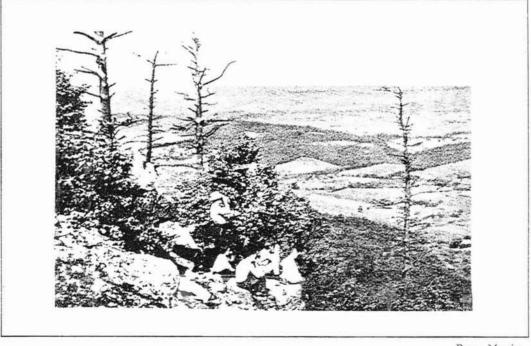


Figure 3: Rachel Carson on the North Lookout at Hawk Mountain Sanctuary



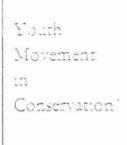


Broun, Maurice

Figures 4 and 5: Views from the North Lookout at Hawk Mountain Sanctuary



Figure 6: Edge's fellow conservation educator, Ellsworth Lumley. This photograph appeared in his memorial service program.



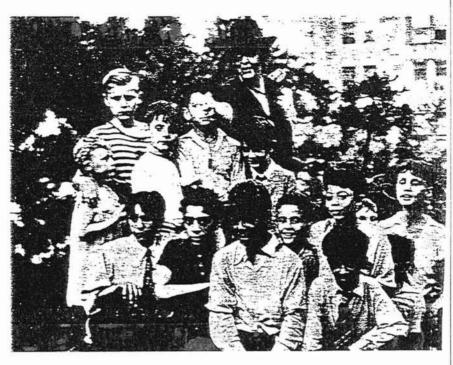


Figure 7: Rosalie with some young conservationists

Appendix E: Project Highlights

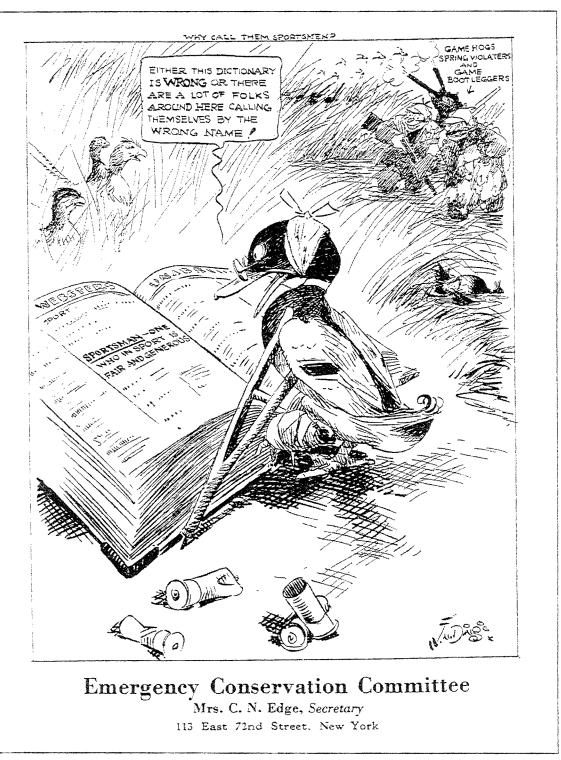


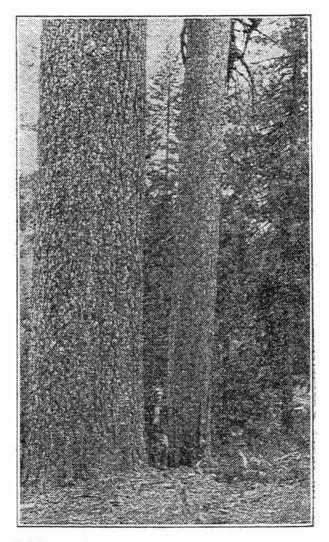
Figure 1: Ding Darling's opinion towards sportsmen is shown through this drawing published in the ECC Publication, "Conservation To-Day."

FACING CONSERVATION FACTS

REPORT of the

Emergency Conservation Committee

Calendar Year, 1936



DOOMED SUGAR PINES OF THE YOSEMITE

New York, 1937

Figure 2: The Yosemite Sugar Pines

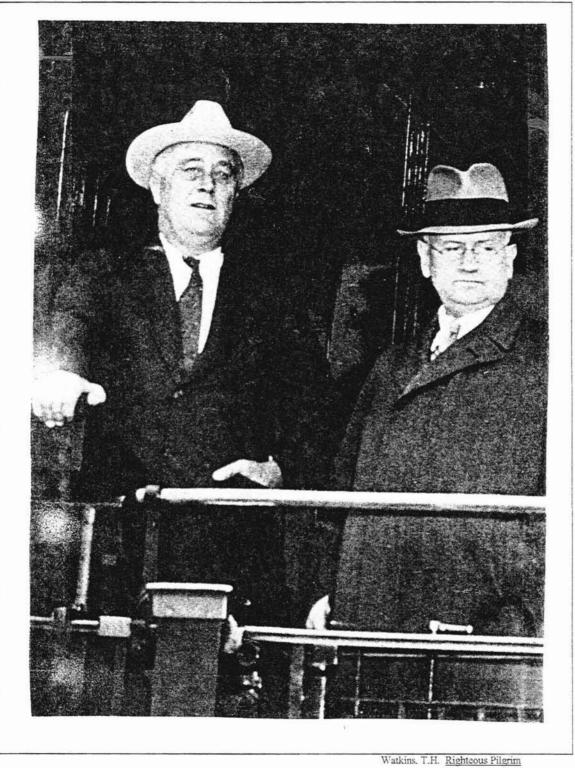


Figure 3: Secretary of Interior Ickes beside President Roosevelt

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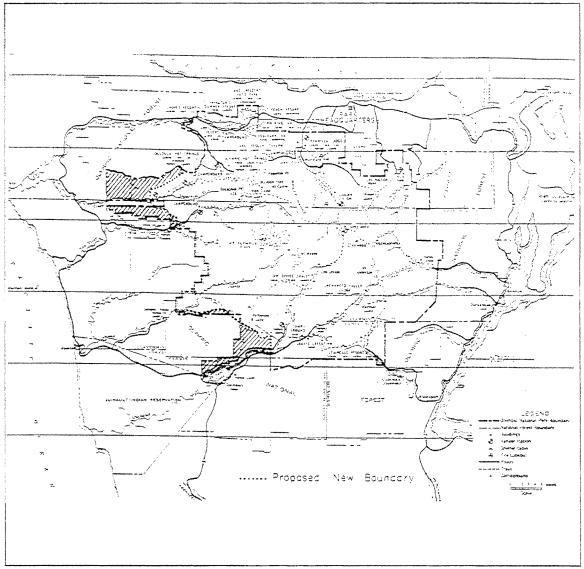


Figure 4: Map of the Olympic National Forest and National Park, with the proposed new boundary borders marked. The map was shown in the ECC pamphlet, "The Olympic Park and Its National Heritage," published in June, 1947

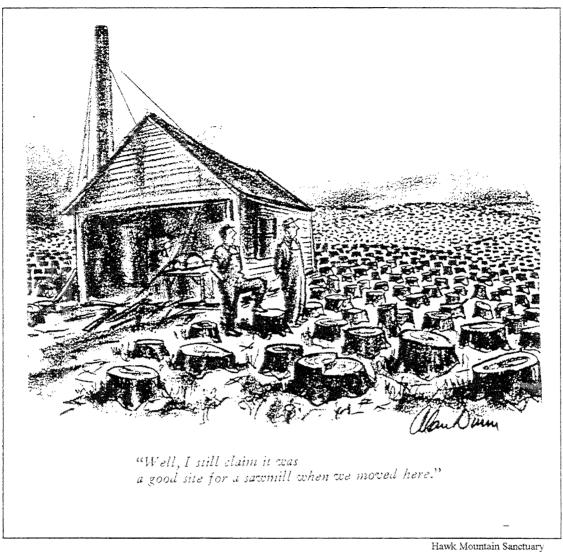
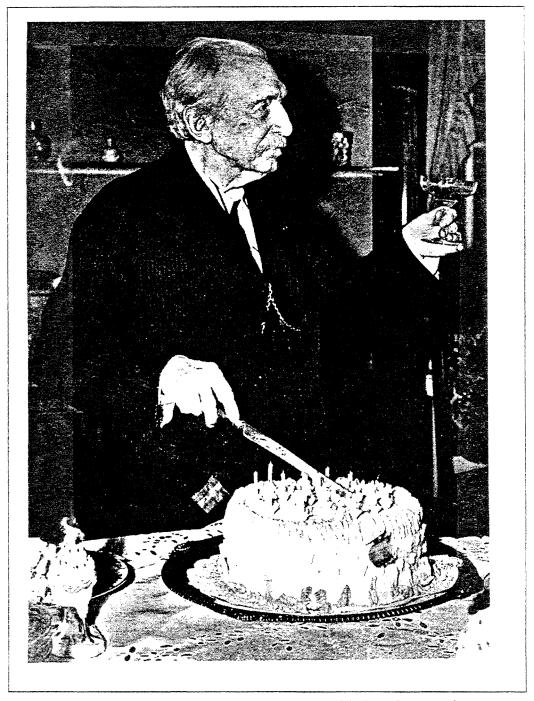


Figure 5: A typical cartoon printed by the ECC. This one appeared in the ECC Annual Report for 1943 entitled, "Conservation in Action: The Necessity for Conservation Action."



Denver Public Library, Department of Western History

Figure 6: Dr. Gustavus Eisen at his 92nd birthday in 1939



Figure 7: Conservation philanthropist, John D. Rockefeller

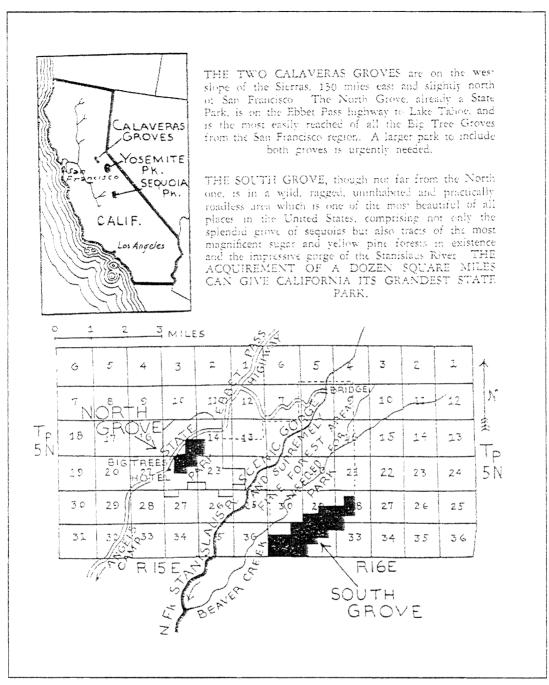


Figure 8: Map of the South Calaveras Grove, printed in "Conservation: How It Works," published by the ECC in 1939

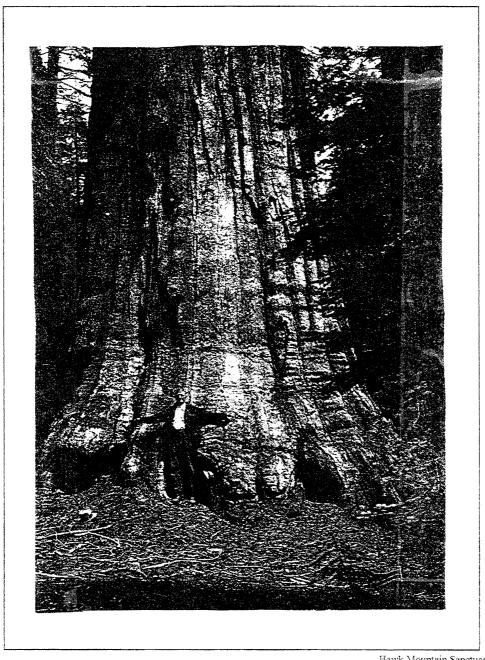


Figure 9: A campaigner for the trees show the tremendous size of this tree in comparison to his arm span.

Appendix F: Edge's Legacy Continuing at Hawk Mountain



Figure 1: Rosalie, immortalized forever at Hawk Mountain

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[&]quot;Its Alive Kill It"

[&]quot;Compromised Conservation, Can the Audubon Society Explain?"

[&]quot;US Bureau of Destruction and Extinction"

[&]quot;The Audubon Steel-Trapping Sanctuary"

[&]quot;Where Do You Stand on the Matter of Shooting?"

[&]quot;Sanctuary - Do We Mean It?"

[&]quot;Fighting the Good Fight, Emergency Conservation Committee Annual Report, 1934"

[&]quot;Live and Let Live" News Letter No. 1, 13th August 1934

[&]quot;Unsportsmen Like Sportsmen"

[&]quot;The Waterfowl and Common Sense"

[&]quot;Conservation To-Day"

[&]quot;Facing the Conservation Facts"

[&]quot;The Olympic Heritage and Its National Heritage"

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VITA

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Masters of Science

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MOVEMENT

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