Maine History

Volume 39
Number 2 *The Early Coast of Maine*

Article 4

6-1-2000

The Administrative Code of 1931: William Tudor Gardiner and Government Reform

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In January 1929, nine months before the stock market crash that ushered in a new age of active state government, William Tudor Gardiner delivered an inaugural address that outlined his vision for thoroughgoing governmental reorganization. His legacy would be a state apparatus streamlined to meet the challenges of the modern era.

Photo courtesy of Miss Margaret Gardiner.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF 1931: WILLIAM TUDOR GARDINER AND GOVERNMENT REFORM

By CLAUDE G. BERUBE

Welfare reform, downsizing government, and making government more efficient are issues that could be taken from some 1990s political candidate's campaign handbook. But they have been longstanding themes in Maine's political history. Administrative reform was a key element in William Tudor Gardiner's two terms as governor from 1929 to 1933. No study of Gardiner's career would be complete without examining the events encompassing the Administrative Code of 1931, a comprehensive reform bill that was intended to change the way Maine government operated. Claude G. Berube earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Saint Anselm College in 1988 and his Master of Arts in history from Northeastern University in 1990. He is currently writing a biography of Governor William Tudor Gardiner. An officer in the U.S. Naval Reserve, he is a native of Lewiston, Maine, and currently resides in Virginia. He would like to thank Miss Margaret Gardiner of Woolwich, for their interviews and permission to review and use material from Gov. Gardiner's personal papers and photographs.

ON the afternoon of January 8, 1929, the Maine House of Representatives was filled with legislators from both chambers, judges, and other dignitaries, and the balcony full of reporters, family, and friends. At the podium stood a face familiar to the audience. To most, this was their "Tudor," the gentleman from Gardiner who until two years previously had served as their speaker. In this, his inaugural address, he planted the seed for his administration's next two years:

> All the State's activities should be under constant survey for any possible consolidation that might make for efficiency and economy . . . We may well contemplate the possibility of such a departmental reorganization as would group the State's activities under very few heads . . . [This] would make it easier for our citizens to keep in touch with State affairs. The first function of a government should be to see that its own agencies are proper and efficient—to the end, not of much government, but of good government.[1]

He further advocated changes to the health and welfare systems. Welfare, he argued, if paid out to undeserving citizens, resulted in a "virtual misappropriation of funds."

Gardiner's, and therefore Maine's experience was not an isolated experiment in the crucible of American governance. It was, instead, part of a greater movement to overhaul state governments dictated by what reformers viewed as archaic systems utterly unsuited to meet the challenges and demands of the twentieth century. Federal agencies had made similar attempts at reorganization.[2]

Throughout the country, the tide of government reform was apparent. New measures defined by terms like efficiency and economy were being debated and adopted. States enlisted the aid of professional social scientists who could impartially evaluate the condition of their respective governments and recommend reforms. Many states turned to an organization established in 1906 noted for such surveys: the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, later called the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA).[3] The Institute was known for its "highly credible, non-partisan research work."[4]

Though the NIPA had succeeded in reforms elsewhere, it had not had the opportunity to conduct its work in Maine until Governor Gardiner sought it out. The NIPA came to the attention of Gardiner because it had worked in Virginia, and Gardiner had close relations with Virginia governor Harry Flood Byrd. Maine, with its various agencies, boards, and commissions, and its desperate need of fiscal review, was well-suited for the type of analysis at which the Institute excelled.

Truly efficient management, reformers argued, depended upon a sweeping overhaul of administration, not just an improvement in fiscal control. With their haphazard arrangements for implementing policy and their expanded programs and employees, state governments were prime candidates for reorganization. Between 1917 and 1929 a third of the states streamlined their administrative structures.[5]

What course of action would the State of Maine take? Would it remain with the majority, staying the course, or would it seek out new approaches and initiatives to streamline government? The answers would lie with the man addressing the legislature as the new governor.

Born in 1892, William Tudor Gardiner was from a prominent New England family, after whom the town of Gardiner is named. He was the sixth generation to live at the family's estate, "Oaklands," and received his education (and accolades as a superior athlete) at Groton, Harvard, and Harvard Law School. In 1917, when the United States entered the war raging in Europe, Tudor (as he was known) enlisted as a private and

was chosen as a sergeant and later lieutenant. As early as basic training in the infantry, Tudor knew what he wanted to do after the war: become Governor of Maine.[6]

He was first elected as a state representative from the town of Gardiner in 1920 and reelected on two successive occasions. In 1924 he became speaker of the House at age thirty-two. Throughout his six years as a state representative, his weekly reports on the legislature's activities to his home-town newspaper were humorous, pithy, and informative, revealing a style of communication that would serve him well as Governor.

He decided that 1928 would be the year to run for governor. In the Republican primary, he garnered more votes than his three opponents combined. Later that year in the September general election against Democrat Edward C. Moran of Rockland, Gardiner won by the largest margin of victory ever for a Maine governor, besting Moran 151,446 votes to 66,555. He became the second youngest man elected governor in Maine's history.[7]

Measures to reform government were not foreign to the Maine legislature. From 1921 to 1923 it had considered the Cole Committee Report under Governor Percival Baxter. The committee, chaired by Representative Aaron B. Cole of Elliot, included two members of future influence: Senators Hodgdon Buzzell and Frank Holley, both of whom later became senate presidents. The Cole Committee Report included thirty-nine pages of recommendations, such as consolidating the Bank Commission and Insurance Commission, creating a welfare commission, limiting the governor's contingent fund, and transferring enforcement of motor vehicle law from the Highway Department to the Secretary of State. Only the last two were enacted. In 1924, Ralph Owen Brewster was elected Governor of Maine, and in his inaugural address he advocated simplifying government. Although he launched a financial survey of the government, his efforts for reform met with even less success than Baxter's.

Unlike his successors, Gardiner made consolidation the centerpiece of his administration. In his first few months as governor, Gardiner began cultivating support in the legislature and beyond for a survey of Maine's government. The radio was still a novelty, so newspapers were the most important source for news and information. In the press, support grew accordingly: "Governor Gardiner is performing a real service for the state in advocating the consolidation of departments and a greater concentration of their work. . . . Government of all sorts has been growing like a weed in this country for a number of years now, and it's

time to do some pruning and transplanting."[8] Without this publicity, Gardiner recognized, his effort would fail. Later he recalled that the reason the Cole Committee Report had failed to achieve greater success was because its benefits had not been properly argued before the people of Maine.

Gardiner sought the counsel of several other governors, especially Harry Byrd, whom Gardiner greatly admired.[9] As governor of Virginia from 1926 to 1930, Byrd had implemented his own version of administrative reform based on a survey conducted by the NIPA. Following enactment of his reform measures, the state of Virginia reported an annual savings of $800,000.

Certainly by July 1929, Gardiner was well acquainted with the NIPA, for in a letter to the Institute, he outlined his own opinions on the issues to be examined in a survey of the Maine government. "The problem of welfare work in Maine has bothered me for a good many years. . . . I know little of the science of welfare work and I think welfare work has grown up in Maine in a haphazard rather than in a scientific way. . . . We

Having settled into the Blaine House, Governor Gardiner, here with his wife Margaret, made departmental consolidation the centerpiece of his administration. His first step was to publicize the plan widely.

Maine Historic Preservation Commission photo courtesy Earle Shettleworth

have 41 separate departments, or separately managed institutions. This is admittedly too many."[10] Later correspondence revealed his intention to combine the departments of Banking and Insurance; he also planned to combine several environmental agencies into a Department of Conservation.

In December 1929, Governor Gardiner traveled to New York City to commission a survey of Maine state government. In addition, he met with representatives of The Spelman Fund, an organization which played a pivotal role in his mission. Direct involvement by a state executive in such proceedings was highly unusual; Gardiner's active role was indicative of his resolve. The NIPA reported that it could not undertake such a mission in Maine for another six months, its staff being fully engaged in similar surveys elsewhere. The cost of the a survey was $20,000, and to secure funding was Gardiner's first obstacle.

The legislature was not in session at the time, and Gardiner did not believe it appropriate to obligate money from the Governor's contingent fund. Rather, he intended to fund the survey at no expense to the state. Gardiner consulted his attorney general, Clement Robinson, to determine if the governor could solicit private funds. Robinson reviewed the issue and recommended that Gardiner could manage the funds through his office.[11] Robinson advised authorization from the Governor's Council as well. Within two weeks, Gardiner received approval from the Council to solicit and accept up to $20,000 through private gifts. He succeeded in securing this amount in one fell swoop.

The Rockefeller Foundation, founded in 1913, was one of the largest philanthropic trusts in the country and proved a valuable source to Gardiner. The Spelman Fund of New York (so named after John D. Rockefeller's wife Laura Spelman) was one of the independent organizations operating under the aegis of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Fund was established "for charitable, scientific and educational purposes, including the advancement and diffusion of knowledge concerning child life, the improvement of interracial relations, and cooperation with public agencies."[12] The Spelman Fund supported public administration and intergovernmental relations, most tangibly by through surveys, which were then considered important social tools.

Gardiner had been in contact with the Spelman Fund as early as he had with the NIPA. The trustees granted Gardiner's request for $20,000 in January 1930. Gardiner promptly turned to the NIPA, which announced that it anticipated beginning the survey in May 1930 with completion by September. The result was the *State Administrative Consolida-*

tion in Maine: Report on a Survey of the State Government Conducted for Gov. William Tudor Gardiner.

The Maine gubernatorial election that year involved the same two candidates as in 1928. Republicans in Maine and elsewhere were held accountable by voters for the economic downturn. With the onset of the Great Depression, the Democratic candidate, Edward C. Moran, managed to tap into that voter discontent. Despite this, Gardiner was re-elected.[13] With the election and completion of the survey both behind him, Gardiner approached his new term intent on implementing reform before the end of his political career.

The survey itself, transmitted to Gardiner on October 21, 1930, was eased into the conscience of the state. The Governor's Office released a chapter in the morning and the next in the afternoon every day for a week. This had the impact of concentrating attention from the media on the major points of each chapter rather than attempting to summarize the whole, thereby missing nuances. Gardiner was obviously pleased with the results. Upon the release of the first chapter, he issued a statement: "It represents the most comprehensive document on the Government of Maine that has ever been made. Nothing can be more advantageous to the people of a State than to have an orderly, efficient, and economical system of state government."[14]

Authors of the survey wasted no time stating what they believed was required, recommending that a "complete administrative reorganization should be undertaken. No halfway measures, no piecemeal 'readjustment' will meet the present situation."[15] Central to the survey was its recommendations to shift power into the hands of the governor, and to condense the twenty-eight various commissions, boards, and agencies into nine major departments (Executive, Finance, Health and Welfare, Agriculture, Highways, Corporations, Conservation, Labor and Education), with commissioners at the head of each. The governor, the survey recommended, should have a four-year term.

The survey further recommended that two positions, the secretary of state and state treasurer, be eliminated and their duties transferred to the Department of Finance. Such language was consistent with the movement in other states. According to political historian Ballard C. Campbell, "managerial productivity necessitated careful cost accounting...and the preparation of a budget under executive (not legislative) direction. The fragmented array of boards and commissions that handled most administrative chores had to be grouped into general departments whose heads were responsible to a single chief executive."[16] In

Maine's political system, the governor required the advice and consent of the Governor's Council, which restricted any initiatives by the state's executive officer. The council was a powerful political body; its seven members were elected by the legislature, providing that body with an important hold over the governor. Gardiner himself was "increasingly aware of the lack of effective executive control."[17] Former Senate President Frank Holley, at the time chair of the Board of Public Welfare Aid, was forthright when he recognized the reaction to such a shift in the balance of political power: Legislators would not want their friends to lose their jobs. Political patronage was indeed as common in the 1920s as at any other period in this country's history, but Holley's comment was significant in the fact that it was made publicly by an administration official and past party leader. Furthermore, it was an overt charge against his own party.

Gardiner appointed a citizens committee, which held five public hearings throughout the state to discuss the survey. In addition, a small executive committee reviewed the details in greater depth with a mission of either accepting or rejecting the survey's recommendations. This eighteen-member bipartisan committee included such figures as former House Speakers Robert Hale and Frank Holley, former Senate President Dora Pinkham (who in 1922 was the first woman elected to the Maine legislature), and Gardiner's two-time opponent, Edward C. Moran. The executive committee's report was transmitted to the legislature on January 21 with Gardiner's personal endorsement before the House and Senate.

The committee unanimously approved the survey recommendations, viewing them as neither drastic nor radical. The committee supported, for example, a "thorough-going financial reorganization" and replacement of the state treasurer by another system.[18] Both Governor Baxter and Brewster had endorsed similar reforms, and Gardiner quoted both the Democratic and Republican Party platforms of 1930 to enlist bipartisan support.

The stage was set for legislature debate. By the end of January, thirty-one Democrats in the legislature vowed to support Gardiner's Administrative Code. Ironically, he faced greater opposition from elements of his own party. Senator Ellis L. Aldrich (R-Sagadahoc) was the most vocal opponent. He and others viewed it as a move toward "centralized government." The Administrative Code was not a Maine idea but "something handed on a platter from New York."[19] Aldrich's xenophobic reaction is curious, as he himself was born in Brooklyn and practiced law in

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS OF EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES ACCORDING TO THE PROPOSED PLAN OF ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION FOR MAINE

Departments, Bureaus and Divisions under Proposed Plan of Organization (*Constitutional Agencies and Functions)	Existing Offices, Boards and Agencies Whose Functions are Transferred to the Proposed Organization
I *Executive Department* *Governor Executive Secretary Bureaus: 1. Administration 2. Military and Police Affairs 3. Buildings and Grounds	*Functions transferred to Executive Department:* *Duties of Secretary to Council (Secretary of State) *Record Keeping of Secretary of State *Adjutant General's duties with reference to Militia Armory Commission State Highway Police Motor Vehicle Inspectors from Secretary of State Superintendent of Public Buildings State Park Commission
II. *Department of Finance* Commissioner of Finance Bureaus: 1. Accounts and Control 2. Purchases 3. Taxation 4. Treasury 5. Motor Vehicles	*Agencies Abolished:* Budget Committee Board of State Assessors *Treasurer of State *Secretary of State Superintendent of Public Printing Farm Lands Loan Commissioners *Functions transferred to Department of Finance:* Preauditing and Accounting from State Auditor Gasoline tax from State Auditor Inheritance tax from Attorney General Motor vehicle licenses from Secretary of State
III. *Department of Health and Welfare* Commissioner of Health and Welfare Advisory Health and Welfare Council Bureaus: 1. Health 2. Welfare 3. State Institutional Service	*Agencies Abolished:* Department of Health Public Health Council Department of Public Welfare Public Welfare Commissioners Board of Hospital Trustees Board of Trustees of Tuberculosis Sanatoriums Board of Prison Commissioners Board of Trustees of Women's Reformatory Board of Trustees of Men's Reformatory Board of Trustees of Juvenile Institutions Board of Trustees of the Maine School for the Deaf Board of Trustees of the State Military and Naval Children's Home Visiting Committee to State Hospitals (Council) Visiting Committee to Boys' School (Council) World War Relief Commission Inspectors of Fish *Functions transferred to Department of Health and Welfare:* Relief activities of Messenger to Governor and Council Inspection and supervision of Milk and other Foods and Drugs from Department of Agriculture Sanitary supervision of public water supply, drainage and sewerage systems from Public Utilities Commission Vocational rehabilitation from Department of Education Promotion of the welfare of Indian tribes from Forestry Department
IV. *Department of Agriculture* Commissioner of Agriculture Bureaus: 1. Animal Industry 2. Plant Industry 3. Inspections	
V. *Department of Highways* Commissioner of Highways Advisory Highway Board	*Agency Abolished:* State Highway Commission
VI. *Department of Corporations* Commissioner of Corporations Bureaus: 1. Banking 2. Insurance 3. Securities 4. Charters	*Agencies Abolished:* Bank Commissioner Insurance Commissioner *Functions transferred to Department of Corporations:* Incorporation from the Secretary of State
VII. *Department of Conservation* Commissioner of Conservation Bureaus: 1. Fish and Game 2. Forestry 3. Geology	*Agencies Abolished:* Sea and Shore Fisheries Commission *Functions transferred to Department of Conservation:* State Geologist Forest Commissioner Hydrographic and topographic surveys from Public Utilities Commission Commissioner of Inland Fisheries and Game
VIII. *Department of Labor* Commissioner of Labor	*Agencies Abolished:* Commissioner of Labor and Industry and State Factory Inspector *Functions transferred to Department of Labor:* Industrial Accident Commission State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation

With a Rockefeller foundation grant, Gardiner completed a study of Maine's numerous departments and agencies. As the report, titled *State Administrative Consolidation in Maine,* was disseminated, it became clear that there would be opposition—not least of all from the Ku Klux Klan.

New York City from 1901 to 1923. Concern about the perceived shift in power was not unique to Maine. As Campbell points out, "constitutional rules and legislators' fears that reorganization would lessen their influence and inflate the costs of government slowed movement in this direction."[20]

By March opponents of change were eager to find subversive plots behind the Code. Representative Roger D. Leonard (R-Hampden), in a simple half-page hand-written letter to the Spelman Fund, asked about its founders and purpose. Spelman officers replied forthrightly, and casually informed the governor of the request. Dora Pinkham, by then an aide to Gardiner, wrote to the Spelman Fund that Leonard "is a political enemy of the Governor's and certainly the most unreasonable objector in the House."[21] Leonard apparently surmised that "tainted money" was behind the Code bill. Further, a few newspaper columnists implied that "the whole movement for reorganization of state governments was a deep laid capitalistic plot, for the purpose of creating governments which could be more easily controlled."[22] Representative Ralph W. Farris (R-Augusta) threw down the gauntlet: "Before [the bill] goes through, I shall offer an amendment that it be submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection."[23] It was one of the first public indications that a statewide referendum was in the works. On April 2, the proposal for a referendum was rejected.

The bill, as it was sent to the legislature, called for reductions to Maine government, specifically the number of departments to four: Finance, Health and Welfare, Sea and Shore Fisheries, and Education. Although it did not eliminate the positions of secretary of state or treasurer or diminish the role of the Executive Council, the Code did eliminate twenty-eight boards, agencies, and commissions. In addition, forty-five independent spending agencies were combined into one central office, immediately resulting in a ten-percent savings to the state. The Administrative Code passed the House by a margin of 116 to 24 and the Senate 24 to 3, whereupon it was signed into law by Governor Gardiner at 3:35 PM on that eventful day.

The Code had faced its first hurdle, but a greater challenge was to come. On April 24, individuals dissatisfied with the vote began circulating petitions for a popular referendum. In November, Portland newspapers revealed the origin of the petition as the Ku Klux Klan. A letter had been signed on July 9, 1931 by the Grand Dragon, Hugh G. Kelley, presumably to the membership, proudly stating that the KKK "helped secure 19,000 signatures for the petition."[24] The KKK had a significant following in Maine in the mid-1920s, with membership estimates ranging

from 15,000 to 60,000 statewide. The Klan was influential enough to elect at least two mayors. Its ultimate aim was to "control state politics or at least to place a large number of Klansmen in important elective office."[25]

It is important to note that by 1931 the Klan's influence had waned. Evidence to support significant Klan involvement is tenuous; the only remaining evidence that it was involved in opposition to the Code is the letter. In addition, Governor Byrd's Virginia Code faced overt opposition by the Klan a few years earlier in Virginia. Finally, one of the Code's most prominent opponents, former Governor Ralph Owen Brewster, had forged earlier alliances with the Maine Klan when it was at its apogee during his own gubernatorial campaigns.

In early May, only a few weeks after Gardiner's victory in the legislature, Brewster announced that he was opposed to the Administrative Code, the second former governor from Gardiner's own party to do so. Governor Baxter likewise made his opinion about the Code known six months earlier: "If it be true that our State Administration is in such an unsatisfactory condition, it is a serious reflection upon those who have conducted the State's business for the past generation. . . . The indictment is sweeping but it is not warranted . . . [it is a] misdirected effort. . . . Leave well enough alone."[26] Surprisingly, Baxter himself had supported similar measures through the Cole Committee of 1923.

Although Gardiner faced fierce opposition from Baxter, Brewster, the Chair of the Republican State Committee, and his own council, most newspapers across the state gave the Code favorable coverage. On June 9, Gardiner issued 2,000 copies of an 8,000-word pamphlet on the Code. For the next several months he crossed the state, meeting with citizens and explaining the Code to them. As his daughter recalled in a recent interview, "he spent so much effort on [the Code]. He campaigned in every town for it."[27]

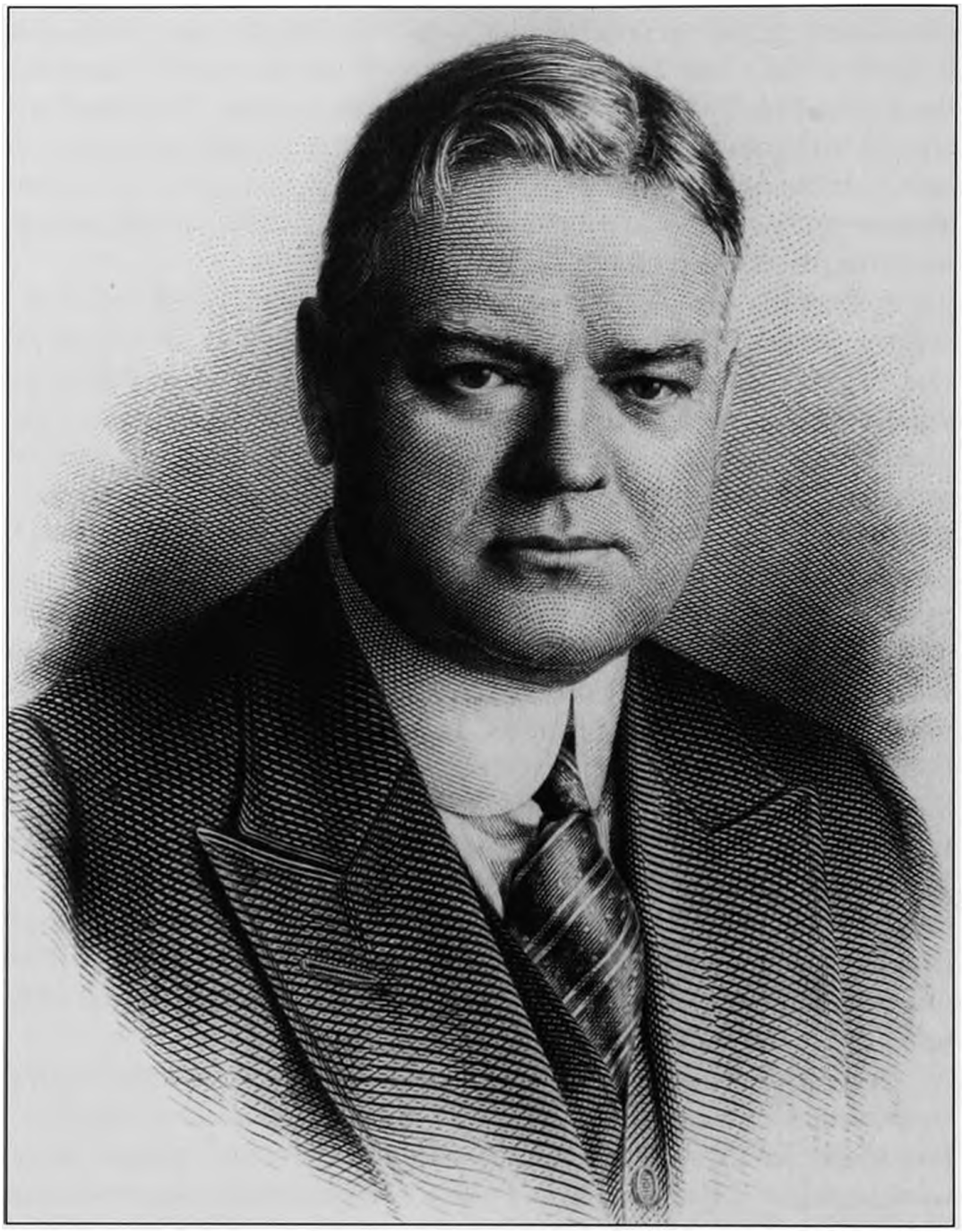
Shortly before the referendum, Gardiner received the endorsement of two important newspapers. On November 6, Lewiston's French-language newspaper *Le Messager*, voice of the city's large Franco-American population, announced its support for the Code. The *Lewiston Daily Sun* likewise supported the Code and, in a full-page article, compared statements from the inaugural addresses of Governors Baxter, Brewster and Gardiner, as well as the 1930 Republican and Democratic party platforms. All seemed to favor goals similar to the Administrative Code. The endorsements paid off; Lewiston voters supported the Code by a larger margin than any other major city. By midnight, votes came in from across the state: Auburn 988 for, 809 against; Augusta 1127–930; Bangor

1658–1418; Lewiston 2557–463; Biddeford 980–2268; and Portland 3265–2920.[28] Gardiner knew that victory for his Code, though less than overwhelming, was secure. The final statewide vote was 41,077 to 30,368 in favor of the Code. Gardiner's daughter, Margaret, recalled being on the floor of the House on the night of the referendum: "I was rushing around with messages. It was very exciting. We were waiting for the results to come in from the towns. Victory came at midnight."[29] Gardiner attributed the successful outcome to the "very many individuals to whom partisan politics made no appeal."[30]

Six months after the Administrative Code became law, the state assessor reported that it had resulted in more than $640,000 in savings. In 1932, in the depths of the Depression, Maine was one of the only states to achieve a balanced budget, partly as a result of cost savings under the Code. A 1935 *Kennebec Journal* article reflected on Maine's comparative solvency: "Because of fiscal restraints and new methods, the initial impact of the Depression was severely diminished by the enactment of Gardiner's Code."[31]

Although the expansion of government in the 1930s reversed many of the trends set by the Administrative Code and other efforts like it across the United States, Congress and the states continued to explore more efficient means of government. In 1936–1937, the U.S. Senate established the Byrd Committee (chaired by the same Harry Byrd whose initiatives as governor of Virginia had influenced Gardiner's Code). Senator Byrd named five advisors to the committee, one of whom was William Tudor Gardiner.[32] In addition, the NIPA continued to influence domestic and foreign government organization. Its president, Luther Gulick, for example, joined the Brownlow Committee to reorganize the office of the president in the 1930s. Both Byrd and Gardiner served with other distinguished public figures on NIPA's Board of Trustees.

In 1947, less than twenty years after the fight for the Administrative Code, President Harry Truman appointed a Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, which completed its work in 1949. To chair this highly publicized commission he chose one of his predecessors: Herbert Hoover. The purpose of the first Hoover Commission was to "study and investigate the present organizations and methods of all departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the Executive Branch of Government."[33] This was followed by a second Hoover Commission (1953–55) directed by President Dwight Eisenhower to "promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business." Together, the two Hoover Commissions made



Voters endorsed Maine's reform code in a referendum in November 1931. Inspired by successes like this, President Harry Truman later appointed a commission to reorganize the Executive Branch of the federal government and selected as chair former President Herbert Hoover.

Hoover Presidential Library photo, courtesy of the author.

587 recommendations, resulting in the elimination and consolidation of some departments and creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. An octogenarian at the time of the Commission, Hoover was reportedly tireless in his zeal and knew the facts of each sub-committee's reports better than the members or staff. Of course, Hoover was no stranger to such surveys—he had served on the NIPA's Board of Trustees for over twenty-five years."[34]

While attempts to reform Maine's government had failed in the 1920s when both the legislative and executive branches were of the same political party, it was Gardiner's single-minded and exhaustive effort that led to the success of the Code. Gardiner identified the problem, found the means to commission the survey, and successfully made his case before the people. His achievement was recognized not only in Maine but nationally. In 1932 *Collier's* magazine featured Gardiner with Governors Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia and Harry Byrd as one of the leaders of state government reform. The article asserted that Maine had "revised [its] governmental machinery to meet [its] income sources." The state had "broken even and is well on the way to a treasury surplus."[35]

At the end of his four years as Governor, Gardiner was only forty years old and was frequently considered a potential candidate for congressional races over the next two decades. In 1936, he was approached by Alf Landon's aides to serve as Landon's running mate in the presidential election, an offer Gardiner apparently quickly dismissed."[36]

There is no indication that Gardiner ever desired another elective office. There are several reasons why he declined to run, but perhaps the most important was his sense of accomplishment: He had seen a need for government reform, and he had guided it to its successful conclusion. As his daughter recalled: "He got the Code through, so he didn't feel there was particularly anything left. He did what he sought to do."[37]

Gardiner later served with great distinction during World War II. He earned his wings and piloted missions during the North African campaign. As Chairman of the Joint Rearmament Commission, he helped to rearm Generals DeGaulle and Giraud and later served as the Eighth Air Force's Director of Intelligence. Perhaps Gardiner's most celebrated mission was in September 1943, when he and Brigadier General Maxwell Taylor were sent by General Matthew Ridgway into Axis-occupied Rome to evaluate an armistice with the new Italian leader, Marshall Pietro Badoglio. When Badoglio shied away from the agreement (four German divisions were surrounding Rome at the time), Gardiner and Taylor managed to contact the American forces and turn back the paratroopers

heading for Rome and an almost certain massacre without the anticipated Italian aid.

After the war, Gardiner served on the boards of several major U.S. corporations. Eisenhower signed the act creating the second Hoover Commission on July 10, 1953. Just three weeks later, on August 2, Gardiner was flying his private plane from a reunion of his old World War I unit when a storm struck and took his life as well as those of his two passengers.[38]

His work was remembered by the many who sent their condolences to his wife. Among them was Dr. Luther Gulick of the NIPA, who wrote: "We have all [at the IPA] felt closer to him than to any other governor for whom we worked not only because of the long span of our close acquaintance and association, but because of the energy and enthusiasm which he threw [in] back of the program of reform and reorganization which grew from our mutual efforts in the State of Maine, and which extended its influence to so many other parts of the country."[39]

After his term as governor, Gardiner continued his public career by serving with distinction in World War II—as did the rest of his family. In the photo (left to right) are Tudor, William Tudor, Margaret, Thomas, Margaret, and Silvester Gardiner.

Maine Historic Preservation Commission photo, courtesy Earle Shettleworth.

NOTES

1. "Inaugural Address to the Maine State Legislature," Maine Legislative Record, January 8, 1929. p. 23. The author thanks Miss Margaret Gardiner of Woolwich for her interviews and for making available Governor Gardiner's papers and photographs.

2. Senate Cockrell Committee (1887–89); the Joint House and Senate Dockery-Cockrell Committee (1893–95); the President's Keep Commission (1905–09); President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency (1910–13); and the House and Senate Joint Committee on Reorganization of Government Departments (1921).

3. It is known today simply as the Institute of Public Administration.

4. *Kennebec Journal*, December 11, 1930.

5. Ballard C. Campbell, *The Growth of American Government: Governance from the Cleveland Era to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 66.

6. Paul Fraser, letter to the editor, *Portland Press Herald*, April 26, 1928. Fraser wrote that Gardiner said, "If I come through the war, I am going to make politics my life work. . . . I am going to work and study and prepare myself, and some day I am going to be Governor of Maine."

7. Gardiner was thirty-six when he was elected governor in September 1928, edging out his predecessor Ralph Owen Brewster by only a few months. Kenneth Curtis was thirty-five when elected governor in 1970, and Albion K. Parris only thirty-four when elected in 1822.

8. *Waterville Sentinel*, June 15, 1929.

9. Miss Margaret Gardiner, daughter of William Tudor Gardiner, telephone interview, September 26, 1995, with the author.

10. Gardiner to Arthur Woods (National Institute of Public Administration), July 3, 1929, folder 265, box 7, record group 4.1, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, North Tarrytown, New York (hereafter SFNYA).

11. Attorney General Clement Robinson to Gardiner, December 31, 1929, folder 265, box 7, record group 4.1, SFNYA.

12. Emily J. Oakhill and Kenneth W. Rose, *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts at the Rockefeller Archive Center* (North Tarrytown, NY: Rockefeller Archive Center, 1989).

13. The final vote was 82,310 for Gardiner and 67,172 for Moran.

14. Papers of William Tudor Gardiner, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine, not dated (hereafter, Gardiner Papers).

15. *State Administrative Consolidation in Maine: Report on a Survey of the State Government Conducted for Gov. William Tudor Gardiner* (New York: National Institute of Public Administration, 1930.)

16. Campbell, *Growth of American Government*, p. 32.

17. Governor Gardiner's second inaugural address before the Maine Legislature on January 8, 1931.

18. Maine Legislative Record, January 12, 1931, p. 70.

19. Maine Legislative Record, March 21, 1931, p. 636.

20. Campbell, *Growth of American Government*, p. 66.

21. Dora Pinkham to The Spelman Fund, March 18, 1931, folder 267, box 8, record group 4.1, SFNYA.

22. Ibid.

23. Maine Legislative Record, March 31, 1931, p. 720.

24. Gardiner Papers.

25. Robert Bonner Whitney, "The Ku Klux Klan in Maine," B.A. Thesis, Harvard University, 1966. The two mayors were John Smith of Saco and C.F. Snow of Rockland.

26. *Portland Sunday Telegram*, November 16, 1930.

27. Margaret Gardiner interview September 26, 1995.

28. *Bangor Daily News*, November 11, 1931.

29. Margaret Gardiner interview, September 26, 1995.

30. Wm. Tudor Gardiner. Privately published commemoration upon his death.

31. *Kennebec Journal*, March 14, 1935.

32. *New York Times*, March 17, 1936.

33. Neil MacNeil and Harold W. Metz, *The Hoover Report 1953–55: What it Means to You as Citizen and Taxpayer.* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1956).

34. In a letter to the author dated January 4, 1996, the Institute of Public Administration confirmed that Herbert Hoover was listed as a member of the Board of Trustees. See also Luther Gulick to Guy Moffett (The Spelman Fund), December 16, 1931, folder 267, box 8, record group 4.1, SFNYA.

35. William Davenport, "States Righted," *Collier's*, June 4, 1932, p. 46.

36. Margaret Gardiner, interview with the author, November 20, 1995, Augusta, Maine.

37. Margaret Gardiner interview, September 26, 1995.

38. One of the passengers was fellow veteran and State Senator Edward Chase who, two decades earlier, had served on the executive committee to review the Administrative Code.

39. Luther Gulick to Margaret Gardiner, n.d., collection of Margaret Gardiner.