

One Hundred Twenty Years of Citizen Involvement with the Wisconsin Natural Resources Board

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This article describes citizen boards as they have been woven into the fabric of Wisconsin history and the condition of the environment for the past 120 years.

In 1867, The Wisconsin legislature created a citizen board that had responsibility for reporting on the condition of the state's forest resources. During the ensuing century, a variety of citizen boards participated in setting of policy and in administration of programs related to the resources of the state. A 1967 merger of two Wisconsin state agencies, the Conservation Department and the Department of Resource Development, resulted in the creation of the current Department of Natural Resources and its governing body, the Wisconsin Natural Resources Board (Center for Public Representation, 1975; Haskell and Price, 1973). The governor appoints board members. These seven individuals serve without compensation, except for their expenses. The state senate must confirm the appointments. Board members serve six-year staggered terms. These citizens supervise the agency, make policy and hire the secretary, who is the administrative head of the agency.

The Wisconsin Natural Resources Board is a highly controversial entity. Nearly every governor since 1967 has criticized its structure and several have attempted reorganization (Thomas, 1989). In spite of this, the Board has remained intact. This is probably due in part to its long standing tradition in a state, that more than most, has a long history of environmental interest. While citizen participation in decision-making is an idea that gained national popularity in the 1960s (Siegel, 1968) and has currently resurfaced in the U.S. Forest Service planning process, citizen participation in environmental decision-making in Wisconsin has a much longer history. The environmental problems have become more complicated and the interest groups more diverse, but the idea of the citizen board has remained intact for most of the state's history.

The Era of Uncontrolled Exploitation: 1967-1895

Early settlement of Wisconsin was relatively slow, due to the fact that most travelers traversed easier routes provided by the Great Lakes highways and by the Ohio and other rivers (Barlowe, 1983). In 1834, the total European population in Wisconsin was only 4,795 (Lapham, *et al.*, 1870).

Commercial fishing probably started on Lake Michigan in the early 1840s. Commercial fishers introduced high-catch gill nets in 1846 (Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, March 1986). Evidence of declining fish populations led to a national policy of fish stocking. The federal government provided funding to states that had a fish commissioner. The funds were to be used in promoting fisheries within the states. In 1874, the legislature appointed the first state Fisheries Commission. The Wisconsin legislature appropriated \$500.00 for the purpose of "promoting the artificial propagation and introduction into this state of the better kinds of fish" (Taylor, 1875). The Fish Commissioners studied the condition of the fishery and procured eggs for stocking Wisconsin waters. The decline of the fishery was evident:

In these places, Kenosha, Racine and Milwaukee, there is a total of one hundred and twenty five miles of gill nets used. There is a total of nets used in the waters of Lake Michigan to extend from one end of the Lake to the other.

During the Year 1875, there has been great complaints of scarcity of fish, and there has been a falling off of at least one fourth; so that it is evident to all that the waters of Lake

Michigan are being gradually depleted of fish (Fisheries Commissioners, 1875).

The degradation of the Great Lakes fishery was not due entirely to over-fishing. The settlers affected this important resource through many of their other activities, such as building of dams, deforestation of watersheds and contamination of spawning beds by sawmill waste (Kuchenberg, 1978). Whatever the reasons for the decline, the fish commissioners focused on stocking and species introduction as a way to solve the problem. The Fisheries Commission requested regulations to protect walleye during their spawning season. The legislature enacted the regulations in 1880 (Fisheries Commission, 1880).

Forestry and fisheries are illustrative of the exploitation of the time. The exploitation was widespread and the scientific community was becoming alarmed (Scott, 1967). The expression of this alarm may have been the early manifestation of the "Wisconsin Idea." The Wisconsin Idea is a term coined in 1912 by Charles McCarthy, founder of the Legislative Reference Library (Carstensen, 1981). It is a term used to describe the participation of Wisconsin academics in the policy-making process of the state (Dresang, 1981). Credit for the Wisconsin Idea has been attributed to Robert M. LaFollette Sr., a Progressive who served both as governor and as U.S. Senator, and to McCarthy (Carstensen, 1981). While the Wisconsin Idea gained both a name and popularity during the LaFollette years, the relationship between the academic and political communities began much earlier in Wisconsin history. Both the University and the State were established in 1848. In early years, scientists, both those formally associated with the University and those who did their research on a more free-lance basis, were the driving forces for the changes in Wisconsin's environmental decision-making processes. Modern day participants in the Wisconsin Idea foray into the policy process by serving on policy boards such as the Natural Resources Board.

Early dissenters from uncontrolled exploitation of Wisconsin's resource wealth were rare. In 1854, Increase Lapham, a Wisconsin scientist, urged protection of forests. Wisconsin had no resource management agency or policy board in existence. Environmental decision-making was largely a legislative function. Figure 1 delineates environmental decision-making at that time. The top of the diagram shows the actors in the political process. Their interactions with the legislature resulted in decisions that fell somewhere on the mission/policy/administration continuum (Svara, 1985). This continuum was a public administration decision model. The realm of legislators was

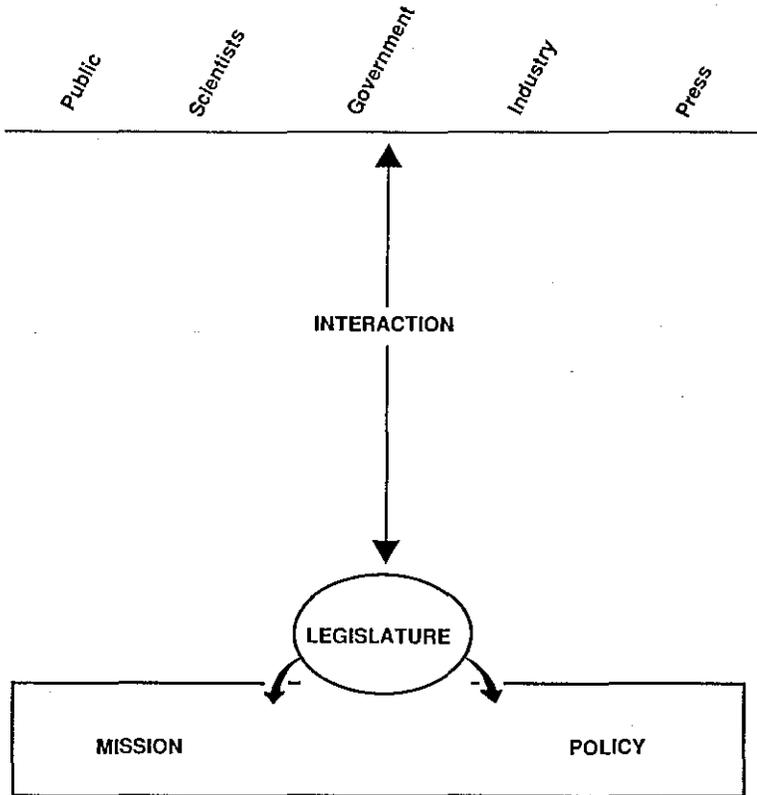


Figure 1: Decision-Making Model for Forestry, 1866

generally at the mission/policy end, while the realm of administrators was generally at the administration/management end. The diagram is much simpler than today's version, in that the legislature was the sole decision-making body. There was no agency and no citizen board. The only decisions that were made by the legislature were in the mission/policy realm. Since no policy was enacted, management and administration were unnecessary. The influence of industry was probably strong, since the settlers saw the future development of the state as dependent upon clearing of the land and the establishment of an agrarian economy (Carstensen, 1958).

In the case of forest policy, Hurst (1983) contends that the absence of any forest management policy was a *de facto* policy of laying

waste to the forest in the fastest possible manner. His rationale for this is that the legislature had the authority to regulate and, in fact, had regulated in another resource area: mining. The historical mood weighed strongly against environmental regulation. Settlers in Wisconsin at the time were of two types: German immigrants who believed that clearing of wooded lands would produce farms as it had in their land of origin, and settlers from New York and other northeastern states who had seen what they thought were similar lands in that region turned into productive farms (Reinhardt, 1983).

In addition, the lumber companies from the Northeast were looking for new forests to exploit and the railroads could see profit in building to serve the lumber industry (Reinhardt, 1983). It says a great deal for the efforts and influence of a few academics that they were able to turn the ear of the legislature when all other constituents were satisfied with the policy of "no policy."

In 1867, the legislature passed a bill establishing the first State Forestry Commission. The legislature charged the Commission with the task of preparing a report describing the possible ill effects of clearing trees in the state. The legislature made a "mission" decision when it decided to study the importance of forest destruction. It appointed three prominent individuals to prepare a report. The only funds appropriated were to cover the cost of printing the report.

Lapham, who was appointed to head the Commission, was a lifelong scientist.¹ Also chosen was J. G. Knapp who was head of the State Horticultural Society. The legislature allowed these men to choose their own third member. They chose Hans Crocker, a prominent lawyer and politician from Milwaukee.² Thus the Commission was made up of two academics prominent in scientific circles and was balanced by an astute lawyer and politician who was popular and influential in many circles.

The Commission prepared and submitted a report that encouraged the planting of shelter-belt trees in agricultural areas (Lapham, *et al.*, 1867). The legislature responded to the report, which warned of climatic changes, fuel-wood shortages, soil erosion and water availability problems, by enacting a law that allowed tax credits for planting of trees on agricultural lands. This is the only forest policy that the legislature enacted for the next 38 years (Hurst, 1983). After the Peshtigo Fire of 1871, the legislature passed regulations that were aimed at fire protection (Wisconsin Conservation Department, 1955), but did not act to control cutting, promote reforestation or protect forests from widespread exploitation.

The Forestry Commission neither asked for a strong policy change, nor did it get one. This seems incongruous, considering the backgrounds of Lapham and Knapp. However, Crocker was a railroad builder (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1899) and the railroads depended upon timber for profits.

In Wisconsin's first construct of environmental decision-making, the legislature acted as the primary decision-maker. The citizen board acted in an advisory capacity. The board had no decision-making authority and its statutory role was purely advisory. It may have had a significant informal role, however, in bringing public attention to the problem of deforestation.

By 1874, the decision-making process began to take on a new dimension with the establishment of the first Fisheries Commission. This group of three unpaid citizens was charged with the administrative and management tasks of procuring spawn for fish stocking. Figure 2 shows the environmental decision-making diagram for fisheries in 1874. The model has a citizen board in a decision-making capacity. Its formal function was to spend appropriated funds to stock fish. That would indicate a largely administrative role in decision-making. The Commission did serve some informal functions. The existence of unsolicited reports to the governor in 1874 and 1875 show that the Commission conducted studies to ascertain the state of the fishery and made policy suggestions to the governor and the legislature. In 1875, the governor commended the group and supported adoptance of their suggestions (Taylor, 1875), including a request to build a fish hatchery, encouragement of private stocking and a suggestion that the fish and game laws be published and distributed in a convenient format (Wisconsin Fisheries Commission, 1874). In addition, the Commissioners' reports show that they were interacting with what might be the first group to lobby on behalf of game protection, the Fish and Game Protection Association.

How did the policy of creation of a Fisheries Commission come to be and why did it not pass out of existence as did the Forestry Commission of 1867? The answer lies in the fact that the federal government had money available for fish stocking. In order to obtain this money, a state had to have a Fisheries Commission to administer the funds (Taylor, 1875).

The first fisheries commission had an interesting mix of appointees. The scientist in the group was Dr. Philo R. Hoy, physician, naturalist and past President of the Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Science and Letters (*Racine Daily Journal*, Dec. 8, 1892). A second appointee, A. Palmer of Boscobel, was evidently an appointment of

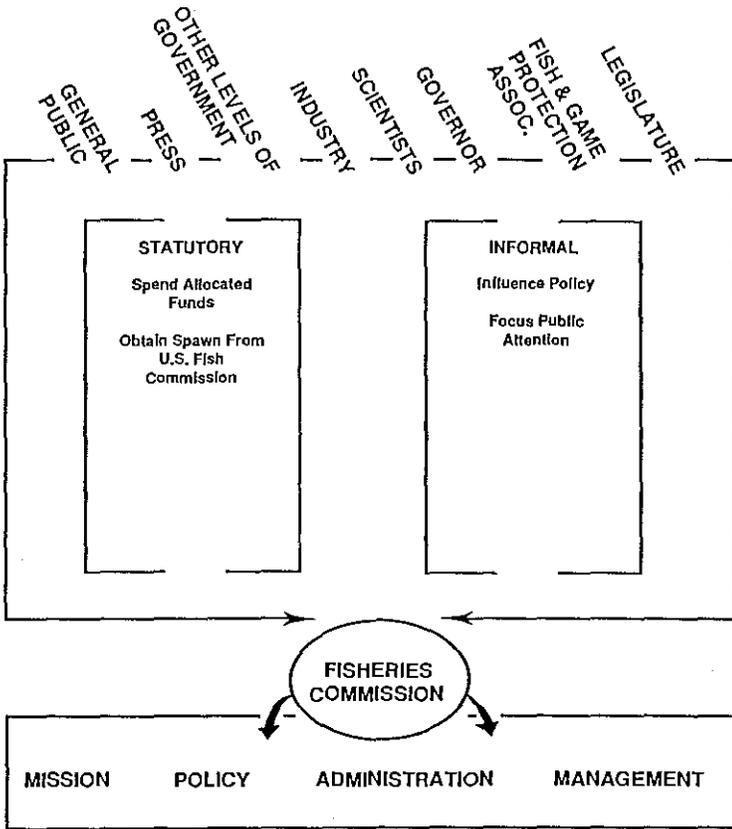


Figure 2: Decision-Making Model for Fisheries, 1874

convenience. He had a fish hatching house where spawn obtained from the U.S. Fish Commissioner was hatched and reared prior to distribution in the waters of the State (Wisconsin Fisheries Commission, 1874). The third appointee, William Welch of Madison, was a lawyer, and a former newspaper man. He had served as state chair for the Whig Party and had been a justice of the peace and an alderman.

In this early period, the only citizen board in existence in the Wisconsin environmental arena was the Fisheries Commission. It and the Forestry Commission of 1867 had served limited statutory purposes, but contributed a great deal in terms of their informal functions. At a time when exploitation of resources was progressing rapidly, there was little oversight of this exploitation. The Forestry and Fisheries

Commissions began to focus the attention of the public and legislature on the limited nature of our resources.

The Progressive Conservation Era: 1895-1915

Interest in conservation issues gained momentum in the late 1800s and early 1900s. There were a number of factors at work that would prove to be instrumental in influencing the direction of the conservation movement in Wisconsin. The first of these was citizen awareness. Citizens, alarmed at the widespread decimation of fish and game, formed numerous sports clubs from 1896 to 1907. The major focus of these groups was lobbying for game protection, promotion of "sportsman-like" conduct, and stocking of game. Also, the Wisconsin Audubon Society, the League of Wisconsin Sportsmen and the Wisconsin Natural History Society were organized during this period (Scott, 1948).

In 1897, the Wisconsin State Forestry Association lobbied for the establishment of a State Forestry Commission to study the state of Wisconsin forests (Carstensen, 1958; Scott, May 1937). An appointed commission surveyed the forest situation and drafted a bill which would establish a system of state forests and provide for their management (Wisconsin Forestry Commission, 1898). The bill did not pass (Wisconsin Conservation Department, 1955).

Against this backdrop of citizen interest in resource protection, agitation by scientists and academics for better policies, the development of a national forestry profession and a backlash against corruption in government, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. became governor of Wisconsin in 1901. LaFollette, a Progressive, brought some of the conservation ideas that had been a cornerstone of Teddy Roosevelt's national Progressive policies to Wisconsin. Two years later, 1903, the legislature passed a bill that created a non-salaried Forestry Commission (Wisconsin Conservation Department, 1955). This commission had three state officials as members: the State Treasurer, the Attorney General and the Secretary of State. In addition, the governor appointed two citizens. In 1904, the Commission hired the first state forester, E. M. Griffith, a former U.S. Forestry Department employee and associate of Gifford Pinchot (Carstensen, 1958).

In 1905, the state legislature revised the forestry law and replaced the Forestry Commission with the State Board of Forestry. In the true spirit of the Wisconsin Idea, Governor LaFollette appointed Charles Van Hise,³ Edward A. Birge⁴ and William A. Henry,⁵ all of the University to serve on the Board. LaFollette (1911) stated:

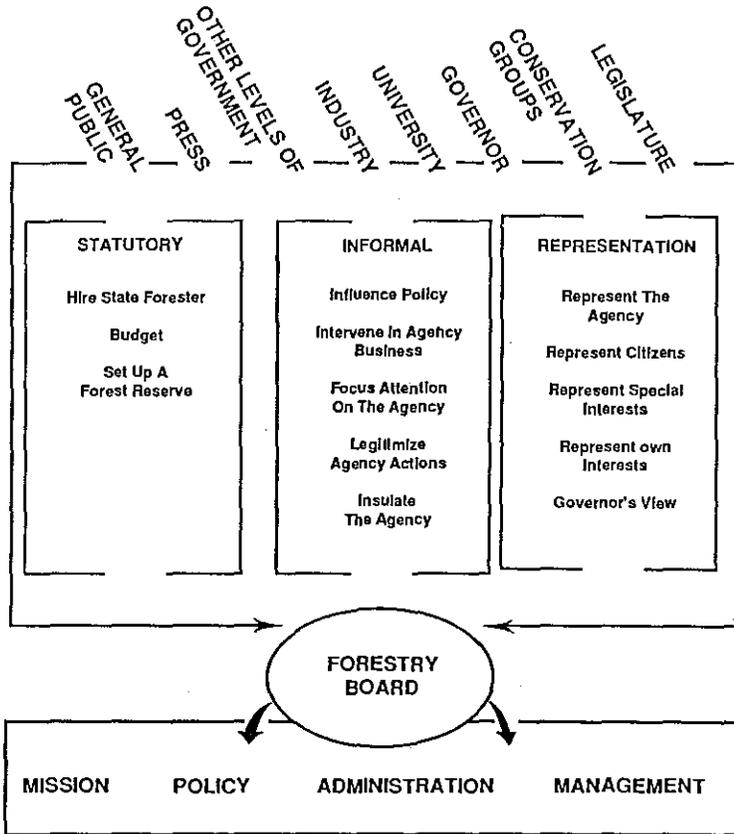


Figure 3: Environmental Decision-Making by the Forestry Board, 1905-1915

I made it a further policy, in order to bring all the reserves of knowledge and inspiration of the University more fully to the service of the people, to appoint experts from the University wherever possible upon the important boards of the state.... a relationship which the University has always encouraged and by which the state has greatly profited.

Figure 3 depicts the structure of environmental decision-making in 1905, as it applied to the Forestry Board. The boxes in the center of the diagram depict the functions of the Forestry Board. Boards have statutory and political functions. The informal representation functions

are the political functions of the board. By this time, a state agency had been added as a client group for the first time. This is the first instance in Wisconsin of a citizen board directing the activities of professional state employees in the natural resources area. The statutory functions of the Board were to hire the state forester, set up a forest reserve system, and spend appropriated funds. By this time, informal functions of the Board were also in place, as were the representation functions. However, the small size of the agency (two employees) and the limited scope of statutory authority probably limited the exercise of the non-statutory functions. It was, however, a tenet of the Progressive movement to have power in the hands of the people and Progressives viewed citizen boards as one way to ensure that.

In 1908, Theodore Roosevelt called a conservation conference of governors, at the White House. Governor James O. Davidson represented Wisconsin. When Davidson returned from Washington, he appointed an ad hoc Conservation Commission to report on the natural resources of the state. This was an advisory body whose efforts resulted in appropriation of money for a soil survey in the state (Scott, June 1937).

Then in 1915, the expansion of citizen boards came to a halt. Emmanuel L. Philipp was elected governor and he came to office with a vision for state reorganization. The following statements are indicative of his philosophy:

One of the tendencies of our state government in recent years has been to create a large number of commissions or bureaus to which has been delegated a large part of the functions of government....It seems to be the inherent nature of such bodies to run to extravagance....The agencies of government should be under the control of the people....The people wish to hold the governor responsible for carrying out a large part of their governmental policy....Under the system of commissions and bureaus as established under our present law, the governor is without power to influence the expenditures of such bureaus (Philipp, 1915).

Governor Philipp had in mind taking tighter control of state government by consolidating agencies and by bringing agency direction more closely under his line authority. In 1915, the legislature abolished all conservation related commissions and consolidated their functions under the direction of a three person, professional, paid Conservation Commission (Aberg, 1964). The three commissioners were F. B. Moody,

a former forestry faculty member from Cornell (Wisconsin Conservation Department, 1955), James Nevin, former Wisconsin Superintendent of Fisheries, and W. E. Barber, game commissioner. The commissioners were paid a salary and expenses. They were appointed for staggered six year terms.

From 1915 to 1927, there was no citizen board involvement in environmental decision-making through the state resource management agency. This is the only period in Wisconsin conservation history when resource management functions were under direct control of individuals who could be removed at the discretion of the governor (this discretion was tempered somewhat by the requirement that the governor show cause for removal). It is interesting to note that this change came shortly after the decline of the Progressive movement. The political mood had evidently swung toward more conservative ideology. Also, it should be noted that the Commission had two professional resource managers in its membership. This may well be a reflection of the popularization of Pinchot's notion that scientists should be running the resource management agencies.

1927 to 1966: Wisconsin Conservation's Golden Years

The consolidation of the fish, game and forestry interests under one agency in 1915 was hailed by some as a "valuable and necessary step forward" (Scott, 1967). The politically appointed Conservation Commission was not as popular an idea (Aberg, 1961), although the first Commissioners were not particularly unpopular, since they were all trained resource managers. The controversy began when Governor Blaine was elected and took office in 1921. During his administration, the legislature repealed the conservation legislation and passed a law that created a conservation department that was under the direction of a political appointee.

Governor Blaine appointed Elmer Hall from Green Bay, who "lost a political position and needed a job" (Aberg, 1964), to be the Commissioner of Conservation. He was described as a decent man who was totally unqualified to serve in this capacity (Aberg, 1964). The conservation interests believed that the Department could not possibly make progress if it swayed back and forth with every gubernatorial election (Aberg, 1961).

It happened that the controversy arose at a time when conservation interests in the state were running high. The Wisconsin Izaak Walton League was established in 1922 at Appleton. In evangelical style, two organizers from Chicago exhorted the crowd that had gathered

and 500 people joined at once (Scott, 1967). Chapters were organized in many Wisconsin cities, including Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, and Stevens Point (Meine, 1988). The Izaak Walton League soon gained political strength.

Two years later, 1924, Aldo Leopold arrived in Wisconsin to assume the post of Assistant Director of the U.S. Forest Service Products Laboratory (Meine, 1988). The Director was Cap Winslow, who had been one of the organizers of the Madison chapter of the Izaak Walton League. Through his association with Winslow, Leopold became one of the early members of the League. It was there that he met William Aberg. The Izaak Walton League "served as a focal point or...crystallized the agitation going on about the state for a change in conservation controls" (Aberg, 1961). The League convinced Fred Zimmerman to run for governor on a conservation reorganization platform and he was elected on his promises.

Aberg, a Madison attorney, and Leopold were instrumental in drafting legislation which addressed the concerns of the conservationists. In 1927 the legislature passed legislation establishing a new Conservation Department that was to continue under basically the same management scheme for the next 40 years. A six-person unpaid citizen commission directed the Department. It was the charge of the Commission to hire a director and supervise the agency (State Conservation Commission, 1927).

In 1933, the Conservation Commission authorized public hearings to gather public input. The next year Commissioner Immel appointed a committee which included Aldo Leopold, Chief Warden Harley MacKenzie and Game Superintendent William Grimmer to look at the ways that the Department could enhance citizen participation. Their recommendation resulted in what was to become the Conservation Congress (Conservation Congress, 1984). This body met annually to compile recommendations for the Conservation Commission, on the subject of fish and game regulation. In the early days, the Congress was a creature of the Conservation Commission, but in 1972, it became a statutory advisory body.

Figure 4 diagrams environmental decision-making for the Conservation Commission from 1934-1967. The Conservation Congress has been added to the list of publics that were in Figure 3. In addition, the statutory functions of the commission are numerous (in addition to those shown on the diagram, the commissioners were to regulate campfires, regulate burning of rubbish, conduct research, foster inter-departmental cooperation and promulgate rules) but they are all very

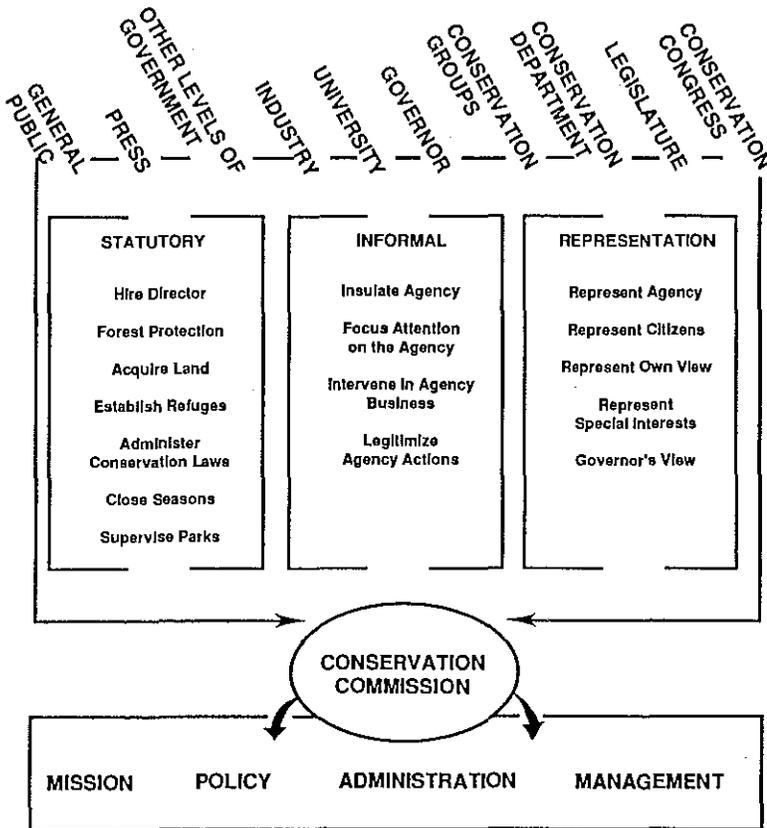


Figure 4: Environmental Decision-Making by the Conservation Commission, 1934-1967

specific and narrow. The legislature was careful to maintain the broader mission and policy functions in its own repertoire of activities.

Although the functions and publics of the Conservation Commission changed little over the next three decades, the arena that it was operating in changed significantly. The Depression saw an unexpected boon to Wisconsin Conservation in the form of the U.S. Civilian Conservation Corps. Fourteen camps, each consisting of 200 men, were established to help with fire suppression in 1933 (Wisconsin Conservation Department, 1955).

The Commission was often the center of controversy during its existence. During the thirties and forties, one of the central controversies was management of the deer population. Aldo Leopold was again at

the center of the controversy (Flader, 1974). The Commission was the nucleus for public attention in environmental decision-making. This may have been due in part to the relationship between the Conservation Congress and the Conservation Commission.

In addition to an increase in citizen participation through the Conservation Congress, there were a number of other influences in the decision-making process. The press became interested in Conservation environmental education became mandated in the public schools; and an increasingly educated, informed populace began to have increasing expectations for natural resource programs. After World War I expendable income, leisure time and interest in enjoyment of natural resources in traditional hunting and fishing pursuits and in camping, hiking and park use, increased. This meant that the "interactions section of the decision-making model probably increased in intensity and diversity.

In the period between 1937 and 1954, the Department expanded in size from 120 employees and a \$500,000 budget to an agency of 85 employees with a budget of \$8 million (*Milwaukee Journal*, Feb. 21, 1954). This meant that the internal public in the decision-making model, the agency, became a bigger and more diversified constituent group for the Commission.

The Environmental Decades: 1967 to the Present

Against the backdrop of the social change of the 1960s, in a time of obviously worsening environmental conditions and problems, the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources came into being. A key individual in this creation was Governor Warren Knowles. He had made the reorganization of state government the major agenda of his second term of office. Several governors in the past had tried for reorganization and had failed (Knowles, April 5, 1967). Knowles was an apt negotiator, not "a table pounding politician." Because he was also a Republican, it was necessary to put together a bi-partisan coalition to make the whole idea of reorganization work. It was characterized as the most dramatic event of his tenure as head of the state (Wyngaert April 3, 1967).

Knowles came to the state legislature with an agenda for state reorganization. The state agencies had increased in number to over 90. It was Knowles' idea to streamline state government and increase responsiveness. In 1965, he appointed industrialist William Kellett head an 18 member commission to examine state government and recommend legislation for its reorganization (Knowles, Jan. 19, 1966).

That group became known as the Kellett Commission. In January of 1967, the Commission offered its reorganization report, which recommended consolidation of the state functions into 26 agencies (Center for Public Representation, 1975). Prior to the 1967 reorganization proposal, the Water Resources Division of the Department of Resource Development handled water pollution regulation. This was a relatively new agency that had been created in 1966. This agency was directed by a board, some members of which were representatives from other agencies with jurisdiction in the water pollution area (Haskell and Price, 1973). The Kellett Reorganization Bill, as it became known, suggested merging Resource Development and Conservation into one agency. This suggestion generated a great deal of controversy. The conservationists felt that this was like sending the mouse to watch the cheese. Conservationists feared that development interests would over-shadow conservation interests (Olson, 1967). A major legislative battle ensued over the reorganization plan (Center for Public Representation, 1975; Thomas, 1989). In the end, the bill went to a conference committee, which decided that the board would consist of seven members. Four would come from the Conservation Commission and three would come from the Resource Development Board. Included in this compromise was a provision for an assistant attorney general, to be called the Public Intervener. This individual would be responsible for protecting public rights in resource matters. Wisconsin is the only state with this type of entity. This compromise satisfied the legislators who feared that the resource development component of the new agency would not adequately protect environmental quality (Haskell and Price, 1973; Center for Public Representation, 1975).

When this legislation passed all the elements were in place for the decision model presented in Figure 5. The Board is there with its formal and informal functions and the public intervener has been added to the list of publics of the Board.

The 1970s were a time of controversy for the Natural Resources Board. The increased awareness of environmental degradation resulted in a proliferation of state and federal environmental regulation. As the Wisconsin Natural Resources Board came to grips with these changes, it came increasingly under fire. In spite of major controversy, the Board has survived. This is probably due to the fact that citizens believe that they have greater access to the decision-making process through a citizen board than through other possible institutional arrangements (Thomas, 1989; Thomas 1990).

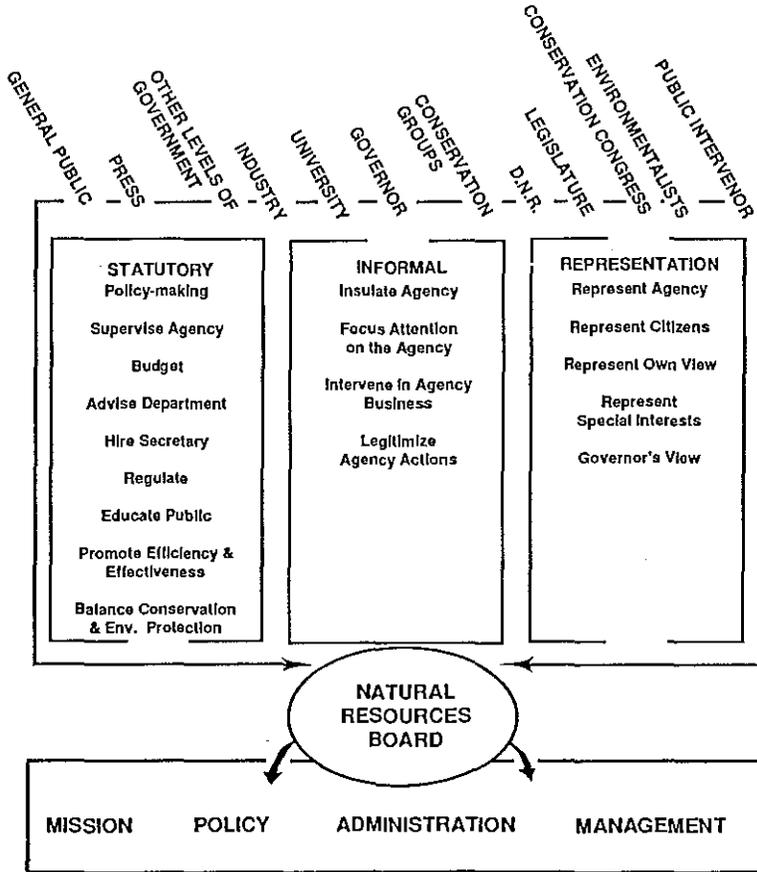


Figure 5: An Interactive Model of Board Functions

Summary

Over the 120 year history of citizen board involvement in environmental decision-making, the political environment in which decisions are made became increasingly more complex. This evolution has been a product of the struggle of the citizens of Wisconsin to meet the demands of the changing situation. In the early years of statehood, there was a policy of "no policy" in the management of natural resources. Politicians viewed resources as an abundant and probably limitless way to attract settlers to Wisconsin. The exploitation of resources was seen as a way to boost the economy of the state.

In those days, a few academics such as Increase Lapham raised questions about the wisdom of this policy. Their persistence, coupled

with ecological disasters such as the Peshtigo Fire and observable decline in fish populations, led to the establishment of citizen boards to make decisions regarding resource management.

The Progressive movement and the ideas of Robert LaFollette Sr. resulted in a proliferation of citizen conservation boards. This coupled with the relationship that LaFollette had with Charles McCarthy of the Legislative Reference Bureau and Charles Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin created opportunities for scientists and academics to participate in shaping conservation policy through the Wisconsin Idea.

The decline of the Progressive movement, combined with the tendency for governments to reorganize, resulted in the only twelve year period in the history of Wisconsin environmental management, 1915-1927, when Wisconsin did not have a citizen board at the helm of resource management agency.

The controversial appointment of a political friend by a governor, to head the Conservation Department, at a time when conservation interests had a great deal of political power, resulted in a new administration and the return of citizen board decision-making in the resource management area. As the environmental problems in the state became more complicated, the citizen board needed to interact with a more diversified public. A reorganization of state government under Warren Knowles resulted in a "super agency," one that deals with environmental as well as resource management issues, under the umbrella of one citizen board.

Through the years, with the exception of the twelve years from 1915-1927, the citizen board has been the choice of the citizens of Wisconsin. Public controversy has often shaken this enthusiasm for the citizen board. However the concept has been long enduring. It was born of the efforts of Wisconsin's early academics and scientists, pioneers of the Wisconsin Idea. The efforts of the Progressives nurtured the idea. It was resurrected by citizen conservationists who believed that the resources of the state were being abused by political patronage and it is sustained today by citizens who believe that they have better access to the decision-making process through this arrangement than they do through other institutional arrangements.

¹Lapham was born in Palmyra, New York, in 1811, the son of the contractor who built the Erie Canal. Lapham had only an elementary education, but through persistent observation and study was able to publish his first scientific paper in 1827. He continued to publish prolifically throughout his life. By

profession, he was a canal engineer. He was actively associated with the University of Wisconsin made regular contributions to its collections. (Sherman, 1876).

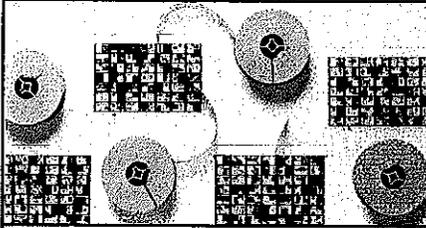
2 Crocker was an Irish immigrant who was renowned for his sense of humor. He was extremely well-read and knew a great deal about history (perhaps he was responsible for the history section of the Commission report). He was intimately involved in the "Jenny Lind Club," a group of Milwaukee's most influential politicians. (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 17 and 18, 1889).

3 Van Hise, friend and classmate of LaFollette, was president of the University of Wisconsin from 1903 to 1918. When Van Hise was inaugurated he stated that Wisconsin should use professors' technical experts to help solve social and political problems. (Carstensen, 1981).

4 Birge, a well-known limnologist, was dean of the College of Letters and Sciences at the University of Wisconsin. He was also state director of the Geological Survey. Birge also served the state as a fisheries commissioner. (Carstensen, 1958).

5 Henry was dean of the College of Agriculture at the University of Wisconsin. He had been active in Wisconsin forestry issues for a decade prior to his appointment to the Forestry Board; had written several chapters in "A Handbook for The Wisconsin Homeseeker," a pamphlet that was designed to guide settlers in the selection and management of farms in northern Wisconsin (Carstensen, 1958).

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